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Vol. II.

ELIZABETH.

1568—1579.

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CENTRAL

EDITED BY

MARTIN A. S. HUME, F.R.Hist.S.

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ERRATA.

Page 15, line 16 from bottom, for "Chalelherault" read "Chatelherault."
„ 68, note †, line 2 from bottom, for "Approbrium" read "Opprobrium."
„ 68, date of letter No. 46, for "10th July" read "19th July."
„ 258, line 20 from bottom, for "Forgaza" read "Fogaza."
„ 273, date at bottom of letter No. 212, for "22nd September" read "2nd September."
„ 378, line 9 from top, for "Beaton" read "Seton."
„ 532, line 18 from bottom, for "sieze" read "seized."

Additional Notes.

Page 81, line 27 from bottom, "Brucel" should probably be "Bruch" or "Brug."
„ 218, line 21 from top, "Hamberton" should probably be "Harrington."
„ 319, line 22 from bottom, "Huggins" should probably be "Hawkins."
„ 659, line 4 from bottom, "La Loue" should probably be "La Noüe."

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INTRODUCTION.

The Spanish State Papers published in the former volume of the present Calendar exhibited with great clearness the gradual change of the relations between England and Spain which took place during the first nine years of the reign of Elizabeth. The English policy of promoting dissention and division in neighbouring countries, whilst openly joining neither of the rival powers, had succeeded, perhaps better than even Cecil, its great advocate, had expected. The hands of the Queen and her government had become firmer as the powerlessness of their potential enemies became more apparent, and although the Queen's calculating fickleness and ambiguity of expression continued to confuse her rivals, she had, in the tenth year of her reign, when the papers in the present volume commence, finally thrown in her lot with the Protestant party, and had practically become the leader of the reformed faith throughout Europe. It is true that Catholics abounded all over the north of England, and that a strong party in her own Court was attached, more or less strongly, to the old religion. But the Queen was personally popular, and sought to increase her popularity with a persistence which would not be denied, and had also, by a policy of alternate severity and leniency, convinced the English Catholics that their future treatment depended mainly upon their gaining her goodwill. They had, moreover, persuaded themselves now that Philip, slow and little-hearted as he was, would not, even if he could, come and re-establish their religion again in England at the point of Spanish pikes, as they had hoped at the beginning of the reign. Nor had the behaviour of these same pikes under Alba in the Netherlands tended to increase their popularity, even amongst Catholics, in England. By the beginning of the year 1568, therefore, the Queen was able to assume an attitude towards Spain

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which she would not have dared to take up ten years before. Philip's hesitancy and avoidance of risk were understood now to be a characteristic weakness of the man himself, and were seen not necessarily to hide any terrible danger behind them, as was formerly feared. His wars with the Turks, the rising of the Moriscos in the south of Spain, and the troubles in the Netherlands, kept his hands full of care and his treasury empty of doubloons. Nothing, therefore, was to be feared from Philip alone, whilst the king of France and the Emperor were, so far from being able to help him in a crusade against the reformed faith, themselves almost at the mercy respectively of the Huguenots and the German Protestant Princes. It is true that the Catholic League, which years before had been established to extirpate Protestantism the world over, still existed on paper, but the only signatory who was able, or even desirous, of carrying out its objects was the Pope; because he alone had joined it for religious rather than political reasons. Cardinal Lorraine and the other Guises were, as usual, plotting to bring the Catholic powers together again for their own ends, and, as Norris writes from Paris (15th December 1567, Foreign Calendar), were urging the Queen-Mother to utterly crush and ruin Condé, Coligny, and the Huguenots, either by force or treachery, in order that France, Spain, and the Pope might together invade England and place Mary Stuart on the throne of a united Catholic nation. It was but a dream now, and all saw that it was so but the besotted priests who urged it. Mary herself was a disgraced prisoner at Lochleven. Catharine de Medici feared and hated the dominion of the Guises little less than she did that of the Huguenots, whilst Philip of Spain, even if he had been able to do so, was not the man to risk everything by going to war with the great Protestant power, whilst his own Netherlands were ready to burst into flame at any moment, for the purpose of placing Mary Stuart on the throne of England and Scotland with a French uncle at her elbow; and so give to France again the predominant power in Europe. Religion apart, it was better for Philip's policy that

England should remain Protestant than that this should happen; always provided that he could keep Elizabeth friendly, and either frighten or cajole her into a position of neutrality towards his own rebellious Protestant subjects in the Netherlands. He no longer attempted to dictate to her, but only sought to gain her good will; and both parties were fully cognisant of their changed position towards each other. Overbearing Feria had hectored and threatened the Queen, and treated her ministers as if they were still subjects of his sovereign; Quadra had gripped firmly under his velvet glove, until, deserted by his master and despairing of combating Cecil's bold craftiness with Philip's sole weapons of feebleness and procrastination, he died defeated and broken hearted. Guzman de Silva's task was more difficult than that of either of his predecessors, but he was well chosen to perform it. His manner and appearance were amiable and ingratiating, as a glance at his portrait in Hampton Court Palace will prove, and he became a prime favourite with the Queen, whom he flattered to the top of her bent. His Castilian pride sometimes revolted against the work he had to do, and his letters to the King contain many complaints that his flattery and suavity and "the show of simplicity and frankness," which he says he habitually adopted, and by which he had gained great influence over the Queen whilst he was with her, were counteracted by the "heretics" who surrounded her, and who were for ever whispering in her ear distrust of him and his master. His geniality seems sometimes even to have disarmed Cecil himself, notwithstanding the alarmist and exaggerated reports of Philip's sinister intentions constantly being sent by Norris in Paris and the English spies in Spain and Flanders; most of which reports are proved to be unfounded by the letters in the present volume. A good example of Guzman's adroit *bonhommie* in dealing with Cecil will be seen on page 38. Cecil was in a furious rage about the unceremonious expulsion of the English ambassador from Madrid on the pretext of his religious indiscretion, to which further reference will be made.

He inveighed volubly and indignantly on the slight thus put upon his mistress, and denounced Guzman himself for having made mischief in the matter. Guzman met the outburst very characteristically. Relating the scene to the King he says: "I let him talk on, and, when he had done, "I waited a little for him to recover somewhat from his "rage, and then went up to him laughing and embraced "him, saying that I was amused to see him fly into such "a passion over what I had told him, because I knew he "understood differently, and that the affair was of such "a character as to be only as good or as bad as the Queen "liked to make it. She could take it as a good sister and "friend, as I hoped she would, and had shown signs of "doing which was the easiest, most just, and even neces-"sary way, since it was only right to take the actions of "a friend in good part, at least until bad intention be "proved, or she could, for other reasons, look at it in a "different light, which might make it more difficult, to "the prejudice of his Queen and of your Majesty. I did "not believe, however, that any sensible man who had "the interests of the Queen at heart would do this, and "it was for this reason, and because of my zeal to pre-"serve this friendship, that, as soon as I heard of it, I "wished to let him know so as to be beforehand with "the mischief makers, and because I knew him to be "faithful to the Queen and well disposed towards your "Majesty's affairs. I meant him to make use of my "information privately in favour of the objects I had "stated. He asked me whether I had not told him in "order that he might convey it to the Queen and "Council, to which I replied no, that I had only told "him as a private friend, and with this he became "calmer." The ambassador then cleverly presents the Spanish view of the case, and "at last he (Cecil) seemed more tranquil." At the date of the opening of the present volume this cloud had not yet arisen, and England was more peaceful and assured than she had been since the Queen's accession. The standing danger from Scotland had disappeared for the first time for many

years. Mary was a prisoner, with a dread suspicion hanging over her, and Murray, sustained by English money and English forces, was the bounden servant of Elizabeth. France was aflame with civil war, and the royal house divided against itself by the bitter jealousy and distrust of the King for his brother Anjou, prompted by the Queen-Mother; that she might the more effectually hold the balance between the rival parties in the State. Disaffection had been ruthlessly crushed in the Netherlands by Alba, but was still glowing beneath the surface with dull ferocity, as Philip well knew; and his powerlessness for harm, alone, was made clear by the attitude of his ambassador in England, whose one object for the moment was by flattery and cajolery to induce Elizabeth and her councillors to refrain from damaging Spanish interests by countenancing the Flemish Protestants or aiding English voyages to the Spanish Indies. Under these circumstances Elizabeth could afford to drop the hollow negotiations which had been lingering for so long for her marriage with the Archduke Charles. Sussex, perhaps the only prominent person who really believed in the sincerity of the negotiations, was himself at last undeceived and was begging for his recall from Vienna, in deep disappointment and resentment against Leicester and his party, upon whom he laid the blame of the failure of his mission. A decent pretence was assumed on both sides that the project was still pending, the Emperor was given the Garter with great pomp, but the affair was practically at an end in February when Sussex left Vienna, to the relief of Philip who, for years past, had lost faith in the Queen's sincerity in the matter, and whose interests were daily drifting further away from those of his Austrian cousins. But this state of tranquil security did not last many weeks. Immunity from danger made the reforming party in England bold, and already in February (1568) steps were being taken again to worry the Catholics, in reprisal, to some extent, for the atrocities committed by Alba's troops on the Flemish Protestants, who were flocking into England by thousands with their stories of cruelty and oppression, and

deeply stirring the resentment of their co-religionists here. Whilst all Protestant England was thrilling with sympathy for the oppressed Flemings, the victims of Alba's cruelty, the Queen was strongly desirous of clearing herself from the suspicion of helping them, and she seems to have gone out of her way to reassure Guzman on the subject. With her usual clever evasion of responsibility, she assured Guzman that she knew nothing of the archbishop (Parker) of Canterbury's new attempt to force the oath of supremacy on the ecclesiastical lawyers of the Court of Arches. Guzman writes to the King (2nd February 1568, page 4): "This appears to be the case " from what she said to me about it, and what afterwards " happened, which was that she was angry with the Arch- " bishop and rated him on the subject, although sub- " sequently the earl of Bedford, Knollys and Cecil " pacified her and gave her to understand that it would " be unwise to be severe on the Archbishop for fear of " encouraging the Catholics too much." He writes again on 16th February 1568 (page 7): "News comes " from Scotland that some of the principal people have " risen against the Regent and the Government, and when " I asked the Queen whether it was true, she said it was, " and they even wanted to throw the blame on her, as " some malicious people had also tried to do respecting " the disturbances in France, and even those of Flanders, " which she said was entirely unfounded, as she is " strongly opposed to such proceedings of subjects against " their rulers, and particularly in the case of your Majesty " and your dominions, which should never be molested by " England, at least whilst she was Queen. I said that " she was quite free from any such suspicion, seeing the " loving goodwill your Majesty bore her, and she, like the " great Princess she was, could not fail to reciprocate it, " as I constantly advised your Majesty she did. As the " malice of the heretics is continually exercised in " arousing her suspicion, no opportunity must be lost to " dissipate it."

But disclaim it as she might, Protestant feeling in the

country was deeply moved and was becoming aggressive instead of merely seeking toleration; and distrust and resentment against Philip and the Catholic league were being industriously fanned by the English agents in France and Germany, who constantly reported the intended invasion of England and its reduction to Catholicism. The attempt of England to assert equal international and religious rights with Spain and the Catholics, seems to have been precipitated at first accidentally, and resulted in a breach which grew ever wider until the final triumph of England over the Armada. In January 1568 the vicious lunacy of the miserable boy Don Carlos had reached a pitch which necessitated his isolation. Philip entered his room at 10 o'clock on the night of the 18th January and arrested his only son and heir with his own hands. It was known that he had had communications with the discontented Flemings; and John Man, the dean of Gloucester, who was English Ambassador in Madrid, thought the event of sufficient importance to dispatch a special messenger, one of his own secretaries, post haste, to carry the news to England. He arrived in the middle of February and gave an account of what had happened. In the course of conversation he told the Queen that the ambassador's household were not allowed to perform divine service according to the reformed rites, even in their own house, and Elizabeth immediately wrote to Man (21st February 1568, Foreign Calendar) peremptorily ordering him to demand the free exercise of his religion in accordance with international rights, saying that if this were refused she would at once recall him. Unfortunately, on the same day, both the Queen and Cecil also made the same request of Guzman (page 9), and Philip was therefore forewarned of the demand which was to be made by the English ambassador. That the hated heresy, which struck at the very root of the principle by which he ruled, should raise its head in his own capital, even in the house of an ambassador, was too much for Philip. The demand for international recognition of the dreaded thing alarmed him and he determined to forestall it. Before the am-

bassador could formulate his complaint, he had a series of accusations drawn up against Dr. Man, and a number of the English Catholic refugees who lived in Madrid, mostly on Philip's bounty, were called to testify to unbecoming words pronounced by the ambassador against the Catholic religion and the Pope, at the dinner table and elsewhere in private conversation. An English spy called Robert Hogan or Huggins, who betrayed both Spain and England in turn, writes to Cecil (30th March 1568, Foreign Calendar) that he, like others, had been forced to testify against Man, who, he says, will certainly get into trouble, although entirely by his own fault and foolishness, and his "too liberal tongue." It is mainly the duke of Feria's doing, he says, as he is Man's deadly enemy; although elsewhere Hogan calls the Duke the friend of the English, which he certainly was not in any sense. Man was never afforded an opportunity of making his complaint. Philip saw him no more; he was hurried out of Madrid to a village called Barajas and thence contemptuously packed off to England, without being allowed even to take leave of the King. Guzman smoothed the matter over as best he could, with many loving messages from his master to the effect that another English ambassador who was more modest and respectful to the Catholic religion would be welcomed with open arms; but the blow was a heavy one to the pride of Elizabeth and her Protestant advisers, and their wrath was nursed silently until ample revenge could be taken. They were revenged a hundred-fold as will be shown, although the exaction of their retribution gave rise to events which, it is not too much to say, in the end left their indelible mark upon the fate of christendom.

In the meanwhile the rising of the Catholic lords in Scotland against Murray and the belief that French forces would be sent to aid them if the Huguenots were disposed of had caused more countenance to be given by the English Government to Condé and the Huguenots on the one hand and to the Flemish Protestants on the other, whilst the English Catholics were more vigorously prosecuted than they had been for some time. Guzman mentions a rumour

(10th April 1568) that Cardinal Lorraine was raising 1,200 harquebussiers to send to Dumbarton, and this, together with the passage of a French envoy to Scotland, deeply alarmed the Queen, notwithstanding the solemn assurance of the king of France and his mother that, out of gratitude for Elizabeth's neutrality in the French troubles, they would not allow any French force to be sent to Scotland; a covert threat that if she openly helped Condé they would retaliate by helping Mary. The apprehension was immensely increased by the news of Mary's escape from Lochleven (after her first unsuccessful attempt of which an interesting account is given by Guzman, page 26), but the policy which had been so successful before was promptly adopted again. Fresh encouragement was given to the Huguenots. Protestantism in the Netherlands was accorded a more hearty sympathy than ever, and expeditions of refugee Flemings were allowed to fit out in English ports to go over and help their compatriots. Against this Guzman protested over and over again, but only got vague promises of redress or hypocritical professions of ignorance; and when at last orders were given for the prohibition of such expeditions, they were easily evaded, and the current of help and sympathy still flowed, as it flowed for many years afterwards, from the Protestants in England to their struggling co-religionists across the North Sea.

On the 21st May 1568 news reach Elizabeth and her advisers which, whilst increasing their perplexity and danger, changed the base of trouble and brought it nearer to their own doors. The battle of Langsyde had been fought six days before, and Mary was already a fugitive, and practically a prisoner, in England. Guzman, at this point, represents Elizabeth as being desirous of treating Mary as a sovereign, which, considering her views of the royal state, was probably her first impulse. He says (22nd May), "If this Queen has her way now, they will "be obliged to treat the queen of Scots as a sovereign, "which will offend those who forced her to abdicate, so "that, although these people are glad enough to have her in

" their hands, they have many things to consider. If " they keep her as in prison, it will probably scandalise " all neighbouring princes, and if she remain free and " able to communicate with her friends, great suspicions " will be aroused. In any case it is certain that two " women will not agree very long together."

If it were ever Elizabeth's intention to receive her unfortunate cousin as a sovereign the idea must have disappeared promptly on the reports received from Drury and her other officers in the north of England. All the country side, they said, Catholic to the backbone, was in a ferment of excitement and rejoicing at the arrival in their midst of the Catholic princess, upon whom their hopes were fixed. Norris in Paris (4th June, Foreign Calendar) writes to say that an effort will be made to carry Mary to France, "but he is assured that Cecil will rather, as he " writes, help and counsel the Queen to make her profit " of her there than consent to her coming hither." In any case Elizabeth did not hesitate long as to the course which would best serve her own interests. Her unceremonious treatment of Mary's envoys, Herries and Fleming, is fully detailed by Guzman, for whom and the duke of Alba they brought letters from their fugitive mistress. The envoys complained bitterly of their treatment, and threatened if aid was refused by England to appeal to " France, your Majesty, or even the Pope." "The Pope," said Bedford, as if shocked with the bare idea. "Yes," said Herries, "and even the Grand Turk, or the Sophi, seeing the need my Queen is in." Such talk as this was too dangerous to be endured for very long, and on the 24th June Guzman writes to the King, "The Queen has given " a decided answer to Herries and Fleming, and has " refused to give leave to the latter to go to France " respecting the Scotch queen's affairs. Her answer is " that she has ordered their Queen to approach nearer to " her, and has sent word to the Scotch government to " send representatives to the same place, whither she " herself will also send persons to treat with both parties. " If she is assured that their Queen was not an accomplice

" in the murder of her husband, she will help her, and if " she was privy to it, she will try to reconcile her to the " government." Herries and Fleming conveyed this answer to Guzman, and asked for his advice, which he gave, as follows (26 June): " I replied that their Queen " should show full confidence in this Queen, and should " act, at present, in such a way as to give to the latter no " reasonable excuse for not helping her and treating her " well. She should be very careful, I said, to avoid all " suspicion that she had any pretensions to the crown " during this Queen's life; and, as regards satisfying her " respecting her husband's death, their Queen should say " that she herself desired to do so, loving her as she did " as a sister and friend, but by other means than by judicial " action and question and answer with her own subjects, " which would be a derogation of her dignity and unfitting " to her rank." The first portion of this sound advice Mary, unfortunately for herself, did not follow, very different counsel being given to her subsequently by those who succeeded Guzman as her advisers, but the latter portion, no doubt, led to her sudden change of front in refusing to acknowledge an investigation for which she had formerly professed herself anxious. Guzman had a long conversation with Elizabeth on the 29th of June about Scotch affairs, particularly with reference to the answer which had been given to the special envoy from the king of France, M. de Montmorin. Elizabeth told him that there were difficulties in the way of her giving armed help to restore Mary to the throne, and the result of such an attempt would be uncertain, and she thought the best course would be to come to terms with Murray. " These terms she said must be " hard, as Murray and his gang would never be safe if " the Queen returned as a ruler, even though she pardoned " them now, as she could easily find an excuse afterwards " to be revenged on them." She said very emphatically that on no account would she allow Mary to go to France, " and, as for sending her back alone after she had placed " herself under her protection, that would be a great dis- " honour for her (Elizabeth) and her country." Seeing also

" the pretensions she had to the English crown, it would " be dangerous, she said, to allow her to be free in this " country, as she might take opportunities of satisfying " people here about past events, and gain them over. She " therefore had determined to bring her to some place in " the interior of England, both that she might be safer " from her enemies, and also in order that, if she attempted " to escape clandestinely to Scotland, her flight should be " made longer and more difficult; as between Carlisle " and Scotland there was only one small river which " could easily be crossed." The determination thus early expressed by Elizabeth to keep her cousin under guard for good was no doubt prompted by the knowledge that Mary was clamouring for foreign aid on all hands, and that the people of the north, forgetting her misdeeds, were burning to help her. Norris was persistent in his alarmist reports of Popish plots in her favour and Murray himself begged Drury to warn Elizabeth to keep people from access to his sister, " as she has " sugared speech in store, and spares not to deal part " of it now."

Guzman says that Fleming is constantly coming confidentially to him about his mistress's affairs; but neither the instructions nor the peaceful disposition of the ambassador allowed him to hold out hopes of Spanish help. He says " I have shown him great goodwill, and have, in general " terms assured him of your Majesty's sincere affection " for his Queen, as I am letting the Catholics, her friends, " also understand." But at the same time he took great care to keep in the good graces of Elizabeth, who appears to have been sincerely attached to him.

In February 1568 Guzman, who had been complaining of ill-health for some time, begged the King to withdraw him from London. All, he said, was now quiet and friendly, and another person could easily fill his place. Unlike the bishop of Aquila he was a wealthy man, but his means were nearly exhausted with the great expense of the embassy, and the poverty or penuriousness of the King. Philip was not in the habit of taking into account the

personal wishes of his servants, and if it had not suited him to remove Guzman he certainly would not have done so. No answer to the ambassador's request was sent until 13th May, when, as has been shown, the whole aspect of matters had changed and the prospect had become anything but "quiet and friendly." Philip was evidently in great trepidation as to the way in which his high-handed treatment of the English ambassador would be received, and it is possible that when he saw the apparent submissiveness of the Queen under the blow, he may have thought that a rougher tongued representative than Guzman would be more likely to serve his purpose. He may have considered, moreover, that Guzman was too tolerant and yielding to the "heretics"; particularly as the ambassador gives as one of the reasons for desiring his recall, the danger to which Catholics are exposed who dwell long amongst "heretics," and witness their laxity in religion, and their freedom from restraint (page 10). Be that as it may, Philip appointed as his successor a man diametrically opposite to him; a firey Catalan knight called Guerau de Spes, as haughty and intolerant as Feria himself, a man, as it afterwards turned out, entirely wanting in discretion at a time when, of all qualities, discretion was that most needed. At first sight it is difficult to understand why so close an observer of men as Philip appointed such a firebrand as this to represent him, unless he had determined to adopt an aggressive policy towards England, contrary to that which he had thitherto followed, and it has been usually assumed by English historical writers that this was the case. Norris' letters of the time certainly give colour to the assertion that Philip sent Don Guerau with instructions to forward a Catholic conspiracy in England in union with Cardinal Lorraine and the duke of Alba, for the purpose of expelling Elizabeth and crushing the Protestant power; but Norris, zealous Protestant as he was, eagerly accepted and repeated all the news his spies could bring him that was damaging to the Catholics, and was ignorant of or underrated Philip's difficulties. The present letters, for the first time, show

clearly that, whatever may have been the wish of Philip's heart, it was absolutely impossible for him to embark upon a war with England, beset as he was on all hands. Guerau de Spes was doubtless sent with the idea that a less complaisant envoy than Guzman would be able to exert more influence over the Queen by fear than by suavity, an idea encouraged doubtless by the quiet way in which she had accepted her ambassador's contemptuous dismissal. As will be seen, however, Don Guerau did not stop at rough words or haughty demeanour; like the hot partizan he was, he began more or less overt plotting with the disaffected as soon as he arrived in the country, and probably even before. The ostensible reason for Don Guerau's coming was to give explanations about the expulsion of Dr. Man, but Elizabeth, full of Norris' sinister reports, was much perturbed by the withdrawal of her favourite Guzman. "She hoped to God," she told the latter, "that there was no mystery behind this change," and reproached him personally with her usual coquetry for wanting to leave her. Cecil was more outspoken and professed to believe that Guzman himself had arranged the plot; which we now know Norris had informed him, Cecil, that Don Guerau was engaged in. Guzman was surprised and indignant, he, at all events, having had no hand in the matter, as Cecil indeed well knew. Guzman tells the story to the King in his letter of the 9th August 1568:—"On my return to London, I "talked with Cecil and told him of the coming of Don "Guerau and my departure, whereat he expressed sorrow "and assured me that the Queen would be greatly pained, "especially as it would seem to confirm what had been "conveyed to him from several quarters, that Cardinal "Lorraine had arranged a treaty with the duke of Alba, "respecting this country and the queen of Scots; which "had been negotiated through me, as the French ambas-"sador here could not be trusted. It was said also that "the queen of Scotland herself was in communication "with me and sent me letters for your Majesty, and it "was asserted that, now that I had arranged what was

" wanted, I wished to leave, in order that my successor, " and not myself, should witness the carrying out of the " plan. It was known that I had a person at Dieppe to " advise people in France of these matters, and that Don " Francés de Avila (the Spanish ambassador in France) " never left the side of Cardinal Lorraine. My own belief " is that Cecil invented the whole of this . . . . because " I am told that the letter that the queen of Scotland " wrote to me with a letter to your Majesty, together with " another for the French ambassador, fell into Cecil's " hands." Guzman repudiated the accusation with much spirit and evident truthfulness, and doubtless confirmed Cecil in his knowledge that, whatever were the instructions of the new ambassador, the main object of the departing one was to preserve peace and amity between the two nations. A perusal of the substance of the instructions to Guerau de Spes (page 66) will show how limited was the mission confided to him. He was to satisfy the Queen about Dr. Man, beyond which his functions were mainly to send to the duke of Alba and the King constant reports of all that was passing in England. He is instructed, over and over again, that he is to do nothing without the orders of the duke of Alba, and, indeed, so far as can be gathered from his instructions and the letters sent to him, his functions were more those of a spy than a minister. The following sentence from the instructions will prove that it was not Philip's desire at the time to break with England: " You will give the Queen my letter, saluting her gaily " and graciously from me, saying that I have appointed " you the successor of Diego de Guzman to reside near " her as my ordinary ambassador, with instructions to " serve and gratify her on every possible occasion, *as, in* " *fact, I wish you to do, trying to keep her on good terms* " *and assuring her from me that I will always return her* " *friendship as her good neighbour and brother.*"

At a time when the bad faith of Elizabeth in seizing the specie destined for the pay of Philip's troops, and the indiscretion of Guerau de Spes had embittered the relations of the two governments to the last degree, the correspondence in

the present volume between the King and the duke of Alba proves indisputably the (perhaps necessarily) peaceful attitude of Philip towards England and the fear entertained both by the King and his Viceroy of the indiscretion and meddlesomeness of the ambassador. As the letters in question were confidential and there was no fear of their being seized they certainly contained the real sentiments of the writers. It will be seen by reference to them that so hardly pressed were the Spaniards for money and so beset with difficulties, that their only desire at the time was to recover the Spanish property seized in England and re-open their suspended trade, leaving the idea of vengeance for a future time. Alba several times complains that Don Guerau's zeal is outrunning his discretion, and that he allows himself to be drawn into compromising positions by exceeding the instructions sent to him. This correspondence is mentioned here out of its chronological order to enforce the view that the treasonable plots in which Don Guerau was certainly concerned during the whole of his residence in England, and his complicity in which contributed largely to the subsequent bitterness between the countries, were entered into by him in the first place in violation of the spirit of his instructions and of his master's desire; and that the secret aid afterwards given by Philip to treason in England was bestowed in consequence of the misleading reports sent by the ambassador with regard to the strength and resources of the disaffected. These reports, indeed, as will be seen in the present volume, were evidently pervaded more by the zeal of the partizan than by the dispassionate scrutiny of the minister. A further proof that Guerau de Spes was not sent by Philip for the purpose of plotting the overthrow of Elizabeth in favour of Mary is afforded by the letter from the King to the duke of Alba, dated 15th September 1568 (page 71), written at the time when De Spes had just arrived in England. In it the King refers to Mary's letter to him complaining of her imprisonment and invoking his aid, with earnest professions of her Catholicism. "I have," he says, "refrained

" from taking any decision or answering her autograph " letter, of which I enclose a copy, until you tell me what " you think of her business, and in what way, and to what " extent, I should assist her. I therefore beg and enjoin " you to write to me on this by the first opportunity, and " to encourage the Queen from there" (*i.e.*, the Netherlands) "as best you can, to persevere firmly in her good " purpose," (namely, to remain a firm Catholic) "as it is " clear that whilst she does so God will not abandon her." Guerau de Spes arrived in Paris in July 1568 after suffering much insult and maltreatment on his way through the south of France, of which he complained to the Queen-Mother, who told him that the King was not obeyed in that part of the country. He does not mention that he saw Cardinal Lorraine privately, but merely says that he and Cardinals Guise and Bourbon, with the dukes of Nemours and Guise, were present at the audience, and " recommended the affairs of the queen of Scotland to me." The bishop of Glasgow, Mary's minister in France, was ill, but, says De Spes, " he sent two gentlemen to recommend " his mistress' affairs to my care. She appears to found all " her hopes on your Majesty's favour, and I have told him " that I have orders on my arrival to do what I can for her." However strong may have been De Spes' sympathy for the queen of Scots, it is clear from these general expressions that he was charged with no deep plot in her favour by his master, as has been assumed on the strength of the information sent to England by Norris and others. The account he sends of his interview with the duke of Alba bears out this view, as it principally refers to the commercial grievances existing between England and the Netherlands, still left unsettled by the provisional agreement of Bruges. In this letter, however, written before he arrived in England, he shows how different are his methods from those of Guzman de Silva, who invariably palliated and minimised points of difference. " Antonio " de Guaras," he says, " has sent me two slanderous papers " printed in England, which the heretics of that country " have made up to entertain their gang, and to endeavour

" to diminish the favour your Majesty extends to the " Catholics, and the justice and equity which you maintain " in your States. If your Majesty wishes, they can be " copied and sent to you in Spanish. I shall be glad to " be directed as to whether I should speak to the Queen " about these insults." Needless to say that on his arrival in England the queen of Scotland's friends approached him, and thenceforward a constant correspondence was carried on between him and Mary through them, most of which correspondence was, of course, well known to the English Court through their spies. On the 30th October 1568 (page 81) when he had only been in London about seven weeks, writing to the King *à propos* of the meeting of the Commission in York to settle Scotch affairs, he says, " I am of opinion that this would be a good opportunity " of handling successfully Scotch affairs, and *restoring* " *this country to the Catholic religion, and if the Duke were* " *out of his present anxiety and your Majesty wished, it could* " *be discussed.*"

On the 6th November he wrote :—" It appears as if the " time was approaching when this country may be made " to return to the Catholic Church, the Queen being in " such straits and short of money. I have already " informed your Majesty of the offer made by Viscount " Montague's brother-in-law on condition that they may " hope for protection from your Majesty." These are the first suggestions of a design to overthrow Elizabeth, and, as will be noted, they do not come from Philip, but are only tentatively made to him by his ambassador. In a letter dated 12th December 1568 (page 85) he assures the King that " whenever Flemish matters are calm, and your " Majesty and the French king choose to stop English " commerce, without even drawing the sword, they (the " English) will be obliged to adopt the Catholic religion ;" and he enclosed for the King's approval a draft of a long address of exhortation which he proposed to deliver to the Queen, thinking thereby to convert her to Catholicism (page 85). Philip, who knew well the tremendous forces arrayed against him, may well have smiled at the simplicity

of his envoy in supposing that a turgid speech from a hot-headed bigot could revolutionise the consummate statecraft of Elizabeth and Cecil. With such an ambassador as this, it was naturally not long before matters between England and Spain reached an acute stage. Cardinal Chatillon was at Elizabeth's Court arousing sympathy and obtaining aid for the Huguenots in France; the Flemish refugees were spreading abroad a feeling of indignation against Alba's atrocities in the Netherlands, and money was being sent daily across to help their brethren against their oppressors; privateers, and pirates who called themselves such, were already swarming in the Channel, and few vessels bearing the flag of Spain escaped their depredations. Early in December, Cecil wrote to De Spes (Foreign Calendar) complaining of practices of his which had been discovered, and the envoy retaliated by almost daily complaints, couched often in very intemperate language, of the piracies in the Channel. Norris and others, as usual, were reporting unceasingly the terrible things which were to be done in England as soon as the Netherlands were quieted and the Huguenots suppressed. The Queen told De Spes himself (18th December 1568, page 89) that "she knew that, after the king (of France) "had pacified his country, he would turn upon her for the "sake of religion, as she was assured by persons in her "favour who were members of his Council." Similar ideas had been current in Guzman de Silva's time, but he wisely and adroitly laughed them aside. Guerau de Spes, on the contrary, fanned the flame by his manifest plotting with the Catholic party; and at the interview referred to above, told the Queen that whilst she allowed the Huguenot privateers to enter her ports, it would be very difficult for her to preserve her friendship with the States of Flanders. In view of the fears thus engendered and encouraged by the indiscretion of the envoy, it is not to be wondered at that when chance threw into the way of the Queen a means of crippling her enemy and averting the threatened danger, she should have adopted it, even at the expense of honesty and international rights. She herself was hardly

pressed for money to fit out a fleet to help the Huguenots and defend her coast, and had not only borrowed to the full extent of her credit, but, says De Spes (page 83), had pledged some of her jewels to raise the required sum.

Late in November 1568 several vessels carrying a large amount of treasure from Spain to Flanders were chased by pirates in the Channel, and for safety put into the ports of Southampton, Plymouth, and Falmouth respectively. The money, on its arrival in the Netherlands, was to be advanced to the king of Spain by its owners, certain Genoese bankers, for the purpose of paying Alba's troops and enabling him to continue his operations for the suppression of the Protestants. Two of the cutters, shrewdly suspecting that they were in as much danger from the English on shore as from the pirates themselves, boldly left port the day after they had taken refuge there and ran the blockade of pirates, arriving duly at Antwerp. The rest, consisting of a large vessel with 31,000*l.* in Southampton and three or four cutters in the western ports, continued to be assailed or threatened by the privateers, even whilst in harbour, and, ostensibly for the protection of the treasure from their depredations, it was landed and placed in safety by the shore authorities. The transaction is related diversely by the two parties interested, and both sides of the question are set forth in the present volume; but there seems to be no doubt that Spinola, the great Florentine banker in London, who was charged with the forwarding of the money in case it came to England, informed the Queen that it was being conveyed to its destination at the risk of the lenders, and could not be rightly called the property of the king of Spain until its arrival in the Netherlands. Prior to this information being given the Queen had signed (12th December) passports and safe-conducts for the money to be sent overland to Dover, or under convoy by sea from the ports, but on learning the state of affairs from Spinola, orders were given for the landing of the money, which was done on the 21st. There is no doubt that it had been determined at this time to retain the money if, on examination, Spinola's statement

were confirmed, as on the 24th Horsey, the Governor of the Isle of Wight, writes to Cecil (Foreign Calendar), giving him an account of his examination of the specie from the ship in Southampton which had satisfied him that it was still the property of the bankers, and asks whether he shall send the treasure up to London at once. It was a mere technical excuse for taking the money, of course, as it was undisputed that it was destined as a loan for the king of Spain; but it enabled Elizabeth to make the seizure without openly committing an act of war. De Spes was violent and headstrong as usual, and immediately wrote to the duke of Alba urging him forcibly to seize all British subjects and their property in the Netherlands, and to recommend Philip to do the same in Spain. The seizure was made in the Netherlands on the 29th, as soon as De Spes' letter reached the Duke, but on various pretexts, no definite refusal had yet been given to De Spes by the English Government to restore the money. On the 29th Elizabeth told him that she might as well borrow it as his King, as she was quite as responsible and able to repay it, principal and interest. De Spes' precipitancy had put him again in the wrong in urging Alba to make his seizures before the intention of the Queen to keep the money had been officially declared. Even on the 29th she left the question ostensibly open, although her intention was clear, but when news arrived of the seizure of all English property by Alba she at once made this an excuse, not only for retaining the money she had landed, but for seizing all Spanish property in England as well, the amount of which was great in excess of the value of Alba's seizures; and a great show of indignation was made at the illegality of Alba's action. It will thus be seen that Elizabeth had put herself technically in the right, however wrong she might be morally. The principal effect of her action was to make her for the time rich, whilst Philip's sorely shrunken exchequer was the more depleted and his power for evil greatly diminished. Philip and Alba, as will be seen in the letters in the present volume, were well nigh in despair. The Gueux

crushed on land, were swarming on the sea, and made maritime communication between Spain and northern Europe almost impossible. Trade was paralysed and credit dead. The moral effect of Philip's poverty and powerlessness was very marked. Alba's task in the Netherlands became more and more difficult, as the bankers became increasingly chary of lending money to a King who could not even retain his own treasure or punish those who plundered him, and the unfortunate, sorely-beset and over-weighted King could only hand the whole question over to Alba with the arbitrament of peace or war. In a letter to the Duke (18th February 1579) he says that De Spes informs him that the opportunity is now ripe for deposing the Queen and placing the queen of Scots on the throne of a Catholic England, and leaves Alba to undertake the business without further consulting him if he thought proper. But Alba had a very poor opinion of De Spes and his recommendations, and was in closer touch with the difficulties than was Philip, immersed in his papers at the Escorial, and wrote to the King on the 10th March as follows :—"I do not know whether an open rupture with "England at the present time will be advantageous, con- "sidering the state of the Treasury, and these States being "so exhausted with the war and late disturbances, and so "bereft of ships and many other things necessary for a "fresh war, whilst it would certainly be a grave loss of "dignity to again return to the old negotiations. All "things considered, I think it would be best to adopt a "gentle course, writing to the Queen that, seeing the close "friendship and alliance that have so long existed between "the countries, particularly between her father and the "Emperor, and your brotherly affection for her, even "though she should desire to quarrel, you will not consent "to do so, and that it shall never be said that the knot "that binds you together has been loosened. She should "be asked to say in what way she considers herself "aggrieved, and your Majesty will be ready to give her "every satisfaction in consideration of your tender love "for her, and will not pursue the same course as with any

" other prince under similar circumstances. I thought " well to set this forth to your Majesty in case she should " send anyone to you before the definite opinion is for- " warded to you from here, and you can thus go on tempo- " rising, and, afterwards, adopt the course you think best. " There will be means for fully satisfying your Majesty " by-and-by if you desire it." This was the tone of Alba's recommendations to the King during the whole of his stay in the Netherlands, and Philip never wanted much persuasion for him to adopt a temporising policy. Necessary as such a policy may have been, it was a clear evidence of weakness to the English, who took higher ground than ever. De Spes, in impotent fury, wrote a foolish flighty letter (page 105) to one of the Spanish officials in the Netherlands. The letter was of course intercepted, and the ambassador was placed under arrest for his insolence. He stormed and appealed in vain. Philip and Alba answered him in the same way as the bishop of Aquila had been answered under similar circumstances eight years before. He must make the best of it and endure everything patiently for the King's service. Alba's first step was to send over the pedantic and wordy Flemish councillor D'Assonleville, but the Queen refused even to give him audience and would not recognise the duke of Alba in any way. D'Assonleville himself even was surrounded with restrictions and had to return empty handed to the Duke. Thenceforward for years the same policy was pursued. Envoy after envoy was sent from the Netherlands to England to negotiate for the restoration of the property seized. Cajolery, bribery, and appeals to honour were tried in vain; the owners of the property and the bankers interested did their best to get private restitution on any terms, but Elizabeth and her ministers knew well that they held the strong position and refused to agree, except on conditions which it was impossible for Philip to accept, as they included the settlement of long outstanding claims made by the English on account of confiscations by the Inquisition in Spain, and the past and future treatment of British subjects there in relation to religion. In the meanwhile the property dwindled and

was jobbed away, and in the end but little of it ever reached its legitimate owners. For many months De Spes was chafing under the galling restrictions which had been placed upon him, all his letters read and his every action followed. His indiscreet reference to the Queen in the letter already referred to had alarmed and annoyed even the earl of Arundel, favourable though he always had been to the Spanish domination of England, and ever ready to plot for t e overthrow of the existing order of things. He wrote to De Spes (16th January 1569, Foreign Calendar) saying that he blamed him quite as much as did any other of the councillors for his expressions about the Queen, and "wished that a wise and well-meaning man were here for the good of both sovereigns." Arundel's annoyance can be easily explained by the fact that he, with the duke of Norfolk, Lumley, Westmoreland, Throgmorton and others, with the treacherous connivance of Leicester, had adopted this question of the seizure of Philip's money as a lever by which to overthrow Cecil, and anything which prejudged the question, or put Spain in the wrong, was likely to frustrate their designs. In March 1569 De Spes was still under arrest, but with less strictness than at first, and writes to the King urging him "to punish these people "in a way which shall make them realise their offence. "It is," he says, "disgusting to hear Cecil talk about his "Queen being a monarch, and that no other Christian "prince is a monarch but she. I have heard that they are "going to publish a decree ordering every person to take "an oath to this effect, which will mean a butchery of "Catholics if God in His mercy do not prevent it." This was evidently to inflame Philip's mind and induce him to show sympathy with the cabal that was plotting the ruin of Cecil. Later in the same letter, De Spes says that Norfolk and Arundel have been in close communication with him through a trustworthy person, and acknowledged the offence committed by the Queen and Council, "but that hitherto "everything has been over-ridden by Cecil, and they have "not dared to resist him or even to point out to the Queen "his bad government, until they felt their way with other

" nobles and with the people. They have now done this " and have many sure pledges." They promised that all Spanish property should be restored, the Catholic religion established, and much else besides, which it was obvious could not be done except by the deposition of the Queen. " They only ask that your Majesty should stand firm in the " stoppage of trade, as well as the king of France, so that " the English shall have no commerce with either country. " The people are already beginning to murmur, and these " gentlemen will find means to raise them and punish the " evil-doers. To add strength to the enterprise they sent " me the draft of a proclamation for me to forward to the " duke of Alba for publication. It contains a statement of " the motives which they desire the public to know, which " are similar to what I have already written about the " tyranny of some members of the government, of the " non-fulfilment of the passport given, of the favour shown " to pirates, and the support given to rebels. I have sent " it to the duke of Alba and assured him of the goodwill " of these gentlemen and their power here. They wish the " affair to be conducted very secretly for the present, for " the Queen and Cecil are suspicious even of the birds of " the air."

The "trustworthy person" who was the medium of communication between De Spes and the conspirators was Ridolfi, the Florentine banker and papal agent in London, of whom mention will be made later on, and before very long he was pressing urgently in their name that a sum of money might be sent to them as an aid to the cost of their conspiracy. Philip had but little money to squander, and Alba instructed the ambassador to put the lords off with promises and fair words. For the next month or two the professions of loyalty and adherence to Philip on the part of Arundel, Lumley, and Norfolk became constantly more emphatic and precise until late in June, when 6,000 crowns were sent by Alba to be given to them. In the meanwhile things had gone badly with the Huguenots in France and the Guises were again paramount, so that it behoved England to feign friendship for

Spain; and accordingly De Spes was released, and pretended negotiations were opened for restitution through a wealthy banker in Antwerp named Thomas Fiesco, who came over provided with large sums of money to bribe Cecil and Leicester. Approaches were even made to De Spes, who was ordered by the King and Alba to avoid all reference to unpleasant subjects and to be "very gentle." Alba writes, 2nd July: "I again press "upon you that on no account in the world are you "to listen to any proposals about Ireland or other "parts, as I can assure you that such a course might "ruin everything and you also would run a personal "risk, for which I should feel truly sorry. You "may, however, at unsuspicious hours, listen to the "servants of the queen of Scots. I must again repeat "most emphatically that you are not on any account "to entertain approaches to you against the Queen or "her councillors, or anything touching them. On the "contrary, if people come to you with such talk you "must be so reticent that they shall never be able to say "that any minister of the King has given ear to it." Notwithstanding the constant repetition of similar instructions, De Spes never ceased to lend a ready ear to real or pretended conspirators, of which Cecil was fully informed by his spies. Ridolfi, the bishop of Ross, Stukeley, Lumley, and others were for ever begging that money should be sent from Spain to promote disaffection; but the 6,000 crowns already sent had been wasted, the conspiracy against Cecil having failed through Leicester's treachery and Cecil's vigilance. The bishop of Ross gave De Spes the story of the failure (15th June 1569):—"The "Bishop told me that the duke of Norfolk and the earl "of Arundel had always informed him of their desire to "serve your Majesty, and . . . . that their intention "was in April last to arrest Cecil, and give me complete "liberty, restoring all the property stolen and detained "belonging to your Majesty's subjects. He said that "on three occasions, when the project was about to be "carried out, the earl of Leicester softened, and said that

" he would tell the Queen. This prevented the execution " of the intention three distinct times . . . . and " these delays gave Cecil an opportunity of discovering " the plot against him." The manner in which Cecil cleverly circumvented the conspirators is then told (page 167), but undeterred by this fiasco, and by the precise instructions sent to him, the ambassador, in the same letter to the King, mentions that Lord Dacre had sent him a message proposing the marriage of the duke of Norfolk with the queen of Scots and the conversion of England to the Catholic faith, and adds :—" He (Dacre) " now says that, whenever your Majesty pleases to send an " army to this country, he and his friends will undertake " to provide 15,000 selected troops for your service." From the tone of the correspondence it is quite clear that Philip's only present desire was to stir up the Catholic party in England in order to embarrass Elizabeth and prevent her from aiding the Protestants in the Netherlands, but, in pursuance of his invariable policy, he desired to do so without in any way appearing or incurring responsibility, whilst at the same time both he and Alba feared the impetuosity and indiscretion of the envoy they employed. The letters in the present volume prove more decisively than hitherto the treasonable intentions of the duke of Norfolk in his design to marry the queen of Scots. It is probable that at first he did not realize to the full extent the objects of those with whom the project had originated; most certainly those Protestant councillors who sided with him at the beginning did not do so. Guerau de Spes, however, never deceived himself about it. On the 25th July 1569 he writes to the King :—" The bishop of Ross came to me at " three o'clock this morning to assure me of the wish of " the duke of Norfolk to serve your Majesty. He said he " was a Catholic, and has the support, even in London, " of many aldermen and rich merchants." On the 1st August, he says, " Norfolk and the other adherents " of the queen of Scotland are busy trying to get her " declared the Queen's successor, and this Queen is already

" somewhat suspicious of the Duke. There certainly will " be some turmoil about it. They all assert that if they " succeed, religion shall be restored." The ambassador duly notes that, in the face of this powerful combination of nobles against Protestantism, and indirectly against the Queen and Cecil, he is being treated with more gentleness, and that fresh advances are being made to him about a restitution. These negotiations went so far as the appointment of a more formal and dignified embassy than had previously been sent, namely, that of Chapin Vitelli, marquis of Cetona, a famous Italian general, whose mission, prepared with scrupulous care and circumspection by Philip and Alba, was as fruitless as others had been, for reasons which will be mentioned in due course. On the 27th August De Spes wrote to the King reporting a further development of the Norfolk project:—" The Council has decided, " at the instance of the duke of Norfolk and his friends, " that the queen of Scotland shall be set at liberty on " condition that she marries an Englishman, and the " signatures of all the principal people in this country " have been obtained to this effect. The matter of her " marriage also is so far advanced that the French " ambassador has been reconciled to it, and, within a " day or two, I understand that the Duke himself, or " some leading personage, will come and request me to " write to your Majesty to learn your wishes on the " subject." The ambassador urges Philip to bless the union as it could not now be avoided, which the King does somewhat distrustfully, on condition that the duke of Norfolk be sincere in his religious professions. The King's tone was doubtless inspired by Alba's repeatedly expressed opinion that De Spes was being tricked and betrayed. Early in September the Queen vetoed the project of Norfolk's marriage with Mary, but the ambassador tells his master that the Duke will not desist from his enterprise on this account. He says (17th December 1569):—" A stronger guard has been placed around the " queen of Scotland, although I understand that she " will nevertheless soon find herself at liberty, and this

" country itself greatly disturbed. All the north is ready " and only awaits the release of the queen of Scotland, " and the latter is anxious to give your Majesty a full " account of everything, as events are now coming to " a head; but I await until I see the affair commenced " before writing at length. Your Majesty can then decide " what will be best for your service. Perhaps God is " now opening a wide door which shall lead to the great " good of Christendom." On the 27th September 1569 the ambassador advised the King that Norfolk had raised his standard, and says that he has refrained from throwing any doubt of his Majesty's favour being extended to the Duke's party. " They were about to dispatch some " one to inform the duke of Alba fully, and the " queen of Scotland intends to do the same," and in his next letter, dated the 30th, ignominious collapse of Norfolk is foreshadowed. "I do not know," he says, " what will happen, but I understand, considering the " number of the Duke's friends in England, he cannot " be ruined except by pusilanimity, and the queen of " Scotland has sent to urge him to behave valiantly " and not to fear for his life, which God would protect. " She and the Duke wished to send a person to the " duke of Alba, but it was not possible, as the " ports were closed." A week afterwards Norfolk had surrendered and was a prisoner, and Northumberland at once entered into communication with De Spes and asked for a few harquebussiers, "after they have released the queen of Scots." They will, he says, restore the Catholic religion in England, and will be ruled in all things by the king of Spain. Northumberland and Westmoreland were in arms in the north, when news came that Chapin Vitelli, the successful soldier and a large company were coming across on their peaceful mission about the restitution. This was considered suspicious, as Cecil's spies had told him that Chapin had a half hundred experienced officers with him. He was, therefore, detained on the road, and forced to proceed to the Court alone, leaving all his company at Dover well watched. It was not surprising, under the

circumstances, that he was politely got rid of as soon as possible without effecting anything. Emissaries were sent by the rebel lords and the queen of Scots to Alba, recommended by De Spes, begging for aid, and the close connection of the Spanish ambassador with the Queen's enemies is clearly seen in the correspondence; but little active help or comfort could be obtained from Philip or his Viceroy, as the latter refused to take any step without direct authority from the King, and invariably urged the need for temporising, whilst the former was too far away and too slow in his decision for his help to arrive in time. How inadequate was Philip's timid wavering policy to the circumstances is seen in every letter of his to the duke of Alba. It has already been pointed out how his credit had been spoiled, his exchequer emptied, and his subjects ruined. His ambassador has been imprisoned and his special envoys contemptuously dismissed, and yet, after a year of hesitancy, when the Catholic party in England was really at last in arms, and only wanting prompt aid probably to be successful, the King writes to Alba (16 December 1569), as follows:—

"English affairs are going in a way that will make it "necessary, after all, to bring that Queen to do, by force, "what she refuses to reason. Her duty is so clear that "no doubt God causes her to ignore it, in order that by "these means, His holy religion may be restored in that "country, and the Catholics and good Christians thus be "rescued from the oppression in which they live. In "case her obstinacy and hardness of heart continue, "therefore, you will take into your consideration the best "direction to be given to this. We think here that the "best course will be to encourage with money and secret "favour the Catholics of the north, and to help those "in Ireland to take up arms against the heretics and "deliver the crown to the queen of Scotland, to whom it "belongs by succession. This course, it is presumed, "would be agreeable to the Pope and all Christendom, "and would encounter no opposition from any one. This "is only mentioned now in order that you may know what "is passing in our minds here, and that, with your great

" prudence and a full consideration of the state of affairs " in general, you may ponder what is best to be done." Events marched too quickly for pondering, and the northern rebellion was stamped out by the promptness and vigour of Elizabeth's government whilst Philip was ruminating. The complete collapse of the formidable and dangerous insurrection in the north was another triumph for the Protestant party in Europe, and a closer union was at once effected between the Queen and the German princes. Hans Casimir, Count Volrad, and other mercenary leaders, were busy raising troops, subsidised by England and the Huguenots, for the purpose of again entering France and avenging Condé's rout. In the meanwhile, Sussex and Hunsdon did not let the grass grow under their feet, but harried both sides of the Scotch border to stamp out the last embers of rebellion and strike terror into the Catholic fugitives. Murray, on his side, was ready enough to help, for he was smiting his own enemies whilst he attacked those of the queen of England, and the Scotch Catholics were as dismayed as were the English, utterly despairing now that Dacre had fled. Murray was murdered on the 23rd January 1570, but this was not the heavy blow to the English party that it would have been a year before, for the queen of Scots was in Elizabeth's hands, Chatelherault was in prison, and the Catholic party in Scotland ruined, and divided in their objects, so that the disappearance of the Regent was but a momentary check to Elizabeth's policy. The German armaments went on, the privateers in the Channel grew ever bolder and more numerous, and Chatillon was still a welcome guest at the English Court; Philip saw his commerce swept from the seas and his power derided, but still did nothing but enjoin secrecy, accumulate information, weigh, ponder, and consider, until the opportunity for action went by. Hardly a letter is written by De Spes that does not contain some suggestion for striking at the enemy. The queen of Scots might be captured by a *coup de main* and carried to Spain, as she herself suggested. The bishop of Ross assures him that a few Spanish troops sent to Scotland might easily

overturn the new Regent. A small force sent to the Irish rebels would enable them to expel the "heretics" and "it "looks as if the enterprise might be effected in both "islands at the same time, as in Ireland most of the nation "will rise as soon as they see your Majesty's standard "borne by ships on their coast, and no resistance would be "made excepting in Dublin and some other fortresses" (12th June 1570). To all this, Philip had but one invariable reply, when he replied at all, namely, that his envoy must scrupulously follow the orders sent to him by the Duke of Alba, who refused to act without special orders, and whose letters show the deepest distrust of both the French and English, Catholics and Protestants alike. The long distance between the King and his Viceroy, the tedious discussion and consultation on points of procedure, and the cumbrous methods by which alone Philip arrived at a resolution, made all prompt action impossible. At one time, it looked as if real help would be given to Stukeley to invade Ireland. He was effusively welcomed and splendidly entertained at Madrid, and De Spes shows his satisfaction in his letters; but the King, after long study, thought he was not strong enough for the task, and sent him off to obtain what comfort he might from the Pope, whose help, such as it was, enabled him to get no nearer to Ireland than Portugal with "two leaky old ships."

The English Catholics had been for some time begging Philip, through De Spes, to obtain from the Pope a bull of excommunication against the Queen. No reply was sent, but when the Pope was induced by others to promulgate the bull, and its appearance was announced by De Spes (page 251), in the evident belief that it had been procured by Philip, the latter was extremely angry and blamed the Pope roundly for his action, at which he was alarmed and distrustful. Philip's reticence and slowness in avenging himself appear even at times to have excited the alarm of Elizabeth and her friends, who were surprised at their own immunity. If Guaras is to be believed (28th July 1570), a perfect panic seized upon them when they learned of the powerful fleet being fitted out by Alba to conduct Philip's

fourth wife to Spain. To add to their fright, a peace had been patched up in France, affairs were once more disturbed in Scotland, and the Catholic party in England was again raising its head, thanks mainly to the activity of the bishop of Ross. But Elizabeth promptly procured money, fitted out a strong fleet, and stood on the defensive until the Spanish flotilla had passed harmlessly by.

De Spes' active participation in what is called the Ridolfi plot is fully proved in the letters in the present volume, as well as the connivance of the duke of Norfolk. In his letter to the King (2nd September 1570, page 274) the beginning of the conspiracy is set forth, and the communications on the subject are continued in many subsequent letters, although the matter for a time was cooled in consequence of the information wrung by torture form the kidnapped Dr. Storey us to the duke of Alba's intentions. So far as may be seen, Dr. Storey had not really very much to tell beyond the fact that the Duke had received agents from the Queen of Scots and the Catholic lords, to both of whom he had sent sums of money and messages of sympathy. His intentions, however, were bad enough, and the information Cecil obtained put him on the alert. On the 25th March 1571 the vigilance had somewhat relaxed, the bishop of Ross and Norfolk were again at liberty, and Ridolfi was dispatched on his mission. Guerau de Spes thus writes to the King on the subject (page 300): "The "Queen of Scotland and the Duke of Norfolk, in the name "of many other lords and gentlemen who are attached to "your Majesty's interests and the promotion of the "Catholic religion, are sending Rodolfo Ridolfi, a Floren-"tine gentleman, to offer his services to your Majesty, and "represent to you that the time is now ripe to take a step "of great benefit to Christianity, as in detail Ridolfi will "set forth to your Majesty. The letter of credence from "the Duke (of Norfolk) is in the cipher that I have sent "to Zayas for fear it should be taken." The ambassador gave a letter of introduction for Ridolfi to the King's secretary Zayas on the same date worded as follows:— "The bearer is Roberto (?) Ridolfi whom the duke of

" Norfolk and the queen of Scotland are sending to his " Majesty. It is necessary that he should have audience of " his Majesty with the utmost secrecy, which your worship " will be able to arrange on so important a matter as this. " I beg you will favour and forward him to the best of " your ability, as he has been an agent of his Holiness " here, and is a person of great truth and virtue, and an " intimate friend of mine, besides being entrusted with a " negotiation which well merits favour." The Duke at his trial strenuously denied that he was privy to the mission of Ridolfi to Philip and Alba, as had been confessed by the bishop of Ross and Barker, and this accusation was by far the most serious which Norfolk had to meet, as it amounted to a plot for the invasion of England by a foreign power. These letters prove conclusively that the Duke was as false in this as in his religious professions, and rightly died the death of a traitor. In April the bishop of Ross' secretary was captured with cipher letters on his way from Flanders, and, although by the connivance of Thomas Cobham at Dover, the secret despatches he bore for the Bishop, the queen of Scots, the duke of Norfolk, and De Spes, were spirited away and replaced by waste paper, the poor fellow himself was put upon the rack and confessed all he had learnt from Ridolfi in Flanders. The duke of Florence also got wind of the plot from one of his agents, and at once sent the news to Elizabeth; and the capture of Norfolk's servants with the money being sent to the north, put all the threads of the intrigue into Cecil's hands. De Spes at first expressed his belief that the discovery of the plot would be of no consequence, as the blow would be struck before measures for its prevention could be adopted, but he was soon undeceived. No blow fell, but active negotiations were at once opened for the marriage of the Queen with the duke of Anjou; the Flemish and French privateers were helped and sheltered in England more than ever, and matters were settled in Scotland by the lavish expenditure of money in bribery. And then the toils began to be spun round De Spes himself. He was told he was no ambassador as he had to consult the duke of Alba upon

every point, and the Queen refused to recognize him. Henry Cobham was sent to Spain to make formal complaint of him, and Philip's treatment of Dr. Man was cited every day as a pretext for the flouting of De Spes. The long spun-out negotiations for the return of the seized property in England were once more contemptuously brought to an end, when the Spaniards had hoped that all was arranged, and the connection with the French Court became daily closer, as envoy after envoy sped backwards and forwards with conditions of marriage and alliance. In the meanwhile De Spes, helpless, mortified, and bitter, outwitted and discovered, could only rail, and urge his master to revenge. He writes (12th July 1571): "As all of Lord "Burleigh's tricks have turned out well for him hitherto "he is ready to undertake anything and has no fear of "danger. They and the French together make great fun "of our meekness. . . . . But, in any case, I will "serve him (the King) in such a way as shall prove my "goodwill and determination that he shall be acknow-"ledged everywhere for the great Prince he is, and his "interests respected by friends and enemies alike, but, as "I have said, one must dissemble here and at times be a "very Proteus. I will, however, try to bring due punish-"ment on the heads of these people for their insolence." Whilst he was assuring the King how easily England could be conquered, notwithstanding the discovery of Ridolfi's plots, he was again being hoodwinked by Hawkins and Fitzwilliams (a cousin of the duchess of Feria) who, he was firmly persuaded, were willing to help Philip to invade England with a powerful fleet of English ships. Philip himself was never very sanguine of Hawkins' sincerity in the matter, but the plan succeeded to the extent of Hawkins' desire, namely, the release of the English prisoners of the Inquisition in Seville, and the restoration of certain property of his own withheld by the same tribunal. Meanwhile, Cecil was carefully informed of every particular, and was piling up such evidence of De Spes' intrigues against the Crown as would enable him, in due time, amply to avenge Philip's treatment of Dr. Man. At

last the blow fell in December 1571; Norfolk was in the Tower, all his friends prisoners or fugitives, and the whole conspiracy laid bare. The terms of the French alliance had been settled with De Foix and La Mothe Fénélon, and Elizabeth thought it would be a good object lesson to her new friends and would show her power if she took this opportunity of summarily expelling De Spes and the Flemish envoys who were negotiating about the seizures. She told Cavalcanti (21st December 1571, page 359) that, "the King of Spain thought he had it in his power to "separate her from the alliance whenever he pleased, but "however accommodating he might show himself in the "negotiations about the property seized, and however "ready to agree to terms favourable to the English, she "said she would never trust Spaniards again, seeing the "trouble they had prepared for her in Ridolfi's plots with "the Pope. . . . She said the king of France might "see how little she cared for the king of Spain by "the way she had ordered his ambassador to be gone "without delay. She would have liked Cavalcanti to "have seen him already on the road, but under some "excuse or other about money matters, he was here "for a day or two longer, though she could assure "him he should not stay in the country, and she did "not care very much whether another came or not." De Spes was peremptorily ordered to be gone on the 14th December. In vain he pleaded for delay in order that instructions might reach him, but was told that Dr. Man was not allowed to justify himself, no more should he. He owed money here, he said, and must wait for a remittance, which they said was not necessary, as they would lend him the money and deduct the amount out of the Spanish property in their hands; in any case, he must leave the country within three days. He vapoured, of course, about his master's grandeur and his privileges as an ambassador; all his protests were answered by reference to the treatment of Dr. Man, and after a week of bickering, he was hurried off to Canterbury; there to await the instructions from Alba, without which he would not leave. To make matters worse

his secretary, Borghese, who was probably a tool Cecil's was arrested on a charge of plotting to poison the latter, and De Spes himself was evidently in danger of being accused on Borghese's confession. It was a relief to all parties when at length he took his departure, after having sown the seed of more dissension than ever minister of foreign prince before. If, instead of his indiscretion, his rudeness and his bigotry, a minister of the adroitness and tolerance of Guzman had represented Philip in London during these critical years, it is highly probable that much of the hatred which culminated in the Armada would have been avoided. How little he understood the growing strength and spirit of England will be seen by the "relations" and reports which he wrote after his arrival in the Netherlands (pages 363, 367, and 386), in which, amongst other things, he proposed terms for the restitution of the property seized, calmly ignoring the fact that very much more favourable conditions had been scornfully rejected more than once by the English Government, and he still urged Philip to make himself master of England and Ireland, although, at the time the report was written, namely, in the spring of 1572, Brille was in the hands of the Gueux and half the Netherlands in open rebellion. Philip himself well knew that with the failure of Norfolk's conspiracy his chance of revenge, for the present, was gone. In November 1571 he was sending a new Viceroy (Medina-Celi) to replace Alba in the Netherlands, and there is a passage in his instructions (page 349) which proves that Philip had at one time really made up his mind to aid the Ridolfi plot and not even yet quite lost hope, depending, however, as usual, more on the chance of divine action than his own.

For months before his departure De Spes had been protesting in vain against the privateers which hovered between the Channel and Rochelle, principally under Schonvall and De Lumbres, but when matters were reaching a crisis with him he reported (21st October and 22nd November 1571) that the ships were now being concentrated at Dover under Lumay, Count de la Marque. He (De Spes) says (page 386) that he had informed the duke of Alba six months before the event

that their intention was to capture Brille, and he certainly mentions as early as 31st October 1571 a project for the taking of Sluys by the privateers. The letters now published show, first, that the capture of Brille by de la Marque was not so unpremeditated an affair or so unsupported by the English as it is usually represented, and, secondly, that the ostensible reason for Elizabeth's warning the privateer fleet away from Dover was not in order to satisfy Philip's demands, since De Spes had already left and she had just offended Philip beyond forgiveness, but to satisfy the Hamburg merchants who were complaining of their depredations. In any case, the capture of Brille and the almost simultaneous rising of the rest of Zealand aroused great enthusiasm in England. Men and money in abundance were sent undisguisedly for their support for it was as clear now to Elizabeth as it was to Philip that Spain had once more been out-manœuvred by agility and boldness and was again impotent for harm.

For more than five years after the expulsion of Guerau de Spes no Spanish ambassador resided in England. A Spanish merchant or banker named Antonio de Guaras, who had lived in London for many years and had continued to send information to Alba, was instructed to look after Spanish interests informally. He was a man who appears to have had a perfect passion for intrigue and whose ruling desire was to play the statesman. He was fond also of placing on record in the form of newsletters or rough histories the public events which he witnessed, but to judge from his acts and writings must have been both superficial and unstable. His letters were neither so full nor so frequent as those of a regular minister would have been, and are almost entirely missing for the years 1573 and 1574. They have, however, a certain simple naturalness which makes them interesting, the character of the writer showing through them with quite undiplomatic artlessness.

The Walloon noble Zweveghem and the merchant Fiesco, who had been negotiating in London for the restitution of the seizures, had been packed off at the same time as De Spes; but although it did not suit Elizabeth to disgorge what she had taken, the stoppage of the great cloth trade

between England and Flanders, and of the importation of produce from Spain was causing great distress in the country. A cloth staple had been set up at Embden and an attempt was being made to introduce cloths to the Continent through Hamburg, but the cloth weavers of the eastern counties were clamouring for the free outlet for their wares such as used to be offered by the rich markets of Antwerp and Bruges. In March, approaches were made to Guaras from Cecil for the re-opening of trade (page 376), and many hypocritical professions of amity were made on both sides. The negotiations resulting therefrom are quaintly related by Guaras in his letters, and were, after a long interval, partially successful, inasmuch as they led to a re-opening of trade and the patching up of some sort of balance of accounts in respect of the seizures by means of the appointment of a joint commission. Guaras was, of course, no match for Cecil in diplomacy, and quite believed that the desire for a settlement arose from a sincere feeling of friendship towards Spain, notwithstanding that Cecil constantly repeated to the Spaniard that he was well aware of the duke of Alba's plots to injure England, against which he said the Queen was fully armed. During the course of these negotiations Guaras gives a curious account of his first interview with the Queen (page 381).

The alliance between England and France was settled at Blois on the 19th April 1572. The Netherlands were to be partitioned and the old rivals were never to quarrel again, but together were to resist the arrogance of Spain. Navarre was to be married to the King's sister, Montmorenci was to go in great pomp to England for the ratification of the alliance, the Guises were beaten, and Elizabeth for the moment could scoff at Alba's futile plots and Philip's leaden pondering. But not for long. The Emperor, the Pope, and the Venetians sent to remonstrate with the eldest son of the Church, Charles IX., for joining rebels and heretics. Catharine de Medici, with the Biragos, the Gondis, and the Guises around her, was getting alarmed at the complete dominance of the Huguenots. So, very soon the messages sent to England got cooler and cooler, and

Charles IX. begun to cry off his bargain about the Netherlands. Things were not going well either in the Netherlands themselves. Genlis and his French Huguenots had been routed and massacred by Alba's son, Fadrique. Elizabeth, therefore, seeing that Charles IX. was not to be depended upon, again smiled upon the Spaniards, and all Englishmen serving with the rebels in the Netherlands were ostentatiously, but fruitlessly, recalled. But it did not suit Catharine de Medici to lose hold of the English alliance altogether, particularly in view of what was being plotted for Navarre's wedding feast; so she brought forward the farcical project of a marriage with her youngest son Alençon, whom she hoped yet to job into the sovereignty of a part of the Netherlands. A young lad named La Mole, one of the "*mignons*," was sent to do the vicarious love-making, and all was going prosperously when, on the 29th August 1572 (page 409), there fell like a thunderbolt upon the English Court the appalling news of St. Bartholomew. Guaras, when he gave news to the duke of Alba (30th August 1572), could find no word of reprobation for the great crime. He says, "God grant "that it may be true, and that these rebel heretics have "met with this bad end." Its consequences, however, strike him at once. "Since then there is no intelligence "of English soldiers going over to Flanders, and this last "news will give them something else to think about. . . . "As may be supposed, if this news from Paris be true, "the league between these people and the French will "come to nothing, as people are already murmuring that "they cannot trust Frenchmen." Elizabeth felt that she, too, had been betrayed. The French had tried their hardest to get her openly to break with Philip with the intention of leaving her in the lurch, and the treachery had only failed owing to her own wariness. La Mole was hastily dismissed and the French ambassador treated with conspicuous coldness. Orange was in arms in the States, and was obliged to depend mainly upon England for money now that France had deserted him. The readiness and dissimulation with which the support was sent to him will be seen by the letter of advice to Alba from

London (page 415), and by many other similar letters in the present volume; but it was necessary that whatever was done for Orange now must be done without causing an open rupture between England and Spain, so that when, after long delay, Guaras received a reply from Alba about the terms of the proposed settlement respecting trade, he was welcomed by Cecil almost effusively. He says (6th October 1572): "I at once left for the Court, which is now "away from here, and Lord Burleigh summoned me and "told me that on that very day and other previous days "the Queen had said to him she wondered why Guaras "did not come to Court with the reply to the message "given to him. He said they were surprised they had "received no reply to the offer made by the Queen and "Council to recall the Englishmen, who, they said, went "there to resist the Frenchmen who might try to set foot "in Flanders. . . . When I told him I had a letter "for the Queen he seemed greatly delighted thereat and "asked me to show it to him. When he read the super-"scripture, he said, 'Although it comes tardily and the "'Queen is unwell, I will take it to her at once, because I "'know she will be pleased to learn that you have come "'with the message.'" It is curious to observe all through this protracted negotiation that the main difficulty was the treatment to be extended to Englishmen in Spain by the Inquisition, and Cecil's claim for toleration was regarded from the first as preposterous; it was, indeed, the only point upon which, in the end, he did not have his own way.

The gaps left by the loss of Guaras' correspondence are mainly filled by a remarkable series of letters in the Cotton MSS., directed to the Flemish Viceroys. I identify them as the writing of a Portuguese spy named Antonio Fogaza, who subsequently fell into poverty and was imprisoned for debt in London in 1579, when, no doubt, his papers came into the hands of the authorities. His information respecting armaments and aid to be sent to the rebels in Flanders is extremely full, and he was for the time in closer touch with sources of intelligence than was Guaras. It was owing to this fact that his ruin was

brought about. He was the agent in London of the king of Portugal, but was secretly thwarting the Portuguese negotiations in the interests of Spain. Some letters from Alba to him were sent through Guaras, who opened them and learned for the first time that he was a valued Spanish agent and was giving important information to Alba. Fired with jealousy, Guaras denounced him to the Portuguese authorities as a traitor to them, and he was dismissed. Philip, as we have seen, was a bad paymaster, and for years Fogaza was begging the Spaniards for help and charity.

The almost open enlistment of men in England for the prince of Orange, the constant collection of funds from all classes of the people for the support of the war, and the constant fear that Elizabeth would at last be induced by the arguments and persuasions of Orange to openly espouse his cause and assume the protectorate of Holland and Zealand (*see* page 455), brought down Alba's pride, and he consented to the re-opening of trade with England early in 1573, on terms immensely favourable to Elizabeth, since her subjects again obtained a free market for their cloths, whilst she practically kept the bulk of what she had taken. This agreement alone would prove how completely Philip's cumbrous policy had failed when applied to a disjointed empire such as his. His selfish dread of responsibility and his constant aim of making catspaws of others, had alienated from him every power which could help him except the Pope and the Venetians, whose objects were not identical with his. The Emperor was held in check by the German Protestant princes, whilst the support given to the French Huguenots at Rochelle and on the sea had rendered the king of France as impotent for harm as was Philip. All the attempts of the Pope and Cardinal Lorraine to patch up the Catholic league again had failed ignominiously, and an instance of the nervous desire of the king of France to conciliate Elizabeth at this time is seen in Fogaza's letter to Alba of 17th November 1572, when the presence of Cardinal Ursino, the Pope's envoy in Paris, is almost apologised for by the French ambassador, who sought to counteract it by inviting the Queen to stand sponsor for the King's newly-born daughter.

Alba's fleet under Bossu was completely defeated by the prince of Orange in the autumn of 1573. Orange still held Holland, Zealand, and the best part of Flanders, and the Spaniards could make but little headway against him. Alba himself was more bitterly detested than ever, his troops were unpaid and mutinous, his exchequer empty, and he, old and ailing, was obliged to confess that his policy of blood and iron had utterly failed. Medina-Celi had never been allowed to assume the governorship, and when, in September 1573, Alba laid it down, he was replaced by Don Luis de Requesens, whose task it was to accomplish by suavity what Alba's severity had failed to perform. Whatever policy was adopted by the Spaniards in the Netherlands, Elizabeth had gone too far now to turn back, and it was clear that if Philip were ever allowed to rule undisturbedly over his Flemish dominions again, she would be the next object of attack. More support than before therefore was given to Orange, both on land and sea, and, as will be seen by the letters of Fogaza and Guaras in the present volume, some of Elizabeth's best officers were already employed openly on the rebel side.

In the meanwhile Guaras, in somewhat more humble fashion than De Spes, was immersing himself in intrigues on behalf of Spain, many of them, doubtless, undertaken sincerely by those who broached them to him, but others mere traps set for him by Cecil's connivance, into which he easily fell. Captains Chester, Pool, Haselby, Bingham, and other persons were for months in negotiation with him, some for the betrayal of Flushing, Caunfer, and other strong places, some for the murder of the Prince of Orange, some for the capture of the young king of Scotland, and some for the release of his mother. These advances were apparently received with cold caution by the King and Alba. Guaras' discretion was apparently not thought much more of than that of De Spes had been, and when anything of the sort had to be arranged it was considered best to do it without his help (*see* orders to Zubiar, page 469). Late in the autumn of 1575 the position of the prince of Orange

became critical. His mercenary troops were worse than useless when they were unpaid, and money was running short. Requesens' mildness had conciliated the Catholic Flemings and weakened their sympathy for the rebellion. Orange, despairing of obtaining more effective aid from Elizabeth than she had thitherto given, which had always stopped short of an open national espousal of his cause, had approached the French Huguenots. The new King, Henry III., a blinded bigot, had thrown all his weight on to the side of the Guises and the Catholics; which action had been met by the diplomatic Queen-Mother by putting her favourite son, the duke of Alençon, at the head of a moderate Protestant party, in order that she might still hold the balance. As early as July 1575 Guaras reported that Orange had offered to send his daughter to France to be married to Alençon or any other French prince, which proposal naturally was met in London by a resuscitation of the plan to marry Alençon to the queen of England. All through the summer Guaras was hinting that a joint enterprise might be undertaken in Flanders by the English and Condé in union, the object of which would be the expulsion or massacre of all Spaniards; but if ever this were intended, Elizabeth's agile policy was at once changed when she saw that the king of France and the Queen-Mother were to be parties to the arrangement. Then she took fright and smiled upon the Spaniards again. She sent off Henry Cobham to Spain in August, charged with many loving messages, and appeals for favour towards English subjects in the hands of the Inquisition, but the real object of his mission is seen (page 506) in the desire to open Philip's eyes to the intrigues of Orange with the French Court. A fleet of Spanish transports for the Netherlands also touched Dartmouth and the Isle of Wight in November, and was received with marked courtesy by Elizabeth's orders. This softened aspect towards Spain had the effect which was doubtless desired. Alençon had fled from Paris, and was now in the field with Condé with a strong force, and Catharine de Medici, who was increasingly apprehensive of Spain and the Pope since the battle of

Lepanto, saw that, if only Elizabeth could be conciliated, the Huguenot force might be used against Philip in the Netherlands, the trouble diverted from France, and her favourite son aggrandised. Elizabeth had the satisfaction, therefore, of finding herself wooed on all hands. In the beginning of the year 1576 the king of France (or Catharine de Medici) sent La Porte and La Mothe Fénélon, together with an envoy from Alençon, to beg her to marry the latter and join forces with the Huguenots to invade the Netherlands for their joint benefit. Orange sent Aldegonde, Paul Buiz, and others to urge her in the same direction; whilst Requesens, the Viceroy of the Netherlands, sent the great Catholic noble Champigny (Cardinal de Granvelle's brother) to entreat her not to join with the French to injure "her good brother the king of Spain." But Elizabeth had succeeded too well in her balancing policy for her to adopt any other, and she still dexterously held the scales. Champigny got soft words, Orange got English volunteers with a mere affectation of concealment and Alençon was coyly encouraged, when the death of Requesens on the 6th March again somewhat altered the position. The Spanish soldiery were now quite out of hand; all discipline was dead, and they pillaged and massacred Catholics and Protestants alike. Walloons and Flemings who had stood faithful even through Alba's cruelty could not stand this, and the revolt became once more national rather than purely religious. The appearance of Don Juan of Austria as Viceroy followed, and Elizabeth began to take up stronger ground. The States, north and south, were united now against a common enemy, and could dictate terms to the new Viceroy. The Spaniards were all to leave and Flemings only were to govern, and upon these humiliating terms alone was Don Juan allowed to enter Brussels. Now that the States were winning, Elizabeth did not want to be left out of account. She sent Sir John Smith to Philip to ask him to grant the terms of the Flemings and to offer her mediation, and at the same time made no secret of her intention to raise a strong national force and help them

if their demands were refused. The truth is that nothing would have suited her less than a pacification, and it was accordingly the last thing she was seeking. There was no surer way of preventing a pacification than by pressing her intervention. She had heard, and Guaras himself repeats the story more than once, that Don Juan was giving terms to the Flemings in order to invade England, marry Mary of Scotland and rule over a Catholic Britain. Philip had learnt the story too, and was more afraid of his bold brother even than Elizabeth was, as Escobedo found to his cost, but their policy in face of the danger was as opposite as usual. Philip had his brother's principal adviser secretly murdered, and crippled Don Juan by starving his resources; Elizabeth openly equipped a strong force for attack or defence, and laid a heavy hand on to Mary and the English Catholics. Guaras himself had been intriguing with all and sundry for a long time past, closely watched by Cecil, and had written in very uncomplimentary terms of the Queen and her Government. It was advisable that the Catholic party in England should again see how little she cared for the power of Spain, to which they were looking for help ; so at midnight on the 19th October 1577 Antonio de Guaras was arrested, his house occupied, and he imprisoned, at first in the house of the Sheriff of London and afterwards in the Tower, where, in constant fear of the rack, he was kept for eighteen months, broken in health, ruined in fortune, and treated with calculating contumely, to be afterwards ignominiously expelled the country penniless, that all men might see how little power to injure the Queen had her "good brother," who could not either keep his own treasure or protect his own servants. Although Don Juan had acceded to the humiliating terms dictated by the States, and was making a show of withdrawing Spanish troops, he was still regarded with deep distrust, even by his own Flemish Council of State in Brussels. The Catholic Walloons and Flemings of the south were now almost as hostile as the Protestants in the north, and Don Juan, at last, tired of the sullen obstruction which met him at every

turn, denied the necessary resources by his jealous brother, and despairing of winning over the Flemings by concessions, took the bit between his teeth, threw over the Edict of pacification, seized the citadel of Namur, and defied the States to do their worst. Philip was dismayed at such bold action, and saw that if the Flemings, united as they were now, could get any help from abroad before he could overwhelm them with Spanish and Italian troops again, his Netherlands patrimony would, indeed, be lost to him. Elizabeth had sent a Secretary of the Council, Thomas Wilkes, to Madrid in December (page 549) to urge the King to withdraw Don Juan and the Spaniards, and let the States govern themselves on the terms of the Edict. It was gall and wormwood to Philip to be obliged to brook Elizabeth's interference between himself and his rebel subjects, and he treated Wilkes in a very high and mighty fashion, on the pretence that he was not of sufficient rank for such a mission. But he could not afford to offend the Queen, who now made no secret of her intention to uphold the Flemings with all her force in their demand for liberty and toleration. So, hard on the heels of the returning English envoy, he sent Don Bernardino de Mendoza, a Spanish noble of the highest lineage, as his resident Ambassador in London. No apology for the expulsion of De Spes or the seizure of the treasure had ever been sent, Guaras was a close prisoner in the Tower, threatened daily with torture, but Philip was obliged to swallow his pride and send, almost a suppliant, to beg Elizabeth not to help his revolting subjects. The change of position between England and Spain since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign is nowhere more clearly seen than by a comparison of the instructions given to Mendoza (page 553) with the attitude of Feria and his master as displayed in the former volume of the present calendar. Mendoza's instructions are almost piteously apologetic. Don Juan and the Spainards shall be withdrawn. It is entirely a mistake about the abrogation of the Edict; the States shall have all they desire if they will only be loyal and Catholic, and Elizabeth is to be entreated not to interfere. Mendoza is

told to "endeavour to keep her in a good humour and "convinced of our friendship, banishing the distrust of us "which she now appears to entertain, and for which we "have given no good cause." The English ministers were all to be bribed, and, at any cost, English neutrality was to be secured. Mendoza passed through Paris at the end of February 1578, and found the Court in dismay. A fortnight before, Alençon had escaped again, and was now with a great force of Huguenots and Germans on the frontier of Flanders, in defiance of his brother's authority, in open treaty with the Protestant Flemings to enter the country as their champion, in rivalry with the Archduke Mathias, who had been invited by the Walloon and Catholic nobles. Don Juan also had just won the great victory of Gemblours, and was known to be plotting with the Guises, although it was thought in England, incorrectly, that he was doing so with the connivance of Philip. The new ambassador therefore, found Elizabeth in perplexity between two fires. On the one hand D'Havrey, the envoy from the States, was assuring her that unless she made up her mind at once to send over her army under Leicester or his brother, they would be obliged to hand themselves over to Alençon and his Frenchmen, which, at any cost, she was determined to prevent; whilst, on the other hand, she was informed from all quarters, that the kings of France and Spain, the Pope, Don Juan, and the Guises were now united and determined to crush her for once and for all. Her diplomacy at this juncture was as masterly as usual. At her first interviews with Mendoza (page 564) she flattered him personally, although she said she knew he had been sent to injure her. She pressed her mediation on behalf of the States and urged that the terms of the Edict should be confirmed to them. If this were done and they were not contented she would send her army to support Philip against them, whereas if it were refused she should be obliged to help them, and, moreover, was determined that the French should not get a footing in the country. Mendoza was a man of vast ability, suave and courtly, and soon managed to get on good terms with the Queen, since, in face of the new

position she had taken up, it was obviously to his master's interest that she should be conciliated.

An interesting account is given by Mendoza of Frobisher's voyages in his letters to the King, who was evidently deeply interested in them, and several references are made to the progress of Drake's plundering expedition to the Pacific of which reports, incredible as they seemed at the time, were then reaching Europe. The protracted negotiations for the release of Antonio de Guaras and the tempestuous efforts to the same end made by his wealthy brother Gombal de Guaras, are related at length, although the release of the prisoner was not effected until May 1579. During his various negotiations for the neutrality of England in the States for the protection of the Spanish Colonial trade and the release of Antonio de Guaras, Mendoza's suavity towards the Queen rarely deserted him. He made frequent reports as to the project of buying over the Queen's ministers, although, as usual, Philip was more ready to demand impossible pledges than to pay for them. There is no doubt, however, that eventually Burleigh and Sussex received presents to the value of 3,000 crowns each, Sir James Crofts 2,000 crowns in money, and Leicester some handsome jewels and horses (Mendoza to the King, 3rd May 1579). Dexterously as the Queen managed to hold out hopes that under certain circumstances her troops might be sent to the support of the Spaniards in Flanders, large bodies of men under experienced officers were allowed to slip over, with more or less secrecy, to help Orange and obviate the necessity for his appealing to French aid, whilst money and supplies were sent in a never ceasing stream, notwithstanding Mendoza's expostulations. The Queen at the same time was on the worst possible terms with Catharine de Medici, to whom she attributed the renewed Catholic activity in Scotland and the design to checkmate her in the States by means of Alençon. So alarmed was Elizabeth at the apparent danger from this quarter, that Catharine's envoy Gondi was dismissed insultingly and refused permission to go to Scotland, and at last it seemed as if Elizabeth's hand was

to be forced. She sent Walsingham and Cobham to Orange to warn him against the French connection, and to Don Juan to say that if the French entered the country she would "send over twenty thousand men to help the Spaniards, "and if these were not enough for the purpose she would "send over every man left in her country and avail herself "of the forces of all her friends and allies" (21st May 1578). To all remonstrances against the going over of English volunteers she had but one reply, namely, that they went to prevent the country falling into the hands of the French, and were in Philip's interest rather than against him. Orange told the Queen that he would fight to the end against the Spaniards and must seek aid where he could get it. If she would not support him effectually he must, and would, appeal to the French. Orange was invariable in his object and inflexible in his method. This was the only attitude against which Elizabeth's agile feminine policy was ineffectual, and English help had to be sent more boldly than ever, always, as Elizabeth was careful to assure Mendoza, in order to prevent the dominions of her good brother from being overrun by the French. The position was not one that could endure very long. In September 1578, a few weeks only before the death of Don Juan, French envoys were sent both from the King and from Alençon, with offers of marriage from the latter to the Queen, confirmed by his brother, in order that joint action in the Netherlands might be undertaken for their united interests. It is doubtful whether the Queen would have given the ready ear she did to this, except for her knowledge that Philip, under cover of the Pope, was subsidising a Catholic invasion of Ireland under Fitzmaurice, but in any case, she did listen to it willingly and for many months Mendoza sent his master constant accounts of the progress of the courtship. Philip himself was never deceived by it. "It "is all pastime," he said, "she is not in earnest about it, "and will never take a husband." Under cover of it however, Alençon entered the States, and Elizabeth's countenance immediately changed towards his agents in

England. "Before she would proceed with the marriage treaty he must retire," she said, and in the face of the cold welcome he got from the Flemings themselves he was constrained to do so in December 1578. And then the marriage negotiations began in earnest. Mendoza's letters tell the story of Simier's mission to and captivation of the Queen, and of Alençon's stolen visit to her, but not so fully as the Hatfield Papers published by the Historical MSS. Commission, although Leicester's advocacy of the marriage when he thought it was feigned, and his bitter resentment when he found the Queen was at last in earnest, are fully set forth in the present volume, and we catch a glimpse of Simier's ample revenge upon him by divulging his marriage with the countess of Essex. In the last letters in the present volume another element of intrigue is brought upon the scene, which served to bring closer together the interests of Elizabeth and Catharine de Medici, namely, the succession to the Portuguese crown, claimed by Philip, to the manifest prejudice of the other maritime powers, and this, with the raising of a great fleet by Philip in the autumn of 1579, considerably modified Elizabeth's attitude towards the Spaniards. The long threatened invasion and rising in Ireland took place in August of that year, and the Queen told Mendoza that she could not believe his master would help rebels or wished to make war upon her, and hinted her uneasiness about Philip's fleet. Mendoza saw she was alarmed and gave her but cold comfort, saying, that if his master went to war with her it would not be with insignificant forces such as these (page 686). At the end of December these fears on the part of the Queen had become acute, and Mendoza says (27th December 1579) that as he did nothing to allay them, but had avoided her, she sent for him. After, in her usual fashion, overwhelming him with blandishments, she told him the sinister news she was receiving from all parts. He tells the King, however, that he left her more alarmed than ever, although he hints that the armed preparations she was making were as much to guard against her own people's discontent at her unpopular marriage as against

his master's fleet. At the end of 1579 the more hopeful prospects of the Catholics are reflected in Mendoza's letters. The prince of Parma was more than holding his own in the Netherlands and he had managed to separate the Catholic Walloons and Flemings of the south from Orange and the Hollanders. D'Aubigny had already taken Scotch politics in his grasp, and his coming predominance was foreseen; Ireland was in ebullition, but, above all, the seminary priests were flooding England and, as Mendoza says, increasing the number of Catholics every day. The English people was anticipating with loathing the marriage of the Queen with a Frenchman of less than half her age, and Mendoza's glee was undisguised at the trouble in store.

There only remains to add that the letters in the present volume are drawn from similar sources to those in the last, and that, as they were practically all originally written in cipher, no distinction has been made in the type to indicate the fact.

MARTIN A. S. HUME.

" from taking any decision or answering her autograph " letter, of which I enclose a copy, until you tell me what " you think of her business, and in what way, and to what " extent, I should assist her. I therefore beg and enjoin " you to write to me on this by the first opportunity, and " to encourage the Queen from there" (*i.e.*, the Netherlands) "as best you can, to persevere firmly in her good " purpose," (namely, to remain a firm Catholic) "as it is " clear that whilst she does so God will not abandon her." Guerau de Spes arrived in Paris in July 1568 after suffering much insult and maltreatment on his way through the south of France, of which he complained to the Queen-Mother, who told him that the King was not obeyed in that part of the country. He does not mention that he saw Cardinal Lorraine privately, but merely says that he and Cardinals Guise and Bourbon, with the dukes of Nemours and Guise, were present at the audience, and " recommended the affairs of the queen of Scotland to me." The bishop of Glasgow, Mary's minister in France, was ill, but, says De Spes, "he sent two gentlemen to recommend " his mistress' affairs to my care. She appears to found all " her hopes on your Majesty's favour, and I have told him " that I have orders on my arrival to do what I can for her." However strong may have been De Spes' sympathy for the queen of Scots, it is clear from these general expressions that he was charged with no deep plot in her favour by his master, as has been assumed on the strength of the information sent to England by Norris and others. The account he sends of his interview with the duke of Alba bears out this view, as it principally refers to the commercial grievances existing between England and the Netherlands, still left unsettled by the provisional agreement of Bruges. In this letter, however, written before he arrived in England, he shows how different are his methods from those of Guzman de Silva, who invariably palliated and minimised points of difference. " Antonio " de Guaras," he says, " has sent me two slanderous papers " printed in England, which the heretics of that country " have made up to entertain their gang, and to endeavour

" to diminish the favour your Majesty extends to the " Catholics, and the justice and equity which you maintain " in your States. If your Majesty wishes, they can be " copied and sent to you in Spanish. I shall be glad to " be directed as to whether I should speak to the Queen " about these insults." Needless to say that on his arrival in England the queen of Scotland's friends approached him, and thenceforward a constant correspondence was carried on between him and Mary through them, most of which correspondence was, of course, well known to the English Court through their spies. On the 30th October 1568 (page 81) when he had only been in London about seven weeks, writing to the King *à propos* of the meeting of the Commission in York to settle Scotch affairs, he says, " I am of opinion that this would be a good opportunity " of handling successfully Scotch affairs, and *restoring* " *this country to the Catholic religion, and if the Duke were* " *out of his present anxiety and your Majesty wished, it could* " *be discussed.*"

On the 6th November he wrote :—" It appears as if the " time was approaching when this country may be made " to return to the Catholic Church, the Queen being in " such straits and short of money. I have already " informed your Majesty of the offer made by Viscount " Montague's brother-in-law on condition that they may " hope for protection from your Majesty." These are the first suggestions of a design to overthrow Elizabeth, and, as will be noted, they do not come from Philip, but are only tentatively made to him by his ambassador. In a letter dated 12th December 1568 (page 85) he assures the King that " whenever Flemish matters are calm, and your " Majesty and the French king choose to stop English " commerce, without even drawing the sword, they (the " English) will be obliged to adopt the Catholic religion ;" and he enclosed for the King's approval a draft of a long address of exhortation which he proposed to deliver to the Queen, thinking thereby to convert her to Catholicism (page 85). Philip, who knew well the tremendous forces arrayed against him, may well have smiled at the simplicity

of his envoy in supposing that a turgid speech from a hot-headed bigot could revolutionise the consummate statecraft of Elizabeth and Cecil. With such an ambassador as this, it was naturally not long before matters between England and Spain reached an acute stage. Cardinal Chatillon was at Elizabeth's Court arousing sympathy and obtaining aid for the Huguenots in France; the Flemish refugees were spreading abroad a feeling of indignation against Alba's atrocities in the Netherlands, and money was being sent daily across to help their brethren against their oppressors; privateers, and pirates who called themselves such, were already swarming in the Channel, and few vessels bearing the flag of Spain escaped their depredations. Early in December, Cecil wrote to De Spes (Foreign Calendar) complaining of practices of his which had been discovered, and the envoy retaliated by almost daily complaints, couched often in very intemperate language, of the piracies in the Channel. Norris and others, as usual, were reporting unceasingly the terrible things which were to be done in England as soon as the Netherlands were quieted and the Huguenots suppressed. The Queen told De Spes himself (18th December 1568, page 89) that "she knew that, after the king (of France) "had pacified his country, he would turn upon her for the "sake of religion, as she was assured by persons in her "favour who were members of his Council." Similar ideas had been current in Guzman de Silva's time, but he wisely and adroitly laughed them aside. Guerau de Spes, on the contrary, fanned the flame by his manifest plotting with the Catholic party; and at the interview referred to above, told the Queen that whilst she allowed the Huguenot privateers to enter her ports, it would be very difficult for her to preserve her friendship with the States of Flanders. In view of the fears thus engendered and encouraged by the indiscretion of the envoy, it is not to be wondered at that when chance threw into the way of the Queen a means of crippling her enemy and averting the threatened danger, she should have adopted it, even at the expense of honesty and international rights. She herself was hardly

pressed for money to fit out a fleet to help the Huguenots and defend her coast, and had not only borrowed to the full extent of her credit, but, says De Spes (page 83), had pledged some of her jewels to raise the required sum.

Late in November 1568 several vessels carrying a large amount of treasure from Spain to Flanders were chased by pirates in the Channel, and for safety put into the ports of Southampton, Plymouth, and Falmouth respectively. The money, on its arrival in the Netherlands, was to be advanced to the king of Spain by its owners, certain Genoese bankers, for the purpose of paying Alba's troops and enabling him to continue his operations for the suppression of the Protestants. Two of the cutters, shrewdly suspecting that they were in as much danger from the English on shore as from the pirates themselves, boldly left port the day after they had taken refuge there and ran the blockade of pirates, arriving duly at Antwerp. The rest, consisting of a large vessel with 31,000*l.* in Southampton and three or four cutters in the western ports, continued to be assailed or threatened by the privateers, even whilst in harbour, and, ostensibly for the protection of the treasure from their depredations, it was landed and placed in safety by the shore authorities. The transaction is related diversely by the two parties interested, and both sides of the question are set forth in the present volume; but there seems to be no doubt that Spinola, the great Florentine banker in London, who was charged with the forwarding of the money in case it came to England, informed the Queen that it was being conveyed to its destination at the risk of the lenders, and could not be rightly called the property of the king of Spain until its arrival in the Netherlands. Prior to this information being given the Queen had signed (12th December) passports and safe-conducts for the money to be sent overland to Dover, or under convoy by sea from the ports, but on learning the state of affairs from Spinola, orders were given for the landing of the money, which was done on the 21st. There is no doubt that it had been determined at this time to retain the money if, on examination, Spinola's statement

were confirmed, as on the 24th Horsey, the Governor of the Isle of Wight, writes to Cecil (Foreign Calendar), giving him an account of his examination of the specie from the ship in Southampton which had satisfied him that it was still the property of the bankers, and asks whether he shall send the treasure up to London at once. It was a mere technical excuse for taking the money, of course, as it was undisputed that it was destined as a loan for the king of Spain; but it enabled Elizabeth to make the seizure without openly committing an act of war. De Spes was violent and headstrong as usual, and immediately wrote to the duke of Alba urging him forcibly to seize all British subjects and their property in the Netherlands, and to recommend Philip to do the same in Spain. The seizure was made in the Netherlands on the 29th, as soon as De Spes' letter reached the Duke, but on various pretexts, no definite refusal had yet been given to De Spes by the English Government to restore the money. On the 29th Elizabeth told him that she might as well borrow it as his King, as she was quite as responsible and able to repay it, principal and interest. De Spes' precipitancy had put him again in the wrong in urging Alba to make his seizures before the intention of the Queen to keep the money had been officially declared. Even on the 29th she left the question ostensibly open, although her intention was clear, but when news arrived of the seizure of all English property by Alba she at once made this an excuse, not only for retaining the money she had landed, but for seizing all Spanish property in England as well, the amount of which was great in excess of the value of Alba's seizures; and a great show of indignation was made at the illegality of Alba's action. It will thus be seen that Elizabeth had put herself technically in the right, however wrong she might be morally. The principal effect of her action was to make her for the time rich, whilst Philip's sorely shrunken exchequer was the more depleted and his power for evil greatly diminished. Philip and Alba, as will be seen in the letters in the present volume, were well nigh in despair. The Gueux

crushed on land, were swarming on the sea, and made maritime communication between Spain and northern Europe almost impossible. Trade was paralysed and credit dead. The moral effect of Philip's poverty and powerlessness was very marked. Alba's task in the Netherlands became more and more difficult, as the bankers became increasingly chary of lending money to a King who could not even retain his own treasure or punish those who plundered him, and the unfortunate, sorely-beset and over-weighted King could only hand the whole question over to Alba with the arbitrament of peace or war. In a letter to the Duke (18th February 1579) he says that De Spes informs him that the opportunity is now ripe for deposing the Queen and placing the queen of Scots on the throne of a Catholic England, and leaves Alba to undertake the business without further consulting him if he thought proper. But Alba had a very poor opinion of De Spes and his recommendations, and was in closer touch with the difficulties than was Philip, immersed in his papers at the Escorial, and wrote to the King on the 10th March as follows:—"I do not know whether an open rupture with "England at the present time will be advantageous, con- "sidering the state of the Treasury, and these States being "so exhausted with the war and late disturbances, and so "bereft of ships and many other things necessary for a "fresh war, whilst it would certainly be a grave loss of "dignity to again return to the old negotiations. All "things considered, I think it would be best to adopt a "gentle course, writing to the Queen that, seeing the close "friendship and alliance that have so long existed between "the countries, particularly between her father and the "Emperor, and your brotherly affection for her, even "though she should desire to quarrel, you will not consent "to do so, and that it shall never be said that the knot "that binds you together has been loosened. She should "be asked to say in what way she considers herself "aggrieved, and your Majesty will be ready to give her "every satisfaction in consideration of your tender love "for her, and will not pursue the same course as with any

" other prince under similar circumstances. I thought " well to set this forth to your Majesty in case she should " send anyone to you before the definite opinion is for- " warded to you from here, and you can thus go on tempo- " rising, and, afterwards, adopt the course you think best. " There will be means for fully satisfying your Majesty " by-and-by if you desire it." This was the tone of Alba's recommendations to the King during the whole of his stay in the Netherlands, and Philip never wanted much persuasion for him to adopt a temporising policy. Necessary as such a policy may have been, it was a clear evidence of weakness to the English, who took higher ground than ever. De Spes, in impotent fury, wrote a foolish flighty letter (page 105) to one of the Spanish officials in the Netherlands. The letter was of course intercepted, and the ambassador was placed under arrest for his insolence. He stormed and appealed in vain. Philip and Alba answered him in the same way as the bishop of Aquila had been answered under similar circumstances eight years before. He must make the best of it and endure everything patiently for the King's service. Alba's first step was to send over the pedantic and wordy Flemish councillor D'Assonleville, but the Queen refused even to give him audience and would not recognise the duke of Alba in any way. D'Assonleville himself even was surrounded with restrictions and had to return empty handed to the Duke. Thenceforward for years the same policy was pursued. Envoy after envoy was sent from the Netherlands to England to negotiate for the restoration of the property seized. Cajolery, bribery, and appeals to honour were tried in vain; the owners of the property and the bankers interested did their best to get private restitution on any terms, but Elizabeth and her ministers knew well that they held the strong position and refused to agree, except on conditions which it was impossible for Philip to accept, as they included the settlement of long outstanding claims made by the English on account of confiscations by the Inquisition in Spain, and the past and future treatment of British subjects there in relation to religion. In the meanwhile the property dwindled and

was jobbed away, and in the end but little of it ever reached its legitimate owners. For many months De Spes was chafing under the galling restrictions which had been placed upon him, all his letters read and his every action followed. His indiscreet reference to the Queen in the letter already referred to had alarmed and annoyed even the earl of Arundel, favourable though he always had been to the Spanish domination of England, and ever ready to plot for t e overthrow of the existing order of things. He wrote to De Spes (16th January 1569, Foreign Calendar) saying that he blamed him quite as much as did any other of the councillors for his expressions about the Queen, and "wished that a wise and well-meaning man were here for the good of both sovereigns." Arundel's annoyance can be easily explained by the fact that he, with the duke of Norfolk, Lumley, Westmoreland, Throgmorton and others, with the treacherous connivance of Leicester, had adopted this question of the seizure of Philip's money as a lever by which to overthrow Cecil, and anything which prejudged the question, or put Spain in the wrong, was likely to frustrate their designs. In March 1569 De Spes was still under arrest, but with less strictness than at first, and writes to the King urging him "to punish these people "in a way which shall make them realise their offence. "It is," he says, "disgusting to hear Cecil talk about his "Queen being a monarch, and that no other Christian "prince is a monarch but she. I have heard that they are "going to publish a decree ordering every person to take "an oath to this effect, which will mean a butchery of "Catholics if God in His mercy do not prevent it." This was evidently to inflame Philip's mind and induce him to show sympathy with the cabal that was plotting the ruin of Cecil. Later in the same letter, De Spes says that Norfolk and Arundel have been in close communication with him through a trustworthy person, and acknowledged the offence committed by the Queen and Council, "but that hitherto "everything has been over-ridden by Cecil, and they have "not dared to resist him or even to point out to the Queen "his bad government, until they felt their way with other

" nobles and with the people. They have now done this " and have many sure pledges." They promised that all Spanish property should be restored, the Catholic religion established, and much else besides, which it was obvious could not be done except by the deposition of the Queen. " They only ask that your Majesty should stand firm in the " stoppage of trade, as well as the king of France, so that " the English shall have no commerce with either country. " The people are already beginning to murmur, and these " gentlemen will find means to raise them and punish the " evil-doers. To add strength to the enterprise they sent " me the draft of a proclamation for me to forward to the " duke of Alba for publication. It contains a statement of " the motives which they desire the public to know, which " are similar to what I have already written about the " tyranny of some members of the government, of the " non-fulfilment of the passport given, of the favour shown " to pirates, and the support given to rebels. I have sent " it to the duke of Alba and assured him of the goodwill " of these gentlemen and their power here. They wish the " affair to be conducted very secretly for the present, for " the Queen and Cecil are suspicious even of the birds of " the air.".

The "trustworthy person" who was the medium of communication between De Spes and the conspirators was Ridolfi, the Florentine banker and papal agent in London, of whom mention will be made later on, and before very long he was pressing urgently in their name that a sum of money might be sent to them as an aid to the cost of their conspiracy. Philip had but little money to squander, and Alba instructed the ambassador to put the lords off with promises and fair words. For the next month or two the professions of loyalty and adherence to Philip on the part of Arundel, Lumley, and Norfolk became constantly more emphatic and precise until late in June, when 6,000 crowns were sent by Alba to be given to them. In the meanwhile things had gone badly with the Huguenots in France and the Guises were again paramount, so that it behoved England to feign friendship for

Spain; and accordingly De Spes was released, and pretended negotiations were opened for restitution through a wealthy banker in Antwerp named Thomas Fiesco, who came over provided with large sums of money to bribe Cecil and Leicester. Approaches were even made to De Spes, who was ordered by the King and Alba to avoid all reference to unpleasant subjects and to be "very gentle." Alba writes, 2nd July: "I again press "upon you that on no account in the world are you "to listen to any proposals about Ireland or other "parts, as I can assure you that such a course might "ruin everything and you also would run a personal "risk, for which I should feel truly sorry. You "may, however, at unsuspicious hours, listen to the "servants of the queen of Scots. I must again repeat "most emphatically that you are not on any account "to entertain approaches to you against the Queen or "her councillors, or anything touching them. On the "contrary, if people come to you with such talk you "must be so reticent that they shall never be able to say "that any minister of the King has given ear to it." Notwithstanding the constant repetition of similar instructions, De Spes never ceased to lend a ready ear to real or pretended conspirators, of which Cecil was fully informed by his spies. Ridolfi, the bishop of Ross, Stukeley, Lumley, and others were for ever begging that money should be sent from Spain to promote disaffection; but the 6,000 crowns already sent had been wasted, the conspiracy against Cecil having failed through Leicester's treachery and Cecil's vigilance. The bishop of Ross gave De Spes the story of the failure (15th June 1569):—"The "Bishop told me that the duke of Norfolk and the earl "of Arundel had always informed him of their desire to "serve your Majesty, and . . . . that their intention "was in April last to arrest Cecil, and give me complete "liberty, restoring all the property stolen and detained "belonging to your Majesty's subjects. He said that "on three occasions, when the project was about to be "carried out, the earl of Leicester softened, and said that

" he would tell the Queen. This prevented the execution " of the intention three distinct times . . . . and " these delays gave Cecil an opportunity of discovering " the plot against him." The manner in which Cecil cleverly circumvented the conspirators is then told (page 167), but undeterred by this fiasco, and by the precise instructions sent to him, the ambassador, in the same letter to the King, mentions that Lord Dacre had sent him a message proposing the marriage of the duke of Norfolk with the queen of Scots and the conversion of England to the Catholic faith, and adds :—" He (Dacre) " now says that, whenever your Majesty pleases to send an " army to this country, he and his friends will undertake " to provide 15,000 selected troops for your service." From the tone of the correspondence it is quite clear that Philip's only present desire was to stir up the Catholic party in England in order to embarrass Elizabeth and prevent her from aiding the Protestants in the Netherlands, but, in pursuance of his invariable policy, he desired to do so without in any way appearing or incurring responsibility, whilst at the same time both he and Alba feared the impetuosity and indiscretion of the envoy they employed. The letters in the present volume prove more decisively than hitherto the treasonable intentions of the duke of Norfolk in his design to marry the queen of Scots. It is probable that at first he did not realize to the full extent the objects of those with whom the project had originated; most certainly those Protestant councillors who sided with him at the beginning did not do so. Guerau de Spes, however, never deceived himself about it. On the 25th July 1569 he writes to the King :—" The bishop of Ross came to me at " three o'clock this morning to assure me of the wish of " the duke of Norfolk to serve your Majesty. He said he " was a Catholic, and has the support, even in London, " of many aldermen and rich merchants." On the 1st August, he says, " Norfolk and the other adherents " of the queen of Scotland are busy trying to get her " declared the Queen's successor, and this Queen is already

" somewhat suspicious of the Duke. There certainly will " be some turmoil about it. They all assert that if they " succeed, religion shall be restored." The ambassador duly notes that, in the face of this powerful combination of nobles against Protestantism, and indirectly against the Queen and Cecil, he is being treated with more gentleness, and that fresh advances are being made to him about a restitution. These negotiations went so far as the appointment of a more formal and dignified embassy than had previously been sent, namely, that of Chapin Vitelli, marquis of Cetona, a famous Italian general, whose mission, prepared with scrupulous care and circumspection by Philip and Alba, was as fruitless as others had been, for reasons which will be mentioned in due course. On the 27th August De Spes wrote to the King reporting a further development of the Norfolk project:—" The Council has decided, " at the instance of the duke of Norfolk and his friends, " that the queen of Scotland shall be set at liberty on " condition that she marries an Englishman, and the " signatures of all the principal people in this country " have been obtained to this effect. The matter of her " marriage also is so far advanced that the French " ambassador has been reconciled to it, and, within a " day or two, I understand that the Duke himself, or " some leading personage, will come and request me to " write to your Majesty to learn your wishes on the " subject." The ambassador urges Philip to bless the union as it could not now be avoided, which the King does somewhat distrustfully, on condition that the duke of Norfolk be sincere in his religious professions. The King's tone was doubtless inspired by Alba's repeatedly expressed opinion that De Spes was being tricked and betrayed. Early in September the Queen vetoed the project of Norfolk's marriage with Mary, but the ambassador tells his master that the Duke will not desist from his enterprise on this account. He says (17th December 1569):—" A stronger guard has been placed around the " queen of Scotland, although I understand that she " will nevertheless soon find herself at liberty, and this

" country itself greatly disturbed. All the north is ready " and only awaits the release of the queen of Scotland, " and the latter is anxious to give your Majesty a full " account of everything, as events are now coming to " a head; but I await until I see the affair commenced " before writing at length. Your Majesty can then decide " what will be best for your service. Perhaps God is " now opening a wide door which shall lead to the great " good of Christendom." On the 27th September 1569 the ambassador advised the King that Norfolk had raised his standard, and says that he has refrained from throwing any doubt of his Majesty's favour being extended to the Duke's party. " They were about to dispatch some " one to inform the duke of Alba fully, and the " queen of Scotland intends to do the same," and in his next letter, dated the 30th, ignominious collapse of Norfolk is foreshadowed. " I do not know," he says, " what will happen, but I understand, considering the " number of the Duke's friends in England, he cannot " be ruined except by pusilanimity, and the queen of " Scotland has sent to urge him to behave valiantly " and not to fear for his life, which God would protect. " She and the Duke wished to send a person to the " duke of Alba, but it was not possible, as the " ports were closed." A week afterwards Norfolk had surrendered and was a prisoner, and Northumberland at once entered into communication with De Spes and asked for a few harquebussiers, " after they have released the queen of Scots." They will, he says, restore the Catholic religion in England, and will be ruled in all things by the king of Spain. Northumberland and Westmoreland were in arms in the north, when news came that Chapin Vitelli, the successful soldier and a large company were coming across on their peaceful mission about the restitution. This was considered suspicious, as Cecil's spies had told him that Chapin had a half hundred experienced officers with him. He was, therefore, detained on the road, and forced to proceed to the Court alone, leaving all his company at Dover well watched. It was not surprising, under the

circumstances, that he was politely got rid of as soon as possible without effecting anything. Emissaries were sent by the rebel lords and the queen of Scots to Alba, recommended by De Spes, begging for aid, and the close connection of the Spanish ambassador with the Queen's enemies is clearly seen in the correspondence; but little active help or comfort could be obtained from Philip or his Viceroy, as the latter refused to take any step without direct authority from the King, and invariably urged the need for temporising, whilst the former was too far away and too slow in his decision for his help to arrive in time. How inadequate was Philip's timid wavering policy to the circumstances is seen in every letter of his to the duke of Alba. It has already been pointed out how his credit had been spoiled, his exchequer emptied, and his subjects ruined. His ambassador has been imprisoned and his special envoys contemptuously dismissed, and yet, after a year of hesitancy, when the Catholic party in England was really at last in arms, and only wanting prompt aid probably to be successful, the King writes to Alba (16 December 1569), as follows:—

"English affairs are going in a way that will make it "necessary, after all, to bring that Queen to do, by force, "what she refuses to reason. Her duty is so clear that "no doubt God causes her to ignore it, in order that by "these means, His holy religion may be restored in that "country, and the Catholics and good Christians thus be "rescued from the oppression in which they live. In "case her obstinacy and hardness of heart continue, "therefore, you will take into your consideration the best "direction to be given to this. We think here that the "best course will be to encourage with money and secret "favour the Catholics of the north, and to help those "in Ireland to take up arms against the heretics and "deliver the crown to the queen of Scotland, to whom it "belongs by succession. This course, it is presumed, "would be agreeable to the Pope and all Christendom, "and would encounter no opposition from any one. This "is only mentioned now in order that you may know what "is passing in our minds here, and that, with your great

" prudence and a full consideration of the state of affairs " in general, you may ponder what is best to be done." Events marched too quickly for pondering, and the northern rebellion was stamped out by the promptness and vigour of Elizabeth's government whilst Philip was ruminating. The complete collapse of the formidable and dangerous insurrection in the north was another triumph for the Protestant party in Europe, and a closer union was at once effected between the Queen and the German princes. Hans Casimir, Count Volrad, and other mercenary leaders, were busy raising troops, subsidised by England and the Huguenots, for the purpose of again entering France and avenging Condé's rout. In the meanwhile, Sussex and Hunsdon did not let the grass grow under their feet, but harried both sides of the Scotch border to stamp out the last embers of rebellion and strike terror into the Catholic fugitives. Murray, on his side, was ready enough to help, for he was smiting his own enemies whilst he attacked those of the queen of England, and the Scotch Catholics were as dismayed as were the English, utterly despairing now that Dacre had fled. Murray was murdered on the 23rd January 1570, but this was not the heavy blow to the English party that it would have been a year before, for the queen of Scots was in Elizabeth's hands, Chatelherault was in prison, and the Catholic party in Scotland ruined, and divided in their objects, so that the disappearance of the Regent was but a momentary check to Elizabeth's policy. The German armaments went on, the privateers in the Channel grew ever bolder and more numerous, and Chatillon was still a welcome guest at the English Court; Philip saw his commerce swept from the seas and his power derided, but still did nothing but enjoin secrecy, accumulate information, weigh, ponder, and consider, until the opportunity for action went by. Hardly a letter is written by De Spes that does not contain some suggestion for striking at the enemy. The queen of Scots might be captured by a *coup de main* and carried to Spain, as she herself suggested. The bishop of Ross assures him that a few Spanish troops sent to Scotland might easily

overturn the new Regent. A small force sent to the Irish rebels would enable them to expel the "heretics" and "it "looks as if the enterprise might be effected in both "islands at the same time, as in Ireland most of the nation "will rise as soon as they see your Majesty's standard "borne by ships on their coast, and no resistance would be "made excepting in Dublin and some other fortresses" (12th June 1570). To all this, Philip had but one invariable reply, when he replied at all, namely, that his envoy must scrupulously follow the orders sent to him by the Duke of Alba, who refused to act without special orders, and whose letters show the deepest distrust of both the French and English, Catholics and Protestants alike. The long distance between the King and his Viceroy, the tedious discussion and consultation on points of procedure, and the cumbrous methods by which alone Philip arrived at a resolution, made all prompt action impossible. At one time, it looked as if real help would be given to Stukeley to invade Ireland. He was effusively welcomed and splendidly entertained at Madrid, and De Spes shows his satisfaction in his letters; but the King, after long study, thought he was not strong enough for the task, and sent him off to obtain what comfort he might from the Pope, whose help, such as it was, enabled him to get no nearer to Ireland than Portugal with "two leaky old ships."

The English Catholics had been for some time begging Philip, through De Spes, to obtain from the Pope a bull of excommunication against the Queen. No reply was sent, but when the Pope was induced by others to promulgate the bull, and its appearance was announced by De Spes (page 251), in the evident belief that it had been procured by Philip, the latter was extremely angry and blamed the Pope roundly for his action, at which he was alarmed and distrustful. Philip's reticence and slowness in avenging himself appear even at times to have excited the alarm of Elizabeth and her friends, who were surprised at their own immunity. If Guaras is to be believed (28th July 1570), a perfect panic seized upon them when they learned of the powerful fleet being fitted out by Alba to conduct Philip's

fourth wife to Spain. To add to their fright, a peace had been patched up in France, affairs were once more disturbed in Scotland, and the Catholic party in England was again raising its head, thanks mainly to the activity of the bishop of Ross. But Elizabeth promptly procured money, fitted out a strong fleet, and stood on the defensive until the Spanish flotilla had passed harmlessly by.

De Spes' active participation in what is called the Ridolfi plot is fully proved in the letters in the present volume, as well as the connivance of the duke of Norfolk. In his letter to the King (2nd September 1570, page 274) the beginning of the conspiracy is set forth, and the communications on the subject are continued in many subsequent letters, although the matter for a time was cooled in consequence of the information wrung by torture form the kidnapped Dr. Storey us to the duke of Alba's intentions. So far as may be seen, Dr. Storey had not really very much to tell beyond the fact that the Duke had received agents from the Queen of Scots and the Catholic lords, to both of whom he had sent sums of money and messages of sympathy. His intentions, however, were bad enough, and the information Cecil obtained put him on the alert. On the 25th March 1571 the vigilance had somewhat relaxed, the bishop of Ross and Norfolk were again at liberty, and Ridolfi was dispatched on his mission. Guerau de Spes thus writes to the King on the subject (page 300): "The "Queen of Scotland and the Duke of Norfolk, in the name "of many other lords and gentlemen who are attached to "your Majesty's interests and the promotion of the "Catholic religion, are sending Rodolfo Ridolfi, a Floren-"tine gentleman, to offer his services to your Majesty, and "represent to you that the time is now ripe to take a step "of great benefit to Christianity, as in detail Ridolfi will "set forth to your Majesty. The letter of credence from "the Duke (of Norfolk) is in the cipher that I have sent "to Zayas for fear it should be taken." The ambassador gave a letter of introduction for Ridolfi to the King's secretary Zayas on the same date worded as follows:— "The bearer is Roberto (?) Ridolfi whom the duke of

" Norfolk and the queen of Scotland are sending to his " Majesty. It is necessary that he should have audience of " his Majesty with the utmost secrecy, which your worship " will be able to arrange on so important a matter as this. " I beg you will favour and forward him to the best of " your ability, as he has been an agent of his Holiness " here, and is a person of great truth and virtue, and an " intimate friend of mine, besides being entrusted with a " negotiation which well merits favour." The Duke at his trial strenuously denied that he was privy to the mission of Ridolfi to Philip and Alba, as had been confessed by the bishop of Ross and Barker, and this accusation was by far the most serious which Norfolk had to meet, as it amounted to a plot for the invasion of England by a foreign power. These letters prove conclusively that the Duke was as false in this as in his religious professions, and rightly died the death of a traitor. In April the bishop of Ross' secretary was captured with cipher letters on his way from Flanders, and, although by the connivance of Thomas Cobham at Dover, the secret despatches he bore for the Bishop, the queen of Scots, the duke of Norfolk, and De Spes, were spirited away and replaced by waste paper, the poor fellow himself was put upon the rack and confessed all he had learnt from Ridolfi in Flanders. The duke of Florence also got wind of the plot from one of his agents, and at once sent the news to Elizabeth; and the capture of Norfolk's servants with the money being sent to the north, put all the threads of the intrigue into Cecil's hands. De Spes at first expressed his belief that the discovery of the plot would be of no consequence, as the blow would be struck before measures for its prevention could be adopted, but he was soon undeceived. No blow fell, but active negotiations were at once opened for the marriage of the Queen with the duke of Anjou; the Flemish and French privateers were helped and sheltered in England more than ever, and matters were settled in Scotland by the lavish expenditure of money in bribery. And then the toils began to be spun round De Spes himself. He was told he was no ambassador as he had to consult the duke of Alba upon

every point, and the Queen refused to recognize him. Henry Cobham was sent to Spain to make formal complaint of him, and Philip's treatment of Dr. Man was cited every day as a pretext for the flouting of De Spes. The long spun-out negotiations for the return of the seized property in England were once more contemptuously brought to an end, when the Spaniards had hoped that all was arranged, and the connection with the French Court became daily closer, as envoy after envoy sped backwards and forwards with conditions of marriage and alliance. In the meanwhile De Spes, helpless, mortified, and bitter, outwitted and discovered, could only rail, and urge his master to revenge. He writes (12th July 1571): "As all of Lord "Burleigh's tricks have turned out well for him hitherto "he is ready to undertake anything and has no fear of "danger. They and the French together make great fun "of our meekness. . . . . But, in any case, I will "serve him (the King) in such a way as shall prove my "goodwill and determination that he shall be acknow-"ledged everywhere for the great Prince he is, and his "interests respected by friends and enemies alike, but, as "I have said, one must dissemble here and at times be a "very Proteus. I will, however, try to bring due punish-"ment on the heads of these people for their insolence." Whilst he was assuring the King how easily England could be conquered, notwithstanding the discovery of Ridolfi's plots, he was again being hoodwinked by Hawkins and Fitzwilliams (a cousin of the duchess of Feria) who, he was firmly persuaded, were willing to help Philip to invade England with a powerful fleet of English ships. Philip himself was never very sanguine of Hawkins' sincerity in the matter, but the plan succeeded to the extent of Hawkins' desire, namely, the release of the English prisoners of the Inquisition in Seville, and the restoration of certain property of his own withheld by the same tribunal. Meanwhile, Cecil was carefully informed of every particular, and was piling up such evidence of De Spes' intrigues against the Crown as would enable him, in due time, amply to avenge Philip's treatment of Dr. Man. At

last the blow fell in December 1571; Norfolk was in the Tower, all his friends prisoners or fugitives, and the whole conspiracy laid bare. The terms of the French alliance had been settled with De Foix and La Mothe Fénélon, and Elizabeth thought it would be a good object lesson to her new friends and would show her power if she took this opportunity of summarily expelling De Spes and the Flemish envoys who were negotiating about the seizures. She told Cavalcanti (21st December 1571, page 359) that, "the King of Spain thought he had it in his power to "separate her from the alliance whenever he pleased, but "however accommodating he might show himself in the "negotiations about the property seized, and however "ready to agree to terms favourable to the English, she "said she would never trust Spaniards again, seeing the "trouble they had prepared for her in Ridolfi's plots with "the Pope. . . . She said the king of France might "see how little she cared for the king of Spain by "the way she had ordered his ambassador to be gone "without delay. She would have liked Cavalcanti to "have seen him already on the road, but under some "excuse or other about money matters, he was here "for a day or two longer, though she could assure "him he should not stay in the country, and she did "not care very much whether another came or not." De Spes was peremptorily ordered to be gone on the 14th December. In vain he pleaded for delay in order that instructions might reach him, but was told that Dr. Man was not allowed to justify himself, no more should he. He owed money here, he said, and must wait for a remittance, which they said was not necessary, as they would lend him the money and deduct the amount out of the Spanish property in their hands; in any case, he must leave the country within three days. He vapoured, of course, about his master's grandeur and his privileges as an ambassador; all his protests were answered by reference to the treatment of Dr. Man, and after a week of bickering, he was hurried off to Canterbury; there to await the instructions from Alba, without which he would not leave. To make matters worse

his secretary, Borghese, who was probably a tool Cecil's was arrested on a charge of plotting to poison the latter, and De Spes himself was evidently in danger of being accused on Borghese's confession. It was a relief to all parties when at length he took his departure, after having sown the seed of more dissension than ever minister of foreign prince before. If, instead of his indiscretion, his rudeness and his bigotry, a minister of the adroitness and tolerance of Guzman had represented Philip in London during these critical years, it is highly probable that much of the hatred which culminated in the Armada would have been avoided. How little he understood the growing strength and spirit of England will be seen by the "relations" and reports which he wrote after his arrival in the Netherlands (pages 363, 367, and 386), in which, amongst other things, he proposed terms for the restitution of the property seized, calmly ignoring the fact that very much more favourable conditions had been scornfully rejected more than once by the English Government, and he still urged Philip to make himself master of England and Ireland, although, at the time the report was written, namely, in the spring of 1572, Brille was in the hands of the Gueux and half the Netherlands in open rebellion. Philip himself well knew that with the failure of Norfolk's conspiracy his chance of revenge, for the present, was gone. In November 1571 he was sending a new Viceroy (Medina-Celi) to replace Alba in the Netherlands, and there is a passage in his instructions (page 349) which proves that Philip had at one time really made up his mind to aid the Ridolfi plot and not even yet quite lost hope, depending, however, as usual, more on the chance of divine action than his own.

For months before his departure De Spes had been protesting in vain against the privateers which hovered between the Channel and Rochelle, principally under Schonvall and De Lumbres, but when matters were reaching a crisis with him he reported (21st October and 22nd November 1571) that the ships were now being concentrated at Dover under Lumay, Count de la Marque. He (De Spes) says (page 386) that he had informed the duke of Alba six months before the event

that their intention was to capture Brille, and he certainly mentions as early as 31st October 1571 a project for the taking of Sluys by the privateers. The letters now published show, first, that the capture of Brille by de la Marque was not so unpremeditated an affair or so unsupported by the English as it is usually represented, and, secondly, that the ostensible reason for Elizabeth's warning the privateer fleet away from Dover was not in order to satisfy Philip's demands, since De Spes had already left and she had just offended Philip beyond forgiveness, but to satisfy the Hamburg merchants who were complaining of their depredations. In any case, the capture of Brille and the almost simultaneous rising of the rest of Zealand aroused great enthusiasm in England. Men and money in abundance were sent undisguisedly for their support for it was as clear now to Elizabeth as it was to Philip that Spain had once more been out-manœuvred by agility and boldness and was again impotent for harm.

For more than five years after the expulsion of Guerau de Spes no Spanish ambassador resided in England. A Spanish merchant or banker named Antonio de Guaras, who had lived in London for many years and had continued to send information to Alba, was instructed to look after Spanish interests informally. He was a man who appears to have had a perfect passion for intrigue and whose ruling desire was to play the statesman. He was fond also of placing on record in the form of news-letters or rough histories the public events which he witnessed, but to judge from his acts and writings must have been both superficial and unstable. His letters were neither so full nor so frequent as those of a regular minister would have been, and are almost entirely missing for the years 1573 and 1574. They have, however, a certain simple naturalness which makes them interesting, the character of the writer showing through them with quite undiplomatic artlessness.

The Walloon noble Zweveghem and the merchant Fiesco, who had been negotiating in London for the restitution of the seizures, had been packed off at the same time as De Spes; but although it did not suit Elizabeth to disgorge what she had taken, the stoppage of the great cloth trade

between England and Flanders, and of the importation of produce from Spain was causing great distress in the country. A cloth staple had been set up at Embden and an attempt was being made to introduce cloths to the Continent through Hamburg, but the cloth weavers of the eastern counties were clamouring for the free outlet for their wares such as used to be offered by the rich markets of Antwerp and Bruges. In March, approaches were made to Guaras from Cecil for the re-opening of trade (page 376), and many hypocritical professions of amity were made on both sides. The negotiations resulting therefrom are quaintly related by Guaras in his letters, and were, after a long interval, partially successful, inasmuch as they led to a re-opening of trade and the patching up of some sort of balance of accounts in respect of the seizures by means of the appointment of a joint commission. Guaras was, of course, no match for Cecil in diplomacy, and quite believed that the desire for a settlement arose from a sincere feeling of friendship towards Spain, notwithstanding that Cecil constantly repeated to the Spaniard that he was well aware of the duke of Alba's plots to injure England, against which he said the Queen was fully armed. During the course of these negotiations Guaras gives a curious account of his first interview with the Queen (page 381).

The alliance between England and France was settled at Blois on the 19th April 1572. The Netherlands were to be partitioned and the old rivals were never to quarrel again, but together were to resist the arrogance of Spain. Navarre was to be married to the King's sister, Montmorenci was to go in great pomp to England for the ratification of the alliance, the Guises were beaten, and Elizabeth for the moment could scoff at Alba's futile plots and Philip's leaden pondering. But not for long. The Emperor, the Pope, and the Venetians sent to remonstrate with the eldest son of the Church, Charles IX., for joining rebels and heretics. Catharine de Medici, with the Biragos, the Gondis, and the Guises around her, was getting alarmed at the complete dominance of the Huguenots. So, very soon the messages sent to England got cooler and cooler, and

Charles IX. begun to cry off his bargain about the Netherlands. Things were not going well either in the Netherlands themselves. Genlis and his French Huguenots had been routed and massacred by Alba's son, Fadrique. Elizabeth, therefore, seeing that Charles IX. was not to be depended upon, again smiled upon the Spaniards, and all Englishmen serving with the rebels in the Netherlands were ostentatiously, but fruitlessly, recalled. But it did not suit Catharine de Medici to lose hold of the English alliance altogether, particularly in view of what was being plotted for Navarre's wedding feast; so she brought forward the farcical project of a marriage with her youngest son Alençon, whom she hoped yet to job into the sovereignty of a part of the Netherlands. A young lad named La Mole, one of the "*mignons*," was sent to do the vicarious love-making, and all was going prosperously when, on the 29th August 1572 (page 409), there fell like a thunderbolt upon the English Court the appalling news of St. Bartholomew. Guaras, when he gave news to the duke of Alba (30th August 1572), could find no word of reprobation for the great crime. He says, "God grant "that it may be true, and that these rebel heretics have "met with this bad end." Its consequences, however, strike him at once. "Since then there is no intelligence "of English soldiers going over to Flanders, and this last "news will give them something else to think about. . . . "As may be supposed, if this news from Paris be true, "the league between these people and the French will "come to nothing, as people are already murmuring that "they cannot trust Frenchmen." Elizabeth felt that she, too, had been betrayed. The French had tried their hardest to get her openly to break with Philip with the intention of leaving her in the lurch, and the treachery had only failed owing to her own wariness. La Mole was hastily dismissed and the French ambassador treated with conspicuous coldness. Orange was in arms in the States, and was obliged to depend mainly upon England for money now that France had deserted him. The readiness and dissimulation with which the support was sent to him will be seen by the letter of advice to Alba from

London (page 415), and by many other similar letters in the present volume; but it was necessary that whatever was done for Orange now must be done without causing an open rupture between England and Spain, so that when, after long delay, Guaras received a reply from Alba about the terms of the proposed settlement respecting trade, he was welcomed by Cecil almost effusively. He says (6th October 1572): "I at once left for the Court, which is now "away from here, and Lord Burleigh summoned me and "told me that on that very day and other previous days "the Queen had said to him she wondered why Guaras "did not come to Court with the reply to the message "given to him. He said they were surprised they had "received no reply to the offer made by the Queen and "Council to recall the Englishmen, who, they said, went "there to resist the Frenchmen who might try to set foot "in Flanders. . . . When I told him I had a letter "for the Queen he seemed greatly delighted thereat and "asked me to show it to him. When he read the super-"scripture, he said, 'Although it comes tardily and the "'Queen is unwell, I will take it to her at once, because I "'know she will be pleased to learn that you have come "'with the message.'" It is curious to observe all through this protracted negotiation that the main difficulty was the treatment to be extended to Englishmen in Spain by the Inquisition, and Cecil's claim for toleration was regarded from the first as preposterous; it was, indeed, the only point upon which, in the end, he did not have his own way.

The gaps left by the loss of Guaras' correspondence are mainly filled by a remarkable series of letters in the Cotton MSS., directed to the Flemish Viceroys. I identify them as the writing of a Portuguese spy named Antonio Fogaza, who subsequently fell into poverty and was imprisoned for debt in London in 1579, when, no doubt, his papers came into the hands of the authorities. His information respecting armaments and aid to be sent to the rebels in Flanders is extremely full, and he was for the time in closer touch with sources of intelligence than was Guaras. It was owing to this fact that his ruin was

brought about. He was the agent in London of the king of Portugal, but was secretly thwarting the Portuguese negotiations in the interests of Spain. Some letters from Alba to him were sent through Guaras, who opened them and learned for the first time that he was a valued Spanish agent and was giving important information to Alba. Fired with jealousy, Guaras denounced him to the Portuguese authorities as a traitor to them, and he was dismissed. Philip, as we have seen, was a bad paymaster, and for years Fogaza was begging the Spaniards for help and charity.

The almost open enlistment of men in England for the prince of Orange, the constant collection of funds from all classes of the people for the support of the war, and the constant fear that Elizabeth would at last be induced by the arguments and persuasions of Orange to openly espouse his cause and assume the protectorate of Holland and Zealand (*see* page 455), brought down Alba's pride, and he consented to the re-opening of trade with England early in 1573, on terms immensely favourable to Elizabeth, since her subjects again obtained a free market for their cloths, whilst she practically kept the bulk of what she had taken. This agreement alone would prove how completely Philip's cumbrous policy had failed when applied to a disjointed empire such as his. His selfish dread of responsibility and his constant aim of making catspaws of others, had alienated from him every power which could help him except the Pope and the Venetians, whose objects were not identical with his. The Emperor was held in check by the German Protestant princes, whilst the support given to the French Huguenots at Rochelle and on the sea had rendered the king of France as impotent for harm as was Philip. All the attempts of the Pope and Cardinal Lorraine to patch up the Catholic league again had failed ignominiously, and an instance of the nervous desire of the king of France to conciliate Elizabeth at this time is seen in Fogaza's letter to Alba of 17th November 1572, when the presence of Cardinal Ursino, the Pope's envoy in Paris, is almost apologised for by the French ambassador, who sought to counteract it by inviting the Queen to stand sponsor for the King's newly-born daughter.

Alba's fleet under Bossu was completely defeated by the prince of Orange in the autumn of 1573. Orange still held Holland, Zealand, and the best part of Flanders, and the Spaniards could make but little headway against him. Alba himself was more bitterly detested than ever, his troops were unpaid and mutinous, his exchequer empty, and he, old and ailing, was obliged to confess that his policy of blood and iron had utterly failed. Medina-Celi had never been allowed to assume the governorship, and when, in September 1573, Alba laid it down, he was replaced by Don Luis de Requesens, whose task it was to accomplish by suavity what Alba's severity had failed to perform. Whatever policy was adopted by the Spaniards in the Netherlands, Elizabeth had gone too far now to turn back, and it was clear that if Philip were ever allowed to rule undisturbedly over his Flemish dominions again, she would be the next object of attack. More support than before therefore was given to Orange, both on land and sea, and, as will be seen by the letters of Fogaza and Guaras in the present volume, some of Elizabeth's best officers were already employed openly on the rebel side.

In the meanwhile Guaras, in somewhat more humble fashion than De Spes, was immersing himself in intrigues on behalf of Spain, many of them, doubtless, undertaken sincerely by those who broached them to him, but others mere traps set for him by Cecil's connivance, into which he easily fell. Captains Chester, Pool, Haselby, Bingham, and other persons were for months in negotiation with him, some for the betrayal of Flushing, Caunfer, and other strong places, some for the murder of the Prince of Orange, some for the capture of the young king of Scotland, and some for the release of his mother. These advances were apparently received with cold caution by the King and Alba. Guaras' discretion was apparently not thought much more of than that of De Spes had been, and when anything of the sort had to be arranged it was considered best to do it without his help (*see* orders to Zubiar, page 469). Late in the autumn of 1575 the position of the prince of Orange

became critical. His mercenary troops were worse than useless when they were unpaid, and money was running short. Requesens' mildness had conciliated the Catholic Flemings and weakened their sympathy for the rebellion. Orange, despairing of obtaining more effective aid from Elizabeth than she had thitherto given, which had always stopped short of an open national espousal of his cause, had approached the French Huguenots. The new King, Henry III., a blinded bigot, had thrown all his weight on to the side of the Guises and the Catholics; which action had been met by the diplomatic Queen-Mother by putting her favourite son, the duke of Alençon, at the head of a moderate Protestant party, in order that she might still hold the balance. As early as July 1575 Guaras reported that Orange had offered to send his daughter to France to be married to Alençon or any other French prince, which proposal naturally was met in London by a resuscitation of the plan to marry Alençon to the queen of England. All through the summer Guaras was hinting that a joint enterprise might be undertaken in Flanders by the English and Condé in union, the object of which would be the expulsion or massacre of all Spaniards; but if ever this were intended, Elizabeth's agile policy was at once changed when she saw that the king of France and the Queen-Mother were to be parties to the arrangement. Then she took fright and smiled upon the Spaniards again. She sent off Henry Cobham to Spain in August, charged with many loving messages, and appeals for favour towards English subjects in the hands of the Inquisition, but the real object of his mission is seen (page 506) in the desire to open Philip's eyes to the intrigues of Orange with the French Court. A fleet of Spanish transports for the Netherlands also touched Dartmouth and the Isle of Wight in November, and was received with marked courtesy by Elizabeth's orders. This softened aspect towards Spain had the effect which was doubtless desired. Alençon had fled from Paris, and was now in the field with Condé with a strong force, and Catharine de Medici, who was increasingly apprehensive of Spain and the Pope since the battle of

Lepanto, saw that, if only Elizabeth could be conciliated, the Huguenot force might be used against Philip in the Netherlands, the trouble diverted from France, and her favourite son aggrandised. Elizabeth had the satisfaction, therefore, of finding herself wooed on all hands. In the beginning of the year 1576 the king of France (or Catharine de Medici) sent La Porte and La Mothe Fénélon, together with an envoy from Alençon, to beg her to marry the latter and join forces with the Huguenots to invade the Netherlands for their joint benefit. Orange sent Aldegonde, Paul Buiz, and others to urge her in the same direction; whilst Requesens, the Viceroy of the Netherlands, sent the great Catholic noble Champigny (Cardinal de Granvelle's brother) to entreat her not to join with the French to injure "her good brother the king of Spain." But Elizabeth had succeeded too well in her balancing policy for her to adopt any other, and she still dexterously held the scales. Champigny got soft words, Orange got English volunteers with a mere affectation of concealment and Alençon was coyly encouraged, when the death of Requesens on the 6th March again somewhat altered the position. The Spanish soldiery were now quite out of hand; all discipline was dead, and they pillaged and massacred Catholics and Protestants alike. Walloons and Flemings who had stood faithful even through Alba's cruelty could not stand this, and the revolt became once more national rather than purely religious. The appearance of Don Juan of Austria as Viceroy followed, and Elizabeth began to take up stronger ground. The States, north and south, were united now against a common enemy, and could dictate terms to the new Viceroy. The Spaniards were all to leave and Flemings only were to govern, and upon these humiliating terms alone was Don Juan allowed to enter Brussels. Now that the States were winning, Elizabeth did not want to be left out of account. She sent Sir John Smith to Philip to ask him to grant the terms of the Flemings and to offer her mediation, and at the same time made no secret of her intention to raise a strong national force and help them

if their demands were refused. The truth is that nothing would have suited her less than a pacification, and it was accordingly the last thing she was seeking. There was no surer way of preventing a pacification than by pressing her intervention. She had heard, and Guaras himself repeats the story more than once, that Don Juan was giving terms to the Flemings in order to invade England, marry Mary of Scotland and rule over a Catholic Britain. Philip had learnt the story too, and was more afraid of his bold brother even than Elizabeth was, as Escobedo found to his cost, but their policy in face of the danger was as opposite as usual. Philip had his brother's principal adviser secretly murdered, and crippled Don Juan by starving his resources; Elizabeth openly equipped a strong force for attack or defence, and laid a heavy hand on to Mary and the English Catholics. Guaras himself had been intriguing with all and sundry for a long time past, closely watched by Cecil, and had written in very uncomplimentary terms of the Queen and her Government. It was advisable that the Catholic party in England should again see how little she cared for the power of Spain, to which they were looking for help ; so at midnight on the 19th October 1577 Antonio de Guaras was arrested, his house occupied, and he imprisoned, at first in the house of the Sheriff of London and afterwards in the Tower, where, in constant fear of the rack, he was kept for eighteen months, broken in health, ruined in fortune, and treated with calculating contumely, to be afterwards ignominiously expelled the country penniless, that all men might see how little power to injure the Queen had her "good brother," who could not either keep his own treasure or protect his own servants. Although Don Juan had acceded to the humiliating terms dictated by the States, and was making a show of withdrawing Spanish troops, he was still regarded with deep distrust, even by his own Flemish Council of State in Brussels. The Catholic Walloons and Flemings of the south were now almost as hostile as the Protestants in the north, and Don Juan, at last, tired of the sullen obstruction which met him at every

turn, denied the necessary resources by his jealous brother, and despairing of winning over the Flemings by concessions, took the bit between his teeth, threw over the Edict of pacification, seized the citadel of Namur, and defied the States to do their worst. Philip was dismayed at such bold action, and saw that if the Flemings, united as they were now, could get any help from abroad before he could overwhelm them with Spanish and Italian troops again, his Netherlands patrimony would, indeed, be lost to him. Elizabeth had sent a Secretary of the Council, Thomas Wilkes, to Madrid in December (page 549) to urge the King to withdraw Don Juan and the Spaniards, and let the States govern themselves on the terms of the Edict. It was gall and wormwood to Philip to be obliged to brook Elizabeth's interference between himself and his rebel subjects, and he treated Wilkes in a very high and mighty fashion, on the pretence that he was not of sufficient rank for such a mission. But he could not afford to offend the Queen, who now made no secret of her intention to uphold the Flemings with all her force in their demand for liberty and toleration. So, hard on the heels of the returning English envoy, he sent Don Bernardino de Mendoza, a Spanish noble of the highest lineage, as his resident Ambassador in London. No apology for the expulsion of De Spes or the seizure of the treasure had ever been sent, Guaras was a close prisoner in the Tower, threatened daily with torture, but Philip was obliged to swallow his pride and send, almost a suppliant, to beg Elizabeth not to help his revolting subjects. The change of position between England and Spain since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign is nowhere more clearly seen than by a comparison of the instructions given to Mendoza (page 553) with the attitude of Feria and his master as displayed in the former volume of the present calendar. Mendoza's instructions are almost piteously apologetic. Don Juan and the Spaniards shall be withdrawn. It is entirely a mistake about the abrogation of the Edict; the States shall have all they desire if they will only be loyal and Catholic, and Elizabeth is to be entreated not to interfere. Mendoza is

told to "endeavour to keep her in a good humour and "convinced of our friendship, banishing the distrust of us "which she now appears to entertain, and for which we "have given no good cause." The English ministers were all to be bribed, and, at any cost, English neutrality was to be secured. Mendoza passed through Paris at the end of February 1578, and found the Court in dismay. A fortnight before, Alençon had escaped again, and was now with a great force of Huguenots and Germans on the frontier of Flanders, in defiance of his brother's authority, in open treaty with the Protestant Flemings to enter the country as their champion, in rivalry with the Archduke Mathias, who had been invited by the Walloon and Catholic nobles. Don Juan also had just won the great victory of Gemblours, and was known to be plotting with the Guises, although it was thought in England, incorrectly, that he was doing so with the connivance of Philip. The new ambassador therefore, found Elizabeth in perplexity between two fires. On the one hand D'Havrey, the envoy from the States, was assuring her that unless she made up her mind at once to send over her army under Leicester or his brother, they would be obliged to hand themselves over to Alençon and his Frenchmen, which, at any cost, she was determined to prevent; whilst, on the other hand, she was informed from all quarters, that the kings of France and Spain, the Pope, Don Juan, and the Guises were now united and determined to crush her for once and for all. Her diplomacy at this juncture was as masterly as usual. At her first interviews with Mendoza (page 564) she flattered him personally, although she said she knew he had been sent to injure her. She pressed her mediation on behalf of the States and urged that the terms of the Edict should be confirmed to them. If this were done and they were not contented she would send her army to support Philip against them, whereas if it were refused she should be obliged to help them, and, moreover, was determined that the French should not get a footing in the country. Mendoza was a man of vast ability, suave and courtly, and soon managed to get on good terms with the Queen, since, in face of the new

position she had taken up, it was obviously to his master's interest that she should be conciliated.

An interesting account is given by Mendoza of Frobisher's voyages in his letters to the King, who was evidently deeply interested in them, and several references are made to the progress of Drake's plundering expedition to the Pacific of which reports, incredible as they seemed at the time, were then reaching Europe. The protracted negotiations for the release of Antonio de Guaras and the tempestuous efforts to the same end made by his wealthy brother Gombal de Guaras, are related at length, although the release of the prisoner was not effected until May 1579. During his various negotiations for the neutrality of England in the States for the protection of the Spanish Colonial trade and the release of Antonio de Guaras, Mendoza's suavity towards the Queen rarely deserted him. He made frequent reports as to the project of buying over the Queen's ministers, although, as usual, Philip was more ready to demand impossible pledges than to pay for them. There is no doubt, however, that eventually Burleigh and Sussex received presents to the value of 3,000 crowns each, Sir James Crofts 2,000 crowns in money, and Leicester some handsome jewels and horses (Mendoza to the King, 3rd May 1579). Dexterously as the Queen managed to hold out hopes that under certain circumstances her troops might be sent to the support of the Spaniards in Flanders, large bodies of men under experienced officers were allowed to slip over, with more or less secrecy, to help Orange and obviate the necessity for his appealing to French aid, whilst money and supplies were sent in a never ceasing stream, notwithstanding Mendoza's expostulations. The Queen at the same time was on the worst possible terms with Catharine de Medici, to whom she attributed the renewed Catholic activity in Scotland and the design to checkmate her in the States by means of Alençon. So alarmed was Elizabeth at the apparent danger from this quarter, that Catharine's envoy Gondi was dismissed insultingly and refused permission to go to Scotland, and at last it seemed as if Elizabeth's hand was

to be forced. She sent Walsingham and Cobham to Orange to warn him against the French connection, and to Don Juan to say that if the French entered the country she would "send over twenty thousand men to help the Spaniards, "and if these were not enough for the purpose she would "send over every man left in her country and avail herself "of the forces of all her friends and allies" (21st May 1578). To all remonstrances against the going over of English volunteers she had but one reply, namely, that they went to prevent the country falling into the hands of the French, and were in Philip's interest rather than against him. Orange told the Queen that he would fight to the end against the Spaniards and must seek aid where he could get it. If she would not support him effectually he must, and would, appeal to the French. Orange was invariable in his object and inflexible in his method. This was the only attitude against which Elizabeth's agile feminine policy was ineffectual, and English help had to be sent more boldly than ever, always, as Elizabeth was careful to assure Mendoza, in order to prevent the dominions of her good brother from being overrun by the French. The position was not one that could endure very long. In September 1578, a few weeks only before the death of Don Juan, French envoys were sent both from the King and from Alençon, with offers of marriage from the latter to the Queen, confirmed by his brother, in order that joint action in the Netherlands might be undertaken for their united interests. It is doubtful whether the Queen would have given the ready ear she did to this, except for her knowledge that Philip, under cover of the Pope, was subsidising a Catholic invasion of Ireland under Fitzmaurice, but in any case, she did listen to it willingly and for many months Mendoza sent his master constant accounts of the progress of the courtship. Philip himself was never deceived by it. "It "is all pastime," he said, "she is not in earnest about it, "and will never take a husband." Under cover of it however, Alençon entered the States, and Elizabeth's countenance immediately changed towards his agents in

England. "Before she would proceed with the marriage treaty he must retire," she said, and in the face of the cold welcome he got from the Flemings themselves he was constrained to do so in December 1578. And then the marriage negotiations began in earnest. Mendoza's letters tell the story of Simier's mission to and captivation of the Queen, and of Alençon's stolen visit to her, but not so fully as the Hatfield Papers published by the Historical MSS. Commission, although Leicester's advocacy of the marriage when he thought it was feigned, and his bitter resentment when he found the Queen was at last in earnest, are fully set forth in the present volume, and we catch a glimpse of Simier's ample revenge upon him by divulging his marriage with the countess of Essex. In the last letters in the present volume another element of intrigue is brought upon the scene, which served to bring closer together the interests of Elizabeth and Catharine de Medici, namely, the succession to the Portuguese crown, claimed by Philip, to the manifest prejudice of the other maritime powers, and this, with the raising of a great fleet by Philip in the autumn of 1579, considerably modified Elizabeth's attitude towards the Spaniards. The long threatened invasion and rising in Ireland took place in August of that year, and the Queen told Mendoza that she could not believe his master would help rebels or wished to make war upon her, and hinted her uneasiness about Philip's fleet. Mendoza saw she was alarmed and gave her but cold comfort, saying, that if his master went to war with her it would not be with insignificant forces such as these (page 686). At the end of December these fears on the part of the Queen had become acute, and Mendoza says (27th December 1579) that as he did nothing to allay them, but had avoided her, she sent for him. After, in her usual fashion, overwhelming him with blandishments, she told him the sinister news she was receiving from all parts. He tells the King, however, that he left her more alarmed than ever, although he hints that the armed preparations she was making were as much to guard against her own people's discontent at her unpopular marriage as against

his master's fleet. At the end of 1579 the more hopeful prospects of the Catholics are reflected in Mendoza's letters. The prince of Parma was more than holding his own in the Netherlands and he had managed to separate the Catholic Walloons and Flemings of the south from Orange and the Hollanders. D'Aubigny had already taken Scotch politics in his grasp, and his coming predominance was foreseen; Ireland was in ebullition, but, above all, the seminary priests were flooding England and, as Mendoza says, increasing the number of Catholics every day. The English people was anticipating with loathing the marriage of the Queen with a Frenchman of less than half her age, and Mendoza's glee was undisguised at the trouble in store.

There only remains to add that the letters in the present volume are drawn from similar sources to those in the last, and that, as they were practically all originally written in cipher, no distinction has been made in the type to indicate the fact.

MARTIN A. S. HUME.

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CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS,

SPANISH.

ELIZABETH.
1568—1579.

1568.

3 Jan. **1.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

The duke of Alba sent me copies of the three letters dated 14th and 15th October, forwarded by your Majesty by way of Italy. They arrived here on the 30th ultimo, and the next day I told the Queen of the happy delivery of our lady the Queen, whereat she showed as much delight as must have been felt everywhere at the news, and thanked your Majesty warmly for your care and thoughtfulness in informing her of it; as also of the reasons which have prevented you from going to Flanders until the spring, which reasons, she thought, were very sufficient ones. She said she longed for the time of your Majesty's voyage in the hope that she might see you, although she did not think you would recognise her as she has changed so much and become so thin.

I thanked her from your Majesty for forbidding Hawkins and the rest of those who are going to Guinea from proceeding to your Majesty's Indies, and assured her with all possible emphasis how much importance you attached to this proof of her regard, in order to fix her the more firmly. She made me great promises about it, and said she would cut off Hawkins' head if he exceeded by one tittle the orders that had been given to him and would punish his associates as well. I am trying to get her to make a show in this matter, as I consider it of great importance, and, if these people are not taken in hand in real earnest, they may do much damage by showing the way to the Indies and opening up this business, and also by their religious action in those parts, the dangers arising from which may well be imagined.

I am advised by a Portuguese, who came hither five days ago from the island of Madeira, that Hawkins' fleet had arrived at the Canaries, and that the ship they call the "Mignon" with three others took in all the victuals they required at Gomera, whilst the Jesus of Ubique (Lubeck) and two sloops did the same at Teneriffe, and they had all continued their voyage on the 12th November.

I have not yet been able to discover the nature of the decision sent by the Queen to the Earl of Sussex about the marriage, but I have learnt from Cecil that the letter was written to him by Cecil himself in his own hand, and as soon as the Queen had signed it

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he folded and sealed it in her presence, so that no one knows the contents but the Queen and himself, as I was told and informed your Majesty when the despatch was sent off. Some of the Council had asked the bearer what the despatch contained, and he told them he did not know, which was quite true. I am assured that the duke of Norfolk has given valuable assistance in the matter, and I fancy the secretary is not displeased with the despatch sent.

I can only hear of one matter they are discussing now, the question of Ireland, and whether they shall send troops against the Scots, who, as I have written, had gone over to the island. There is some difficulty about it, as they have very little money and less desire to spend it. I am told they will decide to-day. Nothing fresh from Scotland beyond what I wrote on the 29th.

They say the earl of Leicester will leave after Twelfth day, with the Queen's permission to stay at home until the end of March, but these things are generally changed.—London, 3rd January 1568.

10 Jan. **2.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

Last night I received, by way of Flanders, your Majesty's despatches of 14th and 15th October, and those brought by sea, duplicates of which I had already received and acknowledged. This Queen has been ill for four or five days, but is now well and affairs here are quiet. I hear the same from Scotland, and that the parliament, which was being held there, is now finished with the result of its approving of the imprisonment of the Queen, in consequence of her having been cognizant of the murder of her husband, and confirming the acts of the earl of Murray. Ireland is still under discussion here, but no decision has been arrived at. I am told that the Viceroy has resigned, displeased with their treatment of him after his services there, and that the Queen has appointed the Vice-Chamberlain as his successor. His name is Knollys and he was there about a year and a half ago, investigating the affairs which had arisen in the time of Sussex's viceroyalty.

I have heard nothing about the Archduke's suit.—London, 10th January 1568.

24 Jan. **3.** The SAME to the SAME.

The Queen is well and things here quiet, although in suspense, awaiting the outcome of events in France. It appears that the earl of Leicester's leave of absence from court is suspended, the principal reason of his going, I am told, being to meet the duke of Norfolk on the way. They make an appearance of friendship, but have to be on their guard, as there is no love lost between them. The second collection of the taxes, granted by parliament to the Queen, has begun. The amount is 400,000 ducats, and it is to be collected in six weeks. They want the money, as they have none left, and I believe they will only employ it in their own private needs. The Queen seems very determined about this, so I do not think the rebels will get much help from her. In the college called the Arches opposite St. Paul's are established the principal lawyers in civil and canonical law, who are judges and advocates of most of

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the cases in the metropolitan see of Canterbury and other ecclesiastical jurisdictions. They have therefore to check many of the vexatious things which are done to the Catholics, and the Archbishop, in order to annoy them, is attempting to exact from them the oath recognising the Queen as head of the church of the realm. It is not plain how it will end, but they are certainly putting them to much trouble. It was to have been done to-day, but it has been postponed.—London, 24th January 1568.

— Feb. 4. The KING to GUZMAN DE SILVA.

On the 26th January three of your letters arrived together, dated 1st, 7th, and 15th November, and although they were stale, in consequence of long delay at sea, I was glad to read the details contained in them. Whilst the road through France is obstructed, it will be well to write to me by any ships that may come from England to Spain, directing the letters to the commissary Juan Martinez de Recalde, with instructions for him to send them on by special courier. Write to me all you hear about Flanders and France, as you have done now. If I learn the news from other sources no harm will be done, and if I do not I shall be glad to get it from you and shall value your diligence in sending it. It appears from your remarks and what they write from Germany, that the negotiations for marriage with the Archduke Charles are being carried on with more warmth than previously, although I cannot bring myself to believe that my cousin, for any worldly interest, will agree to anything that could injure his good name as regards religion. Continue to advise me of what occurs in this matter, and if you think there is any hope of the Queen some day coming to her senses and recognising her error, and also whether, in effect, there are any persons about her or in her Council who may be able to lead her to this with credit and dignity. If there are any such persons, let me know their names and who they are, and tell me what you hear from the Queen herself; because, so far as we can judge here by her words and actions, she seems so wedded to heresy that it will be difficult for her to free herself from it, but if I could in any way profitably help to this end I would do so with all my heart.

Tell me what you feel about it in full detail, and let me know also how Scotch matters stand as regards religion, both as to the government, the nobility, the clergy, and the people, as we are especially anxious to understand the question from the bottom.

With regard to what the Queen said about having heard that my voyage to Flanders was for the purpose of invading her country, you answered so exactly in accordance with my wishes that if I had instructed you you could not have done better. The fact is that what you said was the simple truth, and it will be well in any future conversations on the subject to entirely dissipate the shadow and leave the Queen thoroughly assured that, for my part, friendship and kindliness shall always be maintained towards her.

I am very sorry for the trouble they have given to the Archbishop of Armagh, as I look upon him as a good servant of God, and, as such, I hope you will help him in the way you think best,

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With regard to the Prince, my son, I have nothing to add to what is contained in the other letter,* except that I am still in sorrow about it as may be imagined.—Madrid, — February 1568.

2 Feb. **5.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

I have already written that Catharine, the wife of the earl of Hertford, was indisposed†. The illness took such a turn as to prove fatal, and she is dead. She leaves two sons, aged six and four years respectively. The heretics mourn her loss, as they had fixed their eyes on her for the succession in any eventuality. The Catholics are pleased, and are already beginning to say that the children are not legitimate owing to Catharine's having married against the law. I am told, however, that in her will she has again left the necessary declarations to prove her marriage. The Queen expressed sorrow to me at her death, but it is not believed that she feels it, as she was afraid of her, so that both on this account and on the Scotch side, she is now without misgiving. I take every opportunity of trying to convince the Queen how important it is that she should refuse to lend an ear to base and biassed councillors and others, who would seek to divert her from the policy of living in peace and harmony with her neighbours; and this is very necessary from what I hear they are telling her in order to incense her and get her to make some movement in Flemish or French affairs. Having engaged her in conversation on this subject, and pointed out how inconvenient to her would be any disturbance here, I mentioned what was being said about the attempt of her Ministers to force the oath of supremacy on many persons, in accordance with the orders given in the first parliament after her accession. This I did to stop, if possible, the forcing of the oath on the lawyers of the College of Arches, as I wrote to your Majesty they were doing.

The Queen answered me that the reason they had taken the matter in hand was to frighten many people who were talking with more freedom than was conducive to the pacification of the country, but that compulsion would only be used to a few of those who talked loudest, as an example to the others. I do not know how this will be, because, although generally when I talk to her she seems full of good resolutions, they soon disappear, thanks to the crew she has around her, all composed of these sectaries, who have become more shameless than ever with recent events in France, and have been giving as much trouble as they can to the Catholics. As they do not find the Queen quite so ready to help them as they could wish, they are more wary of me than ever, and are continually trying to alarm the Queen with all kinds of inventions about me, as they think no doubt that I am warning her against them.

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* This letter is not in the Archives.

† Catharine Grey, eldest surviving sister to Lady Jane Grey, daughter of Frances Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk, and by the will of Edward VI. next heir to the crown. She had secretly married in the Tower the earl of Hertford, the eldest son of the Protector Somerset.

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On the 25th ultimo a Scotsman arrived here from the earl of Murray. The Queen tells me that she has refused him audience because the earl of Murray and the rest of them would not let her ambassador see their Queen when he was in Scotland. She says his object in coming is to propose an alliance between her and the regent against France, and she intends to let him know that she will not agree to it or enter into any negotiations except with the Queen, and if they reply that the Queen herself will send messages and letters on the subject, she (Elizabeth) will say that before she can believe them their Queen must be set free, and in some place to her own liking; otherwise she will give no credence to anything said or done in her name.

I am told by the Queen and others that the news from Scotland is, that five of those who were executed for the murder of the King have confessed that the Queen knew of it, and it is considered certain that these statements will be brought before the (Scotch) Council and proceedings taken against the Queen herself. This Queen (Elizabeth) and others greatly fear this will be the case. It is said that the Scotsmen who had entered Ireland by the country of the late Shan O'Neil have returned home. No decision has been arrived at here yet about Ireland.

Since writing the above, I have been informed that the archbishop of Canterbury summoned the collegians (*i. e.*, of the Arches) and presented the oath to them in accordance with the enclosed statement in Latin* which was given to me by one of those present. Efforts are being made to prevent the molestation of those who declined to take the oath, and the earls of Pembroke, Leicester, and Ormond have promised their good offices. It is believed that the Queen had no special knowledge of it, but that it was done by the man they call Archbishop, and even by the advice of his wife, who fittingly performs the office of primate.—London, 2nd February 1568.

7 Feb. **6.** The SAME to the SAME.

On the 2nd instant I wrote your Majesty what had been done respecting the tendering of the oath to the collegians of the Arcubus,† and that it was believed that the Queen was not aware of the Archbishop's proceedings. This appears to be the case from what she said to me about it, and what afterwards happened, which was that she was angry with the Archbishop and rated him on the subject, although subsequently the earl of Bedford and Knollys and Cecil pacified her and gave her to understand that it would be unwise to be severe on the Archbishop for fear of encouraging the Catholics too much. Before the Queen spoke to the Archbishop on the subject he had already summoned the officers of his court for a given day in order that they might take the oath before him, as the lawyers had done, but when the day arrived, the Queen having spoken to him in the interim, the oath was not

* (In original.) This statement was not enclosed.

† (In original.) Vulgarly called the Arches which is a tribunal or court of the archbishop of Canterbury.

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tendered, and the officers were told that as it was a question of conscience he would give them until after Easter to think the matter over and decide the course they would take. He said he thought that the lawyers would have asked for a similar time, only that some were so ready to make up their minds to swear and the others to refuse. It is believed therefore that the matter will be hushed up, and I am convinced that if, when I was discussing it in general terms with the Queen, she had been told exactly what the Archbishop had ordered, she would have stopped it. Both I and the persons interested did not, however, think this advisable, as the Queen and her Council are so suspicious that great caution has to be used with them in religious matters, and they might have thought that I was speaking on behalf of some of the collegians, which would perhaps have been worse for them later on. The Queen went out hunting yesterday and I accompanied her, so as not to lose any chance that might occur of urging her to stand firm in her good intentions with regard to these disturbances in Flanders and France. She told me, when I arrived, that she had just received a post from the earl of Sussex, but she had only been able to look at two of the letters so as not lose the day's pleasure. If there was anything of importance she would let me know, but the Emperor had detained the Earl and would not let him go. I said he did quite right to hold him as a pledge of her making up her mind. She has not sent me any further news. I suppose she will not have had time to read the despatches until to-day as she did not return till night.

From what M. de Chantonnay tells me, it appears they are still trying to put off the Emperor with words, and this was the object of the answer taken by Cobham which, Chantonnay writes, was to the effect that the Queen wished to confer with Sussex on certain points when he returned hither, and that, as the question of religion was subject to Parliament, nothing definite could be settled until Parliament met. This was no doubt the letter the Queen mentioned to me and respecting which I wrote your Majesty.—London, 7th February 1568.

16 Feb. **7.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

I was with the Queen yesterday. She is well, but much surprised at what her ambassador (in Spain) writes to her, under date of the 19th ultimo, namely, that at 10 o'clock on the night of the 18th your Majesty entered the room of our lord the Prince and arrested him with your own hands, and, it was believed, had ordered him to be conveyed to Toledo. She said that your Majesty had acted in the matter with the dignity and consideration due in a great prince by arresting your son with your own hands, but she had not been informed of the reason for the arrest. However, both she and Lord Robert and Cecil have given me to understand that they learn by letters from France that it was on account of some plot against your Majesty's person, a thing so hard to believe that only heretics could imagine it, and such they must have been, children as they are of the devil who was a murderer from the first.

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I hope to God, as I told the Queen, that the cause was very different, because, although his Highness is not lacking in spirit and courage, which in later years may serve for great things, he has hitherto shown no bad intentions, disobedience or disinclination to accept humbly your Majesty's commands. The matter has made great noise here, as no doubt it has done elsewhere, and I trust your Majesty will have ordered instructions to be sent as to the course I am to take in the interests of your service.

Things here are quiet. News comes from Scotland that some of the principal people have risen against the Regent and the Government, and when I asked the Queen whether it was true, she said it was, and they even wanted to throw the blame on to her, as some malicious people also had tried to do respecting the disturbances in France, and even those of Flanders, which, she said, was entirely unfounded, as she is opposed strongly to such proceedings of subjects against their rulers, and particularly in the case of your Majesty and your dominions, which should never be molested by England, at least whilst she was Queen. I said that she was quite free from any such suspicion, seeing the loving goodwill your Majesty bore her, and she, like the great princess she was, could not fail to reciprocate it, as I had constantly advised your Majesty she did. As the malice of the heretics is continually exercised in arousing her suspicion, no opportunity must be lost to dissipate it.

Irish affairs quiet. The Viceroy, after much entreaty, has consented to go back to the Government, and they will let him have Wales as well, which he had before and wanted still.

The Queen expects the earl of Sussex to arrive here next week. She has said no more to me about the Archduke's affair, as she would have done if there had been anything of importance.

They say here that French affairs are going badly, and, in conversation with the Queen on the subject, she gave me to understand that she blamed the queen of France for not stamping out the business at the beginning. She is not the only person who thinks so.

About a week ago they discovered here a newly invented sect, called by those who belong to it "the pure or stainless religion." They met to the number of 150 in a house where their preacher used a half a tub for a pulpit, and was girded with a white cloth. Each one brought with him whatever food he had at home to eat, and the leaders divided money amongst those who were poorer, saying that they imitated the life of the apostles and refused to enter the temples to partake of the Lord's supper as it was a papistical ceremony. This having come to the ears of the city authorities, they, in accord with the Queen's Council, sent 40 halberdiers to arrest the people. They found them meeting in the house and arrested the preacher and five of the principals, leaving the others, and have appointed persons to convert them.—London 16th February 1568.

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21 Feb. **8.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

I received your Majesty's despatch of 23rd ultimo the day before yesterday, with duplicates of those of 10th and 18th from the duke of Alba to which I have replied.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 16th the report the Queen had received from her ambassador of the seclusion of his Highness in his apartments by order of your Majesty and the various comments and discussions to which this had given rise here, and what I had replied to the Queen about it. For this reason I at once requested audience of the Queen and delivered your Majesty's letter yesterday. I related the affair in substance as your Majesty ordered me to write to her, for her better understanding and recollection, and then showed her a copy of what had been written to me about it so that no word should be overlooked as they are all weighty. After the Queen had read her letter and listened very attentively to what I said, as well as going over slowly what I had written, she thanked your Majesty, first for your kindness in advising her always of all that happened in your affairs, which well deserved her thanks and good wishes that all should prosper with you; and, although as she had told me before, she was very sorry for the news, on account of the trouble it gave your Majesty and the cause from which it arose, yet it was satisfactory to hear what I said about it. She could wish, however, that more detail were given in order to banish the suspicions of people and not leave so large a field for imagination and gossip, in a matter of so much importance.

I told her that no father liked to confess the excesses of his son so readily, and what your Majesty had had written was quite enough to prove that there was no excessive harshness or extraordinary action, and that, in order that the cause of the trouble might not be lasting, it was necessary for the blow to be a heavy and decisive one. The rumours about it have greatly calmed, now that it is shown not to be a matter of disobedience or anything of that sort; but heretics interpret everything that happens in their own favour, in order to make people think they have many on their side, and so they not only assert but publish that his Highness' arrest was owing to some such cause as this.

I have several times written to your Majesty about the suspicions these heretics are constantly sowing in the Queen's mind, to the effect that a league has been formed against her by your Majesty, the Emperor, the king of France and the Pope, and how I have always tried to reassure her. She told me yesterday that she had the previous night received letters from some of the German princes and from other quarters, again asserting the truth of the statement. I told her that it was nothing but an invention to alarm her and get her to declare herself on their side and back up their weak and falling cause, as they saw ruin before them, as I had told her before. I again assured her of your Majesty's friendship for her, and how desirable it was to her for many reasons that the friendship should continue and no cause for its rupture should be given by her. I pointed out how your Majesty had striven to save her life and keep in good brotherhood with her, and much to the same effect in order

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to quiet her. She thinks, however, that your Majesty may be persuaded to change your views by people who make you believe that, whilst religion here is different from that of your Flanders States, inquietude will constantly result, and that your Majesty's policy may be changed for this reason. I said, since it appeared that all my good assurances joined to the deeds that she had always had to confirm them were not sufficient to dissipate from her mind the suspicions engendered by malicious people, I begged her to tell me some way in which she might be satisfied and made proof against these insinuations. She said she would be quite satisfied with a single letter from your Majesty saying that you had heard that such rumours had been spread and you wished to assure her that they were not true. She swore that she had not communicated to her Council what had been written to her about it lately from Germany, although she had told me, and I said I would do my utmost to satisfy her, as I was quite clear as to your Majesty's good will and love towards her.

Two days since Secretary Cecil told me on the Queen's behalf that she had heard from a servant of her ambassador in Spain, who had arrived here, that the household were not allowed to perform the services of their religion in their own house, and, moreover, that they were forced to hear mass, of which she had not previously been informed by the ambassador or anyone else. She asked me, since the ambassador's households were always privileged and free, as mine is here, to write to your Majesty to be pleased not to allow her ambassador's servants to be maltreated or forced to hear mass, and that they be permitted to perform their own service in a way not to cause scandal, as had always been done formerly in the Emperor's time. If this were refused she should have no alternative but to recall her ambassador, and she added that if your Majesty replied that you did not interfere with the inquisitors in matters of this kind, but left them full liberty to act as they liked, this was understandable, so far as your own subjects were concerned, but not with the household of an ambassador. She had sent instructions to her ambassador to take an opportunity of referring the matter to your Majesty, as she was sure you did not know of it. I replied that I had heard nothing of this but would do as the Queen desired, being certain that no innovation would be made with the ambassador or his household, and that your Majesty would have the matter seen to when you were informed of it. Cecil tried to emphasise somewhat the liberty I enjoyed here, but I was able to appear not to understand him in order to avoid discussing that point. The Queen subsequently told me that, as she did not expect to see me so soon, she had sent Cecil to speak to me about it, and ask me to write to some one on the subject, and exert my own influence to prevent her ambassador or his household from being troubled. She thought that would be enough, without importuning your Majesty, especially just now when you are annoyed about his Highness. She said she would not have mentioned the matter, only that it was a point of honour which she could not overlook. She spoke much more moderately than Cecil had done, and it is quite possible that she may not have heard of the matter before, as Cecil again assured me

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she had not, nor he either, he added, until Lord Robert mentioned it; but I do not believe him, for in affairs of this sort they are vigilant enough for anything. They think, no doubt, that the present troubles in France and elsewhere give them a good opportunity of gaining ground, their own affairs being favourable, so they have begun to look out more keenly and to trouble the Catholics, summoning some and arresting others, and warning them to obey the present laws. I have spoken to the Queen several times about it, hinting that it was unadvisable for her to do this, and she has thanked me kindly for the advice, but still they continue to a certain extent, although with more leniency, in the same course. I reverted to the subject again yesterday, and she reminded me of what she had done with the archbishop of Canterbury about the oath. But they soon change her, and all their efforts are directed to making her shy of me, now more than ever, and neither suavity nor a show of simplicity and frankness, which I have hitherto adopted, suffices to disarm them, as their consicence disturbs them, and they are lovers of change, although they do not show it, for they are false in everything. I do not wonder that they are discontented with me in religious matters, as I am with them, and this is a grave inconvenience for those of us who live here, on account of the danger to which it exposes our households, who are exposed for a long time to the consequences of so much freedom and bad conversation. This gives great and constant anxiety to those who are responsible for them, because the failure to attend regularly at church and perform the sacred offices and duties, cools devotion and causes thereby a greater fall still, and, for this reason, the long continued residence of the ministers in this country is a matter to be deeply considered.

I have therefore decided humbly to pray your Majesty, if there is any other place where I could serve you, even though the care and labour be greater, you will deign to send me there, since things here being quiet, the friendliness of the Queen undoubted, and Flemish commercial affairs arranged, another person could easily fill my place. In case, however, that it should appear advisable for any reason that I should continue here for some time longer, although the country does not agree with my health, I will hold that and my life of small account in your Majesty's service; but it will be necessary to let me know, in order that I may replenish my means from my private estate, which will be needful if I am to stay here and fittingly fill my office. That this is so is evident from the fact that my predecessor died deeply in debt, although your Majesty granted him 100,000 ducats soon after his arrival and 300,000 aid in Naples, the expenses having been greater in my time than in his. It is true I have had larger private means than he had to spend, but I am coming to the end of them, although not to my spirit, encouraged as it is with the hope of the favour with which your Majesty's munificence rewards your servants.

The French ambassador tell me he has leave to return home as soon as the disturbances in France are at an end. I am informed that a nephew of his, a Calvinist, will remain here, who, his uncle tells me, is being converted. The ambassador says he has urged the

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Queen to use her good offices in favour of the Queen of Scotland, his King having been informed that her person was in danger, and having written very pressingly about it, saying that, although he is fully occupied at present he is anxious for her (the Queen of Scots) and is determined to have satisfaction if any excess is committed on her. The Queen said to me, "It is a fine thing for "the ambassador to come and ask me from his master to help the "Queen of Scotland, when he himself refused to do so when I "asked him some time ago." The Queen tells me that she does not know the position with regard to the union of certain (Scots) lords against the Government of which I have already written, but she has received news that the Queen (of Scots) is ill, although not in danger, but yet she cannot be out of danger even if she is quite well, seeing the pass at which things are.

Although they are collecting the last payments of the taxes amounting to 400,000 crowns, they have raised fresh money and have deferred the payment until August of the 80,000 crowns the Queen owes in Antwerp.—London, 21st February 1568.

28 Feb. **9.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

The Queen is well, and all here quiet awaiting news of French affairs, which now principally interest them. As regards the part of France nearest to England, Britanny, and Normandy, it remains calm, as does also Ireland. It was said here that the Queen of Scots was ill, but she is now reported to be better, and that the earls of Argyll and Huntly are still estranged from the Government party, although no rising is spoken of. The second son of the duke of Chatelherault passed through here on his way to France some days ago and visited this Queen, who received him well. He left Scotland without permission of the Regent.

It is reported that the castle of Dumbarton on the banks of the river Leven, which issues from Loch Lomond, four or five miles above its junction with the Clyde, is in the hands of a gentleman who refuses to obey the Regent. By this way, and by the isle of Arran which lies in the bay at the mouth of the Clyde, an entrance could be effected into the country, if the French wished to liberate the Queen. The place is therefore looked upon as of importance. Arran is in the hands of the Hamiltons. Nine or ten of the Queen's ships are being fitted out here. They are being overhauled, the sails and gear got into order, and 44 sailors have been put into them to prepare them for sea, so that they can sail directly the crews are shipped.

I wrote to your Majesty that a new sect had been discovered; people who call themselves of the pure or apostolic religion, and that a houseful of them had been found, and six of them arrested. Another of their meeting places has been found, and six of the principal members of this congregation, too, have been arrested. I am told by a well-informed Catholic that he is certain there are 5,000 of them in this city alone.

I learn by letters from M. de Chantonnay of 31st ultimo that the earl of Sussex had left Vienna the day previous, but that he

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had gone to where the Archduke Charles was, intending to come from Gratz to Salzburg, Ratisbonne, and Nuremburg. No news from the Earl has, however, arrived here. He said to Chantonnay, about the marriage, the same as he told me before he went, and, as I had already advised Chantonnay, he was answered there in a similar way to that in which I replied to him here. I do not repeat it, as your Majesty has been informed, but I again say that the Earl knows that, not only did I do all that could well be done, but I also acted in accordance with the desires of Sussex, the duke of Norfolk and their friends, when they asked me to act, always avoiding, however, placing your Majesty in a position of being affronted with the Queen or pledging you more deeply than the position of the business and their proceedings warranted. The Earl is wrong, and I will tell him so. In former letters I wrote that the earl of Leicester had leave from the Queen to go to his estates and meet the duke of Norfolk on the road, but his departure has been put off from day to day. It is now said that he will leave here in five days, and that in Northampton the Duke and the Earl will meet together with the earls of Warwick and Huntington and other nobles, in order to arrange a new friendship. Cecil and Leicester will also be reconciled, and they will discuss the succession in consequence of Catharine's death.

Postscript: The archbishop of Armagh is closely imprisoned in the Tower, and as the matter is a suspicious one, being connected with Ireland, I have not ventured to speak of it, except very cautiously to a Catholic who is one of his judges, suggesting that, as the Archbishop is imprisoned for religion's sake, and is so worthy a person, I recommended his case very sincerely. They have, it appears, accused him of high treason, but they have no legitimate cause to do so.—London, 28th February 1568.

14 Mar. **10.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

The earl of Sussex was with the Queen yesterday. I sent to greet him, and he replied that as soon as he had done his business with the Queen and Council he would come and see me. The news he brings has not yet transpired, but, doubtless, it is only what Chantonnay wrote, and these people will make up some fresh story to throw dust in the eyes of the public, and avoid the sudden confession that the negotiations for marriage with the Archduke have been broken off.

Orders have been given to release the people who call themselves members of the pure or apostolic religion, on condition that within 20 days they conform to the religion of the State or leave the country. It is looked upon as a mere excuse for dissembling with them. News has just arrived from the duchy of Lancaster, where nearly all the people are Catholics, that many people of position have been arrested for refusing to take the "Lord's supper" and attend the services, and also, they say, because mass was celebrated in their houses. It is quite possible that this and other similar things may cause disturbance, although these folks are peaceably inclined.—London, 14th March 1568.

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20 Mar. **11.** The SAME to the SAME.

The Queen has expressed to me her great satisfaction at the good reception and treatment of the earl of Sussex, but did not even drop a hint about the marriage, although there was ample opportunity for her to do so on the 15th instant, when I spent the whole afternoon with her in the country. She did not refer either to the league, about which I have written, but she spoke shortly on French affairs, and the arrangement now being discussed between the King and his rebel subjects, as she had done on a previous occasion at the beginning of the disturbances; only that she now said she did not know how such an arrangement could be made compatible with the King's dignity. I said that at least, so far as she was concerned, the King had not been prevented from having satisfaction on the rebels, and carrying through the business with the advantage that kings usually have over their subjects, as she had been so firm and steadfast in refusing aid to them or countenance their attempt against their sovereign. She replied that what I said was perfectly true, and assured me that when she sent troops to Havre de Grace in the former disturbances she did so principally because she was persuaded that the Guises wanted to get the King into their power and govern the country at their pleasure. They had also designs against her, as the Queen of Scotland was then married to the French king, and had declared that when the time came for restoring Calais they would not give it up. She went on to say that, with regard to the intention of the Guises to take the King and Queen, not only was it publicly stated, but she had received a letter from the queen of France, which she still kept, telling her of it. The prince of Condé had risen in consequence of this, and if she had not understood it in this light she said she would never have sent her forces to France, as she had refrained from doing on the present occasion. I replied, praising her very much for what she had done and was doing, and said she was being commended for it everywhere, seeing the pressure that had been used to cause her to do otherwise; whereupon she showed great pleasure.

She also expressed her disapproval of the Count Palatine's action in detaining the money and goods belonging to the merchants, and she had said as much to the Count's representative here. I also praised her for this, adding that it was understood that most of the property belonged to persons who were coming to this country, and that this would have a very bad effect on the prices of merchandise here, besides causing her a loss of customs dues. It is said that most of the property belonged to the Easterling merchants from the maritime cities who are established here. I wrote to your Majesty that the Queen had told me that she had been requested, on behalf of the countess of Egmont, to write to your Majesty respecting the Count, but that she did not wish to interfere in the matter. She has since told me that they write so pitifully to her that she cannot help feeling compassion, and she thinks of writing to your Majesty, but that she wished me to see the letter before she sent it. I understood her intention to be to write very circumspectly and carefully, and therefore replied that

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she could well do so in the way that friends ask favours of one another, and grant them out of kindliness and mutual affection, and that many neighbours liked to be besought in honest causes for divers reasons. The earl of Sussex tells me that he is gratified because the Emperor was fully satisfied with the negotiations, and he is convinced that the marriage will be carried through. He said he had made every effort in his power, passing lightly over some points that could not be avoided, and bringing into prominence others where agreement was assured. As regards the question of religion, upon which assurance was sought on the part of the Archduke, that he and his household should not be coerced, Sussex said he made such declarations on behalf of the Queen as satisfied them; without the need for written obligation, which it would have been difficult for him to give, for many reasons, particularly as there were people here who for their own ends wished to obstruct the business. The Emperor, nevertheless, urged him to send Cobham to the Queen on the matter, as he did, although he was sure that no written obligation would be entered into, as in effect was the case. He said that he thought what he had done in the matter would be quite sufficient, as he, being so faithful a servant of the house of Austria, would never have pressed the Archduke to come if he had not felt certain that the match would take place, and his verbal assurance be sufficient. The Emperor and the Archduke himself, however, were so resolute about the assurance, in accordance, they said, also with your Majesty's opinion, that he was obliged to send Cobham. Notwithstanding this he had discussed certain matters with the Emperor, which, if the Queen agreed to them, as he hoped, would enable the Archduke to find a good excuse for coming, which the Emperor had promised. He (Sussex) had left a private cipher with the Emperor, so that whatever was arranged might be absolutely secret, and nothing known until the business was concluded. He had avoided telling the Queen the substantial part of his negotiations pending the arrival of the duke of Norfolk, in whose presence he wished the matter to be discussed. He had spoken since his arrival, he said, with the earl of Leicester, about the Emperor's and the Archduke's pretensions respecting religion, in order to gain his support, which he had promised, but that, if he did not fulfil his word and the Queen would not agree, in consequence of the views of certain persons, he (Sussex) was determined to publish the names of those who had stood in the way of the match, so that the country might know how he and others had striven to bring it about, for the public good, and who had prevented it. Still, he said, he had every confidence that it would be carried through successfully. I replied that I approved of his intention, and was not surprised that M. de Chantonnay was firm in his opinion that the Archduke should insist upon an assurance as regards religion, which was a point of the greatest importance, especially that, since he (Sussex) left here, more rigour had been shown on the subject than previously, which, of course, would be known verywhere, and many persons probably might think that these demonstrations were made for the very purpose of preventing the marriage, by

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arousing the distrust of the Emperor and his brother, and causing them to demand further assurances, which the people here know would not be given, and so the affair might be upset. He knew, I said, how these people had always tried to prevent it, and how I had striven to bring it about, continually and unreservedly, except on one point alone, namely, that there should be no cause for resentment between the Queen and your Majesty if the match did not take place, as I knew your Majesty held her friendship so dear that it was my duty to refrain from anything that might jeopardise it. He said that M. de Chantonnay had always said the same. I took the opportunity of mentioning the league which certain people here profess to be effected between your Majesty, the Pope, the Emperor, the king of France, and other princes, against this Queen, with the object of separating her from her friends, and said that, as the news had come from Germany, he could say how false it was, and I asked him not to fail to satisfy the Queen that it was so, in order that her suspicions might be allayed. He replied that he had heard something of this, and had inquired into the matter in Germany, both from friends and foes, and had learnt that such a league really had been proposed by certain princes, but not with the intention stated, and with a different object. The rest, he said, were simply fables and market-gossip, as he would assure the Queen.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 8th instant that the duke of Alba had reported on the 3rd a certain plot which these people had made in Calais to recover the town with the aid of one of the King (of France's) officers there, and the preparations which were being made slowly with that object. The day fixed was to-day, I am assured, but the matter has cooled; perhaps owing to the certainty now held of peace being made between the King and his rebels, as they are watching here very closely what is going on in France, and I am told receive advices from hour to hour. I, too, am on the watch about this Calais affair, in order to report to the duke of Alba. I have just been informed that the two vessels that had been fitted out and manned, as was said in the council at the request of the Regent Murray, to capture the earl of Bothwell on his way from Denmark to France, and the duke of Chalelherault who was going from Dieppe to Scotland, were really intended for another purpose, namely, to encounter the ships conveying the Count de Buren. This having come to the ears of the Queen, she made a show of anger that such a thing should be attempted against your Majesty, and ordered the ships to be dismantled immediately, which was done. It is quite possible that they may have desisted from their intention owing to the Count de Buren alone going in the ships, as they thought other persons were going as well. These are very little people to attempt such a thing as this, but I have my information from a good source.

On the 16th instant the ships conveying the Count de Buren passed the Downs in sight of Dover, and with the present wind will have already cleared these coasts.

These heretics are saying that their doctrines are being preached in many parts, especially in Navarre on the French borders, and,

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although this is not a fresh assertion, they are insisting more upon it lately. I do not believe it, as the Inquisitors have not discovered it, nor have I been able to obtain particulars, although I have tried to do so.—London, 20th March 1568.

27 March. **12.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

I received yesterday your Majesty's letter of the 19th ultimo, by which I learn that mine of 10th January had come to hand. The favour your Majesty desires to show to the archbishops of Cashel and Armagh is of a piece with your Majesty's action in all things fitting for the service of God and the universal church, for which your reward will be long years of great happiness on earth and an endless eternity in heaven. As I wrote to Secretary Gabriel de Zayas, the business of the former prelate presents great difficulty, and it appears imprudent to mention it to the Queen just now as little good could come of it, seeing the usual suspicions of your Majesty which are rife among these heretics; besides which it might be a source of grave inconvenience to the church in places where this Queen has full power. It will be necessary, therefore, if he designs to go and take up his functions, that the utmost circumspection and caution should be used, as the only way in which it could successfully be done is for him to be secretly hidden amongst Catholics and safe from molestation by the heretics. It is true that, for the sake of peace, the Catholics in certain parts of Ireland are tolerated, but there is great vigilance used to prevent the exercise of any authority by bull or order of his Holiness. I will, however, carefully enquire and see what safely can be done to comply with your Majesty's wishes, and the same shall be done with regard to the imprisonment of the archbishop of Armagh. I am anxious about this as they keep him closer than ever, and in bad case for one of such poor health as he. The worst of the matter is that your Majesty's favour for these good folks does them more harm than good, so that it is necessary to act with the utmost caution.

The Catholics of this country are numerous, but much molested. I have been endeavouring lately, by means of a well-informed Catholic, to get the names, not only of the principal party men, but also of the private persons in the provinces, with a note of the number of Catholics and Protestants in each county. I have been pressing him for the list so that your Majesty may know the state of the country, and, if he delays giving it to me, I will send the best statement I can obtain.

I have been unable to learn anything about the Archduke's match further than what I have written. I am told that the duke of Norfolk will come hither to discuss it. I wrote to your Majesty that I had been told by the earl of Sussex that a man had been secretly sent hither by the prince of Condé and the Admiral. He has now gone back. I do not know whether he will be captured on the way, as they are on the alert to catch him all along the coast, and to learn the particulars of his negotiations, although the copy in French of the letter he brought to the Queen from his principals, which I now enclose, lays bare the cause of his coming.

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If Hawkins does not obey the Queen's orders about going to your Majesty's Indies, steps shall be taken to have him punished. Advices from Scotland say that those who are against the government were still trying to obtain the Queen's release. The Regent was to go and visit the Queen soon, and as the people here suspected that he might give her some extension of liberty, they have written requesting him not to do so.

I have just been informed that, in addition to what is contained in the enclosed copy of letter, the prince of Condé sent to say to the Queen that, even if she would not help them with money or men, she might make a demonstration of religious zeal. This has given rise to some extraordinary proceedings, and, amongst others, the arrest of one Wilson, who, I am informed, had authority from the Pope to absolve and admit to the church those who became Catholics, and who also was trying to collect subscriptions from Catholics in aid of those who have taken refuge in Louvain. Of these contributions he kept a list in a book with the names of the donors, which book has been found on him, and much harm may be done thereby. I am much surprised that this man did not come to me as other good men come, I having been one of those who recommended this subscription and promised my part. I will advise your Majesty of the result.

A certain Emmanuel Tremelius has been here lately on behalf of the count Palatine. He is a heretic who was formerly in one of the universities here called Oxford,* and in the pay of the Queen. He is the son of a Jew of Mantua. It is said he comes for the purpose of arranging a league with this Queen, and will go on to Scotland to discuss a similar matter with the Regent and his government, taking letters from the folks here.—London, 27th March 1568.

3 April. **13.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

Everything here is quiet as usual and the Queen well. She goes to Greenwich in four or five days.

The commissioners of religion are still proceeding against certain Catholics, summoning them for interrogation on the subject. This has only been resumed since the rebels in France began their disturbances.

The party in Scotland which had risen against the Regent and his government has increased in number. It is said that they now demand the release of the Queen, and that justice shall be done on certain members of the Government, who, they say, are implicated in the murder of the King. The leader of the party is said to be the archbishop of St. Andrews, who has fortified himself and his friends in St. Andrews.

These folks here are not well pleased with the rising, as they thought themselves quite safe on that side for a time, and, if affairs in France are settled, the French might take a hand in the Scotch business, in which case these people will have look to them-

* John Emmanuel Tremelius was Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge.

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selves. The French ambassador tells me, however, that his master will take no part in the matter out of gratitude to this Queen for having refrained from acting against him in his late troubles, but we all know what the French are, and how little trust can be placed in them.

I went out to the country with the Queen this afternoon, and took the opportunity of speaking about the two ships which I wrote had been fitted out to capture the Count de Buren. I pointed out to her that the heretics not only wished to make her suspicious of your Majesty's friendship, but tried to make it appear that she was a party to such a thing as this in order to injure her. She was much surprised that anyone should say such a thing of her, and thanked me for telling her of it. I can hardly believe that the ships were fitted out with such an object, although I had it from many good quarters. On the night of the 27th ultimo there arrived here a servant of the prince of Orange. I was advised of his coming but not of its object, but I was told that three days later he passed a long time with the Queen. She informed me to-day that she heard he was here, and that he had only come to assure her from the Prince that he had never any intention to be undutiful to your Majesty, and that he would never be found guilty of such a fault, which would be unworthy of him. He wished to place himself in some neutral country where he could free himself from the matter, and hinted that he considered the duke of Alba was not to be trusted, although he had no proof of this. I replied that the true facts of the case would be seen in the end, and that most people who have done wrong object to be tried by those who they think will do justice. I said I thought it would be more prudent to avoid interviews of this sort. I do not see any signs of the Archduke's match coming off for the present. On the contrary, I hear that those who oppose it are trying to delay the despatch of the reply to the Emperor. They think this will quite upset it.

A Portuguese ambassador arrived here to-day, having written to me on the road saying that he was coming to lodge at my house until he got a lodging of his own. I went to meet him and brought him home. He comes about preventing the English from going to the Portuguese Indies, and says he is determined to press the matter, and either get them to promise not to go, or he will declare that the Portuguese will prevent them. I fear it will all end in words.—London, 3rd April 1568.

6 April. **14.** The KING to GUZMAN DE SILVA.

(Draft of letter with a note in the King's hand saying "all in cipher.")

On the 19th March I advised you, through Don Francés, that I had received your letter of 25th February. Yours of 16th, 21st, and 28th February arrived on the 1st instant, and, although we are glad of your information, there is little to reply to but to thank you for your diligence and to satisfy you upon the point introduced to you by Cecil and the Queen, namely, the question of the English ambassador here. The object of the complaint to you was,

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without doubt, to get beforehand with us, and anticipate the complaint I have to make of the conduct of the ambassador. You must know that, as soon as he arrived here, I gave him notice that he would have to conduct himself as his predecessors had done, and must avoid any demonstration which might cause scandal. That he must make no alteration in the old customs which have been followed by English ambassadors here, especially in religious matters, the more especially as in Spain the existence of the Inquisition causes more strictness than elsewhere, and prevents me from making concessions of any sort. The ambassador understood this perfectly well and promised my ministers on several occasions to act as he was requested, instead of which he has failed to do so and has conspicuously and frequently overstepped the bounds. One signal instance occurred shortly afterwards; he scoffed at one of the processions that were held for the Queen's health when she was ill. When I learnt of this, I sent the duke of Feria to warn him again, and request him to moderate his words and actions so as not to transgress the limits laid down for his conduct which he had promised to respect. He again promised to to do so with many professions and excuses, but as he is so corrupted at heart with these religious errors, he could not restrain himself or stifle the promptings of his bad spirit, and has shown it by such daring and pernicious acts, that I am convinced that it is a planned thing, not done at his own initiative alone, but by order from England. Amongst other things lately at a dinner in the presence of many persons, Spaniards and others, he presumed to say, publicly and shamelessly, that I was the only one who defended the papal sect, but that, in the end, the prince of Condé and his party would prevail, and that the Pope was nothing but a canting little monk; with other similar expressions for which he would richly deserve the punishment the Inquisitors, who learnt of his rashness, would give him, if it were not for respect of his office as the minister of the queen of England, with whom I am on terms of friendship. I have, however, made up my mind to hold no more intercourse with him, and will not receive him or permit him to live in my capital, but have sent him orders to go to a neighbouring town, with a warning to conduct himself there so as not to cause scandal to anyone, and to avoid in future such rash words and acts as his previous ones. He has acted simply like a perverse dogmatiser, and I have had him told that, if he does not comply with the directions now given to him, I cannot prevent the Inquisitors from doing their duty, and I am not without scruple for having overlooked his actions so far as I have done. Some days ago he received a letter from his mistress for me, and has been pressing for an audience, but I have been delaying and putting him off with the determination of never receiving him again. He has had some communication with Ruy Gomez, and I learn from him that he wants to address me on the point spoken of to you by Cecil and the Queen. This is not a matter that it is fitting I should discuss with him, touching, as it does, our holy catholic faith, and he being offended at this, intends, I am told, to send a secretary to give an account of the matter to the Queen. He will,

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of course, give his own version of it, and I have therefore decided to send this courier ahead of him, expressly in order that you may, in accordance with the enclosed letter of credence for the Queen, state the matter to her and tell how just and deep is the complaint I have against the ambassador, and that I have decided to hold no more intercourse with him, as he has so rashly and disrespectfully exceeded an ambassador's license, and might more fittingly be called a perturber. He has tried to persuade vassals of mine to the rebellious and new sects which are rife in other dominions, totally contrary to the duties and customs of an ambassador, and, if it were not for the friendship and respect I bear to the Queen, he would deserve anything that might be done to him, as she will learn by the personal relation of a gentleman whom I am sending post to her for the purpose, who will leave in a few days to complain also of the bad and dangerous offices of this man in sowing discord between two souls so united as those of the Queen and myself. Only in consideration of his being her minister have I refrained from dealing with him otherwise than I have said, namely, to refuse further intercourse with him or permit him in my capital, and I therefore beg of her to appoint another person who will conduct himself as previous ambassadors of her's and her father's have done here, men whom I can respect and treat with confidence and kindness, as I have always done all men and matters appertaining to her. Things have arrived at the present pass with this man in despite of me, and I am unable to dissemble or excuse it any longer, and I therefore beg of her to take in good part the request I make, for the reasons which the gentleman I have mentioned will further make known to her, and will satisfy her both of the reasonableness of it and of the utter falsity of the assertion that the ambassador's household was forced to hear mass. No such thing has been done. On the contrary, I am informed that some of the servants having entered a church without showing due and proper respect to the holy sacrament, they were simply told by those who were present either to behave themselves decorously or leave. Nothing but this happened as you will see by the depositions and investigation of this and other excesses, which will be despatched by the gentleman who is coming. These depositions are only for your own guidance and information, and it will be sufficient for you to refer generally in conversation with the Queen to the just cause I have for being offended with this man, so that she may comply with my request and send another who will do his duty as he ought; in which case I will receive him well, and will do everything in my power to please the Queen and preserve the close and ancient alliance and friendship between us and our respective states. You must dwell very especially upon this, with all the fair words and arguments you can use. It occurs to us to say to you that, when conversations are raised about religion (unless they are directed expressly to persuade or bring to a sense of the right the person with you) they should be avoided by you, but when you cannot avoid hearing such conversations, as for instance with the Queen, you should, at least, excuse yourself from undertaking to write to me upon the subject; although, of course,

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it will be well and even necessary to do so for my own information, without the Queen or anyone else knowing it.

With regard to the conversation the Queen had with you about the suspicions and doubts they have aroused in her of a league between myself and other princes to invade her country and forward the Catholic cause there; since you told her the truth and gave her to understand that the assertion was a groundless one, invented by mean and jealous people for the purpose of alarming her, it will not be necessary for me to write you the special letter you suggest on the subject. It is amply sufficient that you, as my minister, have assured her of the falseness of the rumour, and you can, if you deem necessary, repeat the denial on my behalf.

It is unnecessary, also, to say anything more about what passed in the matter of the Prince between the Queen and you, nor need you descend to any further details of the matter except to thank her in my name (as I do myself in the letter) for her condolence, in the general terms you think fit. You may at the same time thank her for forbidding Hawkins and his companions from going to my Indian territories. Both of these acts have been proofs of our friendship and brotherhood, and I will always reciprocate similarly in matters that concern her.

Scotch affairs seem getting into such a condition, particularly as regards religion, that I cannot help feeling grief at them. You will continue to keep me informed of events there, especially about the Queen's imprisonment and the result of the accusation against her.

This courier will go in a smack, with orders for her to await in port to take him back again, and you will therefore despatch him as soon as possible, with advices to me as to what passes with the Queen, and the decision you arrive at with her about the ambassador. You will also inform the duke of Alba, as you will see how important it is that he should know. You will likewise communicate to me what you hear from him and any news about affairs in Flanders and France, as I wish to hear often from all quarters. As the earl of Sussex has arrived, it will be well, too, for you to let me know whether any result of importance on the marriage question has been attained by his journey. I still believe that it is all artifice to entertain her subjects, as you have very cogently said on various occasions.

With regard to your request that I should remove you from England (although I am very satisfied with you), the reasons you allege are of such weight and importance that I will give to the matter due consideration, having regard to your labours and services, and will advise you as to my decision.—Madrid 6th April, 1568.

10 April. **15.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

Things here are quiet as usual and the Queen went to Greenwich on the 6th. As I accompanied her in the country on that day, Lord Robert made me a long speech to the effect that, in your Majesty's interest and for the welfare of your Flanders dominions, it was advisable to adopt some lenient and peaceful course with

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regard to religion and the punishment of those who have misbehaved themselves in the States. He instanced the course taken in France, and how the King had come out of the affair there. He pointed out how strong the new religion was in Germany and the States, and said that even in some parts of Spain things are not quite so assured as is thought; nor in Italy either, especially near Rome. He spoke, he said, as a servant of your Majesty, and he desired your peace and prosperity, although he knew his words would be of little avail as he was a Protestant. I thanked him much for his good will, giving him to understand that he was mistaken about Spain, as also, I thought, about the rest of your Majesty's dominions; and said that if there had been any backsliding in Flanders, it would be remedied in a way that would scour it out completely, as the duke of Alba had got the matter in hand. Ever since the French disturbances they have been molesting Catholics here in various ways, pressing or relaxing, however, according to the news received from France.

Three of those whom I wrote they had arrested in the duchy of Lancaster for refusing to attend their services have been brought here, and amongst them a gentleman of position called John Southwell (Suduel), who, with the others, after the Council had examined them, was sent to the common jail. On the same day, the 7th instant, they arrested on religious grounds three lawyers of standing, called respectively Dr. More (?), Dr. Mitchel, and Dr. Windham, and they have also taken two ladies, lady Brown and lady Cave (?). It is reported from Berwick that the Queen of Scots wishes to marry a gentleman named Lord Moffat, who is connected with the Stuart family, and the matter has been discussed with great secrecy between the Regent and his closest friends; the idea being that, as the gentleman belongs to his family and is connected with him by blood and friendship, such a marriage would add to the Regent's strength and satisfy the Queen at the same time, and that if she marries a person of her own lineage and an enemy of the Hamiltons, more liberty might be given her. The Regent will retain power as hitherto, and hopes by this means to reconcile factions, satisfy the Queen, and strengthen himself. He has many enemies and must keep a good look out. He has news from France that Cardinal Lorraine is procuring 1,200 harquebussiers to be placed in Dumbarton. The Portuguese ambassador, whose arrival here on the 3rd I advised, has not yet seen the Queen. He is in no haste and is preparing for the interview. He has communicated to me his business, which is principally to request the Queen to forbid her subjects from interfering with the Portuguese Indies, especially Guinea, although they will consent to the English going to buy blacks at the places where the Portuguese sell them. He is also to ask for restitution of 600,000 ducats that he says English pirates have taken from the subjects of his King. I think he will have quite enough to do to get either of these things granted, but he says he will press very urgently the question of going to the Indies, and he means to put it in such a way that, if they do not grant his request, he will break with the Queen. I do not know what he will do, but I cannot believe this. It appears that he will be satisfied if the English

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who go thither do not go with the Queen's permission or in her ships, so that if the Portuguese fleet for the defence of the coast meet them, it may punish them as it punishes the French.

A gentleman from the King of France arrived here to-day to give an account to the Queen of the treaty of peace between him and the rebels. He has audience to-morrow.—London, 10th April 1568.

19 April. **16.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

The night before last I received your Majesty's letter of 19th ultimo. Thank God your Majesty still enjoyed the health that is so important to christendom and your servants! It is necessary that this good news should be reiterated on every opportunity to counteract the inventions of the ungodly, who can only produce according to their kind, and nearly every week set afloat a thousand wicked stories. The decree issued by your Majesty promising a good reception and freedom to those who convey bread stuffs to Biscay and Asturias is very wise, and, no doubt, will easily result in the supply of the much needed food for those countries. I understand that from various parts of England bread stuffs are already being sent by persons who have special license, and by gentlemen who do not need licenses from their own ports, and they will doubtless find it to their interests to continue to export. For this reason, and seeing the difficulties that usually are raised here when a general free export is requested, by reason of the wickedness of those who contrive means of putting up prices, which causes discontent amongst the common people and compels the Queen to withdraw the licenses to calm the clamour, I think best to hold my hand for the present and consult people well versed in the matter. A few days delay will not prejudice the business, and I shall then be able to address the Queen on the matter if desirable. As an instance of what I say: in 1566 I asked the Queen for the export of breadstuffs for certain ports in Flanders where scarcity existed, and greed then reached such a pitch that her own ministers bought up the supplies, which they sold to the exporters for their own profit. The outcry of the people was so great that, not only was the export prevented, but great prohibitions were decreed; whereas, if the matter had not been mentioned at all, the food would have been sent somehow, as usual, and as it is even now being sent to Biscay. The Queen is ill in bed with a great excess of bile, which I myself have been troubled with these two years past by reason of the climate. I will have your Majesty's decree made known amongst the merchants here, and their greed may, perhaps, prompt them to send grain as desired.

Secretary Cecil has told me that the King of France's gentleman who came hither is going on to Scotland, whereat, I think, they are not at all pleased, but rather suspicious. If what I wrote in my last about the projected marriage and extended liberty of the Queen of Scots be true, these people will feel it strongly, as they thought themselves quite safe from that side; but if she is to be married, it would not be altogether amiss for them that she should marry Moffat,

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as he is on the side of the Stuarts against the Hamiltons and the French.

I have not heard the peace made in France well spoken of here. These people have strange fancies and talk like men who have never left home. Some people wished the rebels to beat the King because of the heresy, and others that the war should continue, whilst they remained on the look-out to seize any advantage that the discord might afford them.

The Earl of Sussex has sent to tell me that about five days ago the Queen had a very long conversation with him respecting the marriage with the Archduke, but only generalities and nothing decided. I think she must be as false in this matter with the Earl as she is with others.

On the 14th I accompanied the Portuguese ambassador to court. He was well attended, and we went up to the presence chamber without anyone having come out to meet him, although the day and hour of his reception were fixed. After we arrived in the ante-chamber, some courtiers and gentlemen came to speak to me, amongst them the lord-chamberlain. I made them speak to the Ambassador, which they did, but sourly. I got the lord-chamberlain to entertain him until he was summoned, and they remained thus standing for a long while, I being seated as I am ailing. After the ambassador had waited for about an hour he was introduced to the Queen's chamber, where she received him, and, after a few words from him in his King's name, the Queen, with an angry look, complained greatly of the Cardinal,* who, she said, had written her a letter by an ambassador sent by her to the king containing discourteous expressions which were unfit to be addressed to her. She turned to me and said she wished I could see the letter and I should agree with her that it had been written by bishop of Osorio, whose style she recognised from having read certain writings of his about religion, which had been answered by a servant of hers named Dr. Haddon, to whom the Bishop had again replied. The words the Queen mentioned as being in the letter alluded to her as a tyrant. The Ambassador replied that he could not believe it until he saw it, and I said I agreed with him, as a Portuguese was never yet discourteous to a lady; and the conversation being thus turned into a lighter vein, I asked permission to be seated in consideration of my weakness. Cecil and Leicester presently came up to me and expressed their regret at such a letter being written. Secretary Cecil showed me the letter, and I took it to the ambassador tha he might see what it contained. I think it might well have been expressed in a different way and somewhat more modestly, although the writer had sacrificed some of the grace of his Latin in doing it. I enclose copy of it. Cecil said that the presumption of the Portuguese was insufferable, and made them hated by all nations. Both he and Leicester treated the subject in such a way that I told them that I had no answer to give them, as your Majesty, although you honoured your relatives, was very faithful to your

* Uncle of the young King Dom Sebastian, afterwards King Henry of Portugal,

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friends, and so the conversation ended. I asked them, for the love I bore them, to treat the ambassador graciously, as courtesy honoured the giver, and presently the Queen called me to her again and the rest of the time passed pleasantly. The Queen having recovered her temper, the ambassador told her she greatly resembled the Infanta Dona Maria.* This ended the first interview, business not having been spoken of. The lord-chamberlain accompanied the ambassador to the door of the presence chamber. The ambassador is a sensible man. He is hurt at their treatment of him, as well he may be, but they are strange people to have to do with. We shall see by their future dealing with the business whether this display has been a feint in order, as they think, to prevent him from carrying his complaints of them with so high a hand, but I do not regard it in that light myself.—London, 19th April 1568.

24 April. **17.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

The Queen is at Greenwich in good health, and affairs are all quiet and calm, without thought of trouble, as are also things in Ireland.

The gentleman from the King of France, who came to give an account of the peace with the rebels, has already started for Scotland. They were suspicious of his going, and intimated as much to the ambassador, who had to tell him that if they considered it inconvenient he would send him back. Seeing that they gave him no answer for two or three days he sent to ask audience of the Queen for the purpose of discussing the gentleman's return to France. They then gave him his passport for Scotland. I asked the ambassador if the gentleman would see the Queen herself or deal with the Regent. He answered that, if he could get to speak with the Queen he would negotiate with her, but if not, he would deal with the others. He said he bore private instructions from Cardinal Lorraine, which he had seen, to urge her to endure her troubles with patience, and await until God put your Majesty's affairs in a prosperous state, for he knew that aid could come from no other quarter. I passed this over, pretending that I took no notice of what he was saying, as I think that it is a new move of the French to ingratiate themselves here by raising suspicions of your Majesty.

Hearty thanks have been given to this Queen from their Christian Majestys for her neutrality and expressed sympathy with them during the late disturbances, and the ambassador asked in the names of his sovereigns what she would like them to send her from France, as they wished to make her a present to her taste.

In mine of the 10th I wrote to your Majesty that advices from Berwick of the 1st said that the Queen of Scots wished to marry Lord Moffat, and that her brother the Regent had secretly discussed the matter with his intimate friends. By the same route news now comes that the Queen has told her brother that she wishes to marry, and on his asking her whom she desired to wed she

* Princess Maria of Portugal, who had married Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, in October 1565. *See* Vol. I.

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answered the nephew of the gentleman who has her in keeping, a certain George Douglas; to which the Regent replied that he did not consider him a fit person for her husband, and he thought it would be better if she married Lord Moffat, as he belongs to the house of Stuart, and it was believed the Queen would do this. It is asserted that, on the 14th instant, the Queen exchanged apparel with her laundress, the latter remaining in the Queen's room whilst she left the castle and entered a boat with the intention of escaping from prison. The boatmen requested her to unveil, that they might see who she was, and she, whilst resisting them, uncovered one of her hands, which made them press her the more, until they unveiled her. She showed great spirit, and commanded them, with threats for their lives, to take her across to the opposite shore, where two men and three horses were awaiting her. They refused and took her back, although they promised they would not inform the keeper. The Portuguese ambassador had his second interview with the Queen to-day, when his business was discussed. He asked me to send my secretary with him, which I did, and he was also accompanied by Antonio de Guaras, Juan Baptista de San Vitores, and two other subjects of your Majesty. He was met by order of the Queen some distance outside the palace gates by Henry Cobham (who went to Germany with the earl of Sussex), a brother of his, and another gentleman of the chamber named Kyngesmyll. They led him to the presence chamber, where they entertained him until the lord chamberlain came out and took him to the Queen. As soon as he had entered, Secretary Cecil came out and called Baptista de San Vitores and afterwards Antonio de Guaras, and in the presence of the earl of Bedford said to them, "Since you are "helping the Portuguese ambassador, you will inform him that it "is the Queen's will that no one should attend mass in his house, "except his own servants and dependents, and that, if any other "persons do so, they will be severely punished." Antonio de Guaras retorted that surely foreigners might attend, to which the Secretary replied that they could not, and then entered the Queen's room, where the ambassador remained for over an hour. When he took his leave the lord chamberlain accompanied him outside the presence chamber, where he was taken charge of by the same gentlemen that received him, who went with him to the boat. The ambassador sent word to me that he would come and give me an account of what had passed with the Queen.—London, 24th April 1568.

1 May. **18.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

Nothing fresh from Scotland. I believe these people have a good understanding with the Regent and his government, in spite of this Queen's attempt to conceal it. Their carelessness about the frontier and laxity at Berwick are a good argument of this, and it is further confirmed by a letter that this Queen has written to the king of Denmark (copy of which I enclose) against the earl of Bothwell, no doubt at the request of the Regent and his friends. I am told that the details of the partition of some of the lands of John O'Neil amongst certain English persons have arrived in

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Ireland, and that an uncle of his, who is also called O'Neil, has joined with a neighbour named O'Donell, determined to resist the division, and it is feared that greater dissentions will result than in the past. This O'Neil is married to a daughter of the earl of Argyll, and it is said that he will therefore have the aid of the Scotsmen of the adjacent isles. This would somewhat disturb these folks, but much more if the Queen of Scots should gain her freedom. I had an appointment for an audience this afternoon, when I intended to speak to the Queen about the export of bread stuffs to Biscay and Asturias, but when I arrived at the gate of the palace I met a gentleman sent by the Queen to ask me to put off the interview till to-morrow, as she was somewhat inconvenienced with some medicine she had taken. Almost immediately afterwards another courtier came to say that the Queen, having heard that I had arrived, would make an effort to receive me. I went up to the presence chamber where I learned from her doctor, whom she had sent to entertain me, and from others, what her condition was, and refrained from importuning her in consequence. I went to the Council with Cecil to despatch certain private subjects' business, and the Queen sent thither to say that she would be glad if I would return to-morrow, as I had not cared to see her this afternoon. After I had done my business, the Secretary asked me what news I heard from Flanders. I told him, in short, that the duke of Alba, having received information that some show of disturbance was being made on the borders of Gueldres, had sent troops to Maestricht and Namur, and was still continuing the necessary measures to punish the disturbers. It was certain, however, that all would end as the similar attempt did some months ago, as it could have no support, and there was no one in Germany or elsewhere who would, for the sake of other people, undertake so dangerous and fruitless a step as to show himself an enemy of your Majesty's states. Cecil replied that he agreed with me, but he had been informed that great hatred had been aroused in Germany at the rigorous measures of repression which had been adopted by the duke of Alba in the States, as it was alleged that the Spaniards wished to expel all the natives therefrom and take possession of everything. I said it was no new thing for rebels against their sovereign to invent such stories as these to cause hatred and envy. He laughingly said, no it was not, only that the Spanish nation was a strange one, and wanted to be mistress of the world, and it was currently reported in Flanders that the Spaniards were coming over to this country tempted by the riches of the sea, but if they did, he said, they would find they had some queer cattle to deal with. I told him I did not believe, nor should he, that there was any such talk amongst Spaniards, who were a very temperate and modest people, especially as they had not the same amount of liberty as the English, who are allowed with impunity to say whatever they like. He said that some persons had certainly spoken in the sense he had mentioned, but they were not party men. I replied that doubtless those who spread such tales were the rebel scamps who came hither from Flanders, against whom I had not yet complained, as he knew, to the Queen and Council, but I

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could assure him that it was my intention to represent to the Queen that, in the interests of herself and her country, she should take care that those who took refuge here should not be allowed to return, alone or with others, to commit fresh offences in the States. I said it was quite enough, surely, to receive them here, without their making of this friendly country a centre from whence they could sally for the purpose of insults such as these, and then be received here again as before. I thought this should be altered as, from small beginnings, great troubles ensued. He thought that it would be very proper and just to remedy the matter, and the Queen ought to give it her best consideration. Although I do not know what will be done or how, I should be glad of some step being taken which would moderate somewhat these impudent Flemings here. A man has arrived here from the Regent of Scotland. Cecil tells me that his only errand is to arrange about the thieves that infest both sides of the border. He (Cecil) says that his Queen cannot endure the treatment of the Queen of Scots, and her imprisonment in the name of the Regent, and of the child they call King. I do not believe him on either point, and think they are still at their plots and combinations, and that it is all a blind, although the Queen has several times said the same to me as the Secretary.—London, 1 May 1568.

8 May. **19.** The KING to DON JUAN DE ZUNIGA.*

Draft headed: Respecting the departure of the English ambassador here.

Having heard that the ambassador from the Queen of England resident here did not conduct himself in a way fitting to his office and the interests of his sovereign, and that, in his conversation and actions, he did not proceed with due respect to religion and veneration to the holy see; and, bearing in mind the difficulties that might arise from his presence in this court and the danger of contagion to others from his bad example, I have resolved to order him to leave my court and await outside of it the orders of his mistress. It seems to me needful for the service of God and the public welfare to banish such a person from my court and from conversation with my subjects, and nothing in the world, however great, no consideration however grave, shall ever make me waver in the slightest degree in my determination to avoid the least offence to God Almighty; whose service and the observance of whose holy faith I place before all my interests and acts, and prefer to everything in this life, even my own existence. I have thought well to advise you of this, in order that you may report the same to His Holiness in my name, giving him the letter I write to him in your credence. You will tell him the resolution I have taken, of which I am well satisfied and am sure His Holiness will be so, as I desire so earnestly that my actions and proceedings

* The Spanish ambassador in Rome, brother of the Grand Commander of Castile, Don Luis de Requesens y Zuñiga, afterwards governor of the Netherlands on the recall of the duke of Alba.

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may content one whom I love, esteem, and reverence as a father. —Madrid, 8th May 1568.

Postscript in the King's hand: The letter for His Holiness does not go, as it is unnecessary. The above says that I have ordered the man to leave here and wait outside the orders of his Queen. I have written to her and asked her by my ambassador to recall him, and if not, I shall be obliged to expel him.

11 May. **20.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 8th, saying I had received on the 6th the despatch of the 6th April, and that the Queen had fixed an audience for me on the 9th instant. I went, and, handing her your Majesty's letter, watched her countenance closely whilst she was reading it. When she came to the latter part, about the ambassador, she changed colour, and seemed somewhat annoyed, asking me what it meant. I related the matter in accordance with your Majesty's instructions, in general terms, without reciting details, concluding by saying that, considering the man's conduct, he might more fittingly be called a perturber than an ambassador. She said she was much surprised at what I told her, but asked me for particular instances for her information. I replied that I had already told her that your Majesty had ordered a gentleman of your household to be despatched, who would give her such information as would enable her to judge of the whole case with full knowledge, and in the meanwhile, she might be assured of the love and affection with which your Majesty had always regarded all that concerned her, and the consideration and gentleness with which you proceeded towards your friends. As an instance, which would enable her to see the way her ambassador had acted in other things, I might tell her, however, that a person in whom I had full confidence had written to me that, at a dinner at which many persons, Spaniards and others, were present, he presumed to say, publicly and impudently, that only your Majesty defended the papal sect, and that in the end the prince of Condé and his followers would prevail; that the Pope was a canting little monk, and other expressions of a similar sort. She replied that these were very insignificant matters, of which no notice should be taken. I said, in Spain, on the contrary, they were so important that, if the man had not been a public person and her minister, his punishment would have been exemplary; to which she replied that, even if there were reasons why your Majesty would not receive him personally, he still might remain in the court as before. She said, when the bishop of Aquila was plotting against her and the peace of her realm, of which she was fully informed, she had seized some letters of his from the courier, but had refrained from opening them, except in his presence, and had shown him what he himself had signed, and yet she had taken no further steps against him. She was therefore grieved that her ambassador should be treated as he had been, especially as, at this time, suspicions and comments would arise therefrom, and this way of treating ambassadors was the forerunner of greater unpleasantness,

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particularly coming, as it did, on the top of the news about the league, and I should hear the next day what would be said in London about it. I answered that, as to the comments and opinions which would be current everywhere, they might easily be disposed of by her at once appointing another ambassador, as your Majesty asked; some person to whom you could show the true love and friendship you felt towards her, as your Majesty had always done, and in the meanwhile the matter might be kept secret, as it should be by me. She said, when she sent this ambassador, she considered him rather an adherent of the old religion than a Protestant, and she was therefore the more surprised that he should not have acted sensibly, but she had been told that some of the ambassadors she had sent there had not lived according to the English laws. I said her former ambassadors had acted prudently by avoiding all cause for scandal, and her servants might well learn discretion from her own wise moderation in these matters here. This man, however, no doubt, had been carried away by passion, or had been ruled by orders from elsewhere. The Queen asked me what I meant by that; did I mean that he had acted under the instructions of others? I said that, judging from his actions, it might be so suspected.

Her reply was that she greatly regretted that her ambassador should have said or done anything to offend your Majesty, as that was quite against her wish and instructions to him, and, if it be so, that she will have him punished in a way that will prove to your Majesty her goodwill and friendship; but you must allow her not to condemn her minister until she had the whole case before her and had heard him in his defence; as until then she was compelled by her position not to condemn him or to admit that he had offended. Perhaps, she said, your Majesty has had a one-sided or untrue account given to you, as is often the case with sovereigns, as she well knew from her own experience. Here she stopped, and I continued: "And I will add in your Majesty's name that, if you "find the ambassador to blame, you will send for your ambassador "some such a person as my King suggests." She replied: "Yes, "yes, I say so and I will do it." She was annoyed at first, but became calmer afterwards, and seemed satisfied with what I said from your Majesty about the league. In addition to what your Majesty directed me to write about it on the 6th, I also showed what was said in your Majesty's letter of the 12th, which came very appropriately.—London, 11th May 1568.

13 May. **21.** The KING to GUZMAN DE SILVA.

Such of your letters as require reply will be best answered by telling you that, on our resolution as to the English ambassador's banishment from here being conveyed to him, he decided to go to Barajas, where I ordered a lodging to be provided for him, and his house here is still considered to be in his occupation. It will be well that the Queen should learn this from you, as if casually on your own account, so that she may see the respect and kind treatment accorded to him, in his character of her minister, he

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himself having richly deserved to be burnt at the stake, as will be seen by the report borne by Don Guerau de Spés, a Catalonian knight of the order of Calatrava, whom I have appointed for the mission and have sent for to come here. I may tell you openly that I am sending him with the intention, if matters are settled satisfactorily, of appointing him to succeed you there. Bearing in mind your services and my satisfaction with you, I have decided to send you to Venice to continue in that republic your duties as my ambassador. Don Guerau takes with him the necessary instructions and information, so that, after he is informed of the position of things there, you can leave when you like. It will be well, however, for you to keep this secret until due time for many good reasons, and I have only had the duke of Alba informed of my intention in this respect. You will also keep him informed of what is done, for his guidance.—Aranjuez, 13th May 1568.

14 May. **22.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

At 10 o'clock yesterday morning the courier arrived that your Majesty sent by sea on the 6th ultimo, and at the same time arrived Dr. Arias Montano and Harrington who crossed in the same vessel. Bad weather had driven them into an Irish port called Youghal, which accounts for their being so long delayed. The despatches for the duke of Alba I will send by the ordinary to-morrow, as there seems no need for greater haste, the duplicates having already reached him.

On the afternoon of the 11th, the person sent by the Queen's ambassador arrived here, as your Majesty informed me he would, and he was for more than an hour with Cecil on the same evening in London. The next day Cecil went to Greenwich, where there have been many council meetings. I have been unable to discover the account the man brought to the Queen, although I have a person on the look-out for it; but I learn that the ambassador is returning and begs urgently for his recall. I detain the courier until I see the result of this man's coming, in order to advise your Majesty, seeing that I have already sent by way of Flanders an account of what passed between the Queen and me on the matter, and send copy of the same herewith to Don Francés de Alava. I think these council meetings are about Scotland, as I am told they are much annoyed at the liberation of the Queen of Scots. A gentleman sent by the latter to visit this Queen, and give her an account of her successful attempt, arrived here three days ago and came to see me to-day on his Queen's behalf. He said he did not bring me a letter from her, as she was always accompanied by people before whom she could not write, but had instructed him to inform me of her deliverance, as she knew I should be glad to hear of it, and in order that I might convey the intelligence to your Majesty. Now that she is free, she says, she will take steps to show how blameless she was in the events which are attributed to her in the past, and that those who had kept her in durance were the principal culprits, as she will more fully inform your Majesty and the Christian King. She begged me to advise and enjoin her

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what she ought to do, and she would esteem it a favour as she always used to do. I replied suitably, as I thought, both as to the pleasure with which your Majesty would hear of her liberation, and your personal esteem of her and desire for her welfare; and also as to myself, that I should be very glad to use my good offices in her interests in consideration of what I understood to be your Majesty's goodwill towards her and her affairs. This man assures me that she is as firm and constant in the Catholic faith as ever, and that she has need to be very careful now how she proceeds. I asked him if she had resources to stand against her enemies, to which he replied that she had, as a great part of the lords and nearly all the people were on her side, and that the earl of Argyll had already sent to her offering his services. If she were not so poor in consequence of all her jewels and property having been taken from her, and her having escaped with no other clothes but the servant's garb she wore, all would be well. This man begs me to write to the duke of Alba to ask him to seize and detain the Queen's jewels in case they should have been taken to Antwerp for sale. La Mothe is coming here for French ambassador but not until July. He is considered to be a Catholic. I have no reply yet about the exportation of breadstuffs.—London, 14th May 1568.

16 May. **23.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

Secretary Cecil has sent to say that two places have been appointed where the persons who have been authorised to export grain for Biscay and Asturias will find most convenience for doing so, and he promises me a list of the persons so authorised, who will have to take an oath not to go elsewhere.

The details and mode of proceeding in this business I will learn later. I have always been of opinion that it would be made profitable to English subjects, as it usually is, but still if they carry food in sufficient quantities it will also be of advantage to Biscay and Asturias.

A person has arrived from Berwick who says that the earl of Murray the Regent has 3,000 men, and that 900 only still stood by the Queen. The castle of Hamilton where the Queen is, is not considered strong, but the Queen of Scot's servant tells me she can go to Dumbarton, which is stronger and near the sea. The folks here are anxious about this business, and the Council is for ever sitting. I do not know what they will decide to do.

The reports about the Scots having crossed over from the islands to Ireland are still current, and, if true, they cannot fail to disturb people here.

Secretary Cecil has sent me, by the Queen's orders, the enclosed copy respecting what was written by a certain Dr. Gonzalo de Illescas in a "Pontifical and Catholic History," and asked me to read it and say what I thought of it. I replied that it appeared to me to show great indiscretion and disrespect on the part of the writer, and I was quite sure that, if your Majesty heard of it, you would not only have the book altered, but would punish the author. I referred the note to Arias Montano as I did not know anything of

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this Gonzalo de Illescas. He tells me that he understands he is a person of little prudence, and that the book had been examined by Father Pedro Juan de Lastanosa by order of the Council, and he would report upon it. As it is a question that touches the honour of a marriageable princess of high lineage and gifts, if only God would make her a Catholic, I have thought well to inform your Majesty, although I said to the man who brought me the note that if I made a grievance and wrote to your Majesty of all the scurrilous things they say in this country about your royal person I should have to write nearly every day. I said that great Princes, as they could not shut everybody's mouth, had to content themselves with doing their duty and taking no notice. They could not help difference of opinion amongst men. I expect when I have audience to-morrow the Queen will mention the matter to me, and, in that case, I shall tell her that her ambassador who sent her the paper might well have had the evil remedied in Spain, without troubling her about it, and that in matters of this sort "the reciter is as bad as the rhymer."

The statement of what happened at the escape of the Queen of Scots made by her gentleman here is enclosed.*

With regard to my request to the Queen that she would order such means to be adopted in the ports as will prevent those from the Netherlands who have taken refuge here from returning to the States to do damage, the enclosed decree has been issued.—London, 16th May 1668.

20 May. **24.** The KING to GUZMAN DE SILVA.

I note what passed when the ambassador of my nephew the King of Portugal went to speak with the Queen, and I am glad you accompanied and guided him in the interests of his embassy. I am greatly displeased that the Queen and her courtiers should have treated him with the coolness you describe, as the Latin letter does not seem to me to contain any expressions which justify such treatment, and I am of the same opinion as you, that they made this a pretext to pick a quarrel so as to avoid coming to close quarters with him about the demands he has to make of them. I had a copy sent at once to the Portuguese ambassador here, Don Francisco Pereira, that he might send it to the King, my nephew, that he may take such course as may be necessary.

In the meanwhile, you will aid the ambassador to the best of your ability whenever opportunity occurs, and will promptly give me an account of all that is done and happens, as I am as much interested in my nephew's affairs as my own, indeed I consider them as such, as my affection for the King is that of a father for his son. —Aranjuez, 20th May 1568.

21 May. **25.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

I have already written to your Majesty that, although it would have been possible for me to send back at once the courier that brought me your letters of 6th ultimo, as I had discussed with the Queen the matter of her ambassador, I thought better to delay his

* This paper is missing.

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departure until I could see her again, and learn what she had heard from the man the ambassador had sent hither, and whether she had come to any decision. After having spoken to her on several other subjects and purposely avoided this one, in order to see whether she would broach it first, she referred to it in almost the same words as when I discussed it with her before; expressing regret that any minister of hers should have acted in a way displeasing to your Majesty, whereas she had no greater desire than to gratify you. She nevertheless requested your Majesty to allow her to keep one ear open to obtain full information, as was her royal duty, and said that she would not retain a person near your Majesty who was unable to please you. She thought this man would have done so, as he was considered moderate in religion and had no love for the French, and this is why she had sent him. She was therefore much surprised that he had acted contrarily, although he had recently sent her a special messenger to say that after your Majesty had appointed many audiences for him, *and he had gone to the palace,** you had not received him, either on the plea that you were indisposed or busy; whereat he was much surprised, as he did not know what he had done to deserve your Majesty's displeasure, and assured her that there was nothing he would wish for better (if he were not an ambassador fulfilling a public office) than to be put into prison and tried, so that his innocence might be proved or he be punished for his offence. She said that, although he wrote to this effect, she did not learn either from his letter or the statement of his messenger that your Majesty had actually refused to receive him or had sent him out of Madrid; and she wished you had let her know if you were unwilling to treat with him, rather than allow him to go so many times to the palace for audience and return without it, *as she said he had done nineteen times. I do not know whether she made a mistake of ten.*† She could only believe that your Majesty's displeasure must have been caused by tales of somebody inimical to the ambassador or herself, and suggested that it might be the duke of Feria‡ in consequence of what had passed with him respecting the earl of Arundel. I begged her to believe that your Majesty had not acted without just and sufficient reasons, the extreme gentleness, moderation and consideration, with which you proceeded with all persons being notorious, and, above all, with the ministers of such a good friend as she was. It was quite foreign, I said, to your royal spirit and dignity to take offence without ample cause, and I did not believe that the duke of Feria was inimical to her, indeed, he had rather proved otherwise by the care he took to honour and entertain her subjects, nor would he be prejudiced against her ambassador, unless, indeed, he thought the latter was not serving her successfully.

* In the handwriting of the King is the following note: It is true that I evaded audience, but it is not true that he came to the palace for it. I saw him come in once and thought he had come to ask for audience, but I found it was not so as he had only come to speak to Ruy Gomez, as the latter told me afterwards.

† Note in handwriting of Secretary Zayas; "No doubt she did so mistake"; to which the King adds in his own hand, "I have already said that he did not go once, much less nineteen times."

‡ Note in the handwriting of Zayas: "Suspicions of Feria."

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She replied that certainly he (the duke of Feria) had never been friendly towards her since she gave him the answer she did about the marriage with your Majesty, and he (the Duke) had told her himself that he should never in his life forget her reply. As for the duke's kindness to her subjects, that was owing to the Duchess, and she knew he was offended with her ambassador about the earl of Arundel's affair. I said the ambassador had shown a lack of perspicacity and prudence in writing as he had done, and that he might far better have smoothed the matter over, instead of making mischief between two persons of such position as theirs. She tried to exonerate him by saying that the earl had heard of it from other sources, and not from the ambassador, and that she had told me herself at the time that she had been informed of it. I said, to convince her that the matter had not arisen from any ill-feeling on the part of the Duke or any other person, but from the fault of the ambassador, I had a letter from Prince Ruigomez* in which he writes to me, with his own hand, that the ambassador had acted in a way that made it impossible to treat him otherwise than had been done. She would understand, I said, from the reticence, calmness, and moderation, with which the Prince always spoke, that these words conveyed much more than I could venture to imagine or describe. The Queen checked herself for a moment and then said the ambassador had written that Prince Ruigomez had always shown him great kindness and a good disposition towards her affairs, no doubt carrying out in this your Majesty's wishes, and she greatly appreciated the care and uprightness with which, she was assured, he proceeded. She carried the matter no further, and I afterwards discussed it with Cecil, who said almost the same as the Queen about inimical persons having influenced your Majesty against the ambassador. He said, perhaps these persons were some of the Englishmen resident in your Majesty's court, who may have spoken with undue freedom of the Queen and this country, and the ambassador may have deemed it necessary to reply to them. I said it was quite unnecessary, knowing him as I did, for me to say more than that it would be best for this man to come home, and much to the Queen's advantage to send another person, even if for no other reason but your Majesty's wish; and if I were one of the Queen's councillors, this reason would be sufficient, without seeking any other, because the person least fit to uphold the dignity of two brother sovereigns was one who was hateful to one of them. Cecil said he was of opinion, and always had been, that it would be better to choose some other person to replace the ambassador, although he was sure the man had not misconducted himself, at least intentionally, and again cautiously hinted at suspicions of the duke of Feria, which suspicions I tried to allay.—London, 21st May 1568.

22 May. **26.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

As soon as the arrival of the queen of Scotland in this country was known, the Council met to consider what was to be done with

* *Ruy Gomez de Silva, Prince of Eboli and Duke of Pastrana.*

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her; whether she was to be treated in accordance with her present or her former position. It is said that this Queen took the part of the queen of Scotland, but her views did not prevail as a majority of the Council was of a different opinion. The duke of Norfolk and the earls of Arundel and Leicester were ordered to be summoned, so that a full Council might decide what was to be done. I think they must be somewhat embarrassed, as this Queen has always shown goodwill to the queen of Scots, and the Council, or a majority of it, has been opposed to her and leant to the side of the Regent and his Government. If this Queen has her way now, they will be obliged to treat the queen of Scots as a sovereign, which will offend those who forced her to abdicate, so that, although these people are glad enough to have her in their hands, they have many things to consider. If they keep her as if in prison, it will probably scandalise all neighbouring princes, and if she remain free and able to communicate with her friends, great suspicions will be aroused. In any case it is certain that two women will not agree very long together. I am informed that orders are to be sent to Berwick for 50 harquebussiers to leave there to serve as a guard to the queen of Scots. I have seen a letter from the earl of Bedford to the Regent in favour of the gentleman whom this Queen sent thither, named Leighton. He requests that he be very well received, and since the French ambassador was allowed to see the Queen, that he (Leighton) might also see her. He (Bedford) recommends the Regent to use every effort to prevent the Queen from slipping out of their hands, and now that she had, as was reported, taken refuge in Dumbarton and was well surrounded, measures should be taken at once to cut off supplies. He said they should do very promptly what had to be done, in order that the Queen and her friends might not escape and join with foreigners, whose presence in Scotland would embarrass them, and, if they succeeded in succouring the Queen and remained in her service, they would certainly pull down religion, which must be borne in mind. Other things to the same effect were contained in the letter, which was very remarkable as coming from a councillor, as such persons do not usually speak at random on these matters like private people.—London, 22 May 1568.

23 May. **27.** The KING to GUZMAN DE SILVA.

After the enclosed had been written, your letter of the 19th April was received, and we are sorry you still continued unwell, although we trust in God, since you so willingly devote yourself to His work and the interests of religion, that He will restore you to perfect health. For the reasons you give it was quite right of you not to speak to the Queen about the export of grain to the coast of Spain, and the more especially as, thank God, it will be no longer necessary, since the season is so propitious that a very abundant harvest is expected everywhere. However, if any parcels have been sent, those who bring them will lose nothing, as it will be willingly bought up to supply the demand pending the gathering of the new harvest.

As to the marriage of the Archduke to the Queen, I am

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becoming more confirmed every day in my belief that it is nothing but a trick and pastime from beginning to end, and that she is deceiving Sussex and Leicester as well as she does others.

The English ambassador told Zayas that the audience he had requested of me was for the purpose, amongst other things, of showing me the enclosed paper copied from a book called "Pontifical History," which was recently printed by a Dr. Illescas, and, as the book bears the statement that it was issued with my license, the Queen had supposed that I had read and passed it. Zayas undeceived him as to this, and gave him to understand that these matters are disposed of by my council without my seeing them, and assured him that I knew nothing about it, but that if I had seen the expressions I would not have allowed them, which is true. This quieted the ambassador, and, on Zayas referring the matter to me, I ordered notice to be given to the Cardinal-President, who had already ordered all copies that could be obtained to be withdrawn in consequence of certain other impertinent things contained in the book, and that it should be reprinted at Salamanca, leaving out all objectionable portions, and amongst others the contents of the paper, and any other expression touching the dignity and estimation of the Queen. It is well that you should know this, so that, if she or her ministers should mention the matter to you again you may satisfy them by telling them the truth as stated above.—Aranjuez, 23rd May 1568.

24 May. **28.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

By a letter from Secretary Gabriel de Zayas I learn that, on the 20th ultimo, he had conveyed to the English ambassador in Spain your Majesty's message respecting the course you had thought well to adopt towards him in accordance with the communication I had made to this Queen on the subject from your Majesty. As I thought the ambassador would send an account of the matter hither, and it was desirable for me to know what had been decided about it, I took the opportunity afforded by Cecil's coming from Greenwich last night to call upon him early this morning, with the excuse of asking him for particulars of the persons who were to take breadstuffs to Biscay, and as to the assurance they would carry it thither, and to no other place. I told him that I had heard that Secretary Zayas had conveyed the message to the ambassador, and he (Cecil) thereupon flew into a great rage. He said such a proceeding towards the ambassador of a friendly prince had never been heard of before, except when a pretext for war was sought, and it was a great piece of disrespect and insult towards his Queen, showing a desire to pick a quarrel with her, as had been already stated in certain quarters, and it now befitted the Queen to be prepared. He said it would have been only right for your Majesty to have advised the Queen that you were dissatisfied with her ambassador and desired his recall, giving particulars of his transgressions before taking such a course as this, in order that the Queen herself might punish him, instead of your Majesty's doing it, as no superiority could exist between equals. He asked me whether I had told the Queen this, and said the members of the Council would take the

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matter up, as they thought it should not be passed over. He said it had been decided to recall the ambassador and the letter was already written, but he did not know now how it would end. He knew that the ambassador's enemies had influenced your Majesty, as one of them, when in a passion, had threatened him (the ambassador) that they would do so. He (Cecil) recollected when the Emperor, your Majesty's father, was dissatisfied with two ambassadors from the King (Henry VIII.), and with one, to such an extent, that he said that, but for respect to the King, he would have had him thrown out of window. He nevertheless took the course of requesting the King to recall them, without having made any public demonstration against them. He (Cecil) asked me to tell him what had moved your Majesty to do as you had done, and said that he was informed from Madrid that I had been making mischief from here against the ambassador, and had been instrumental in angering your Majesty with him; and asked how should I feel if anyone were to act in that way towards me? He said he had also been told that, since your Majesty had shown your displeasure, the Inquisitors had examined certain Englishmen against the ambassador, threatening them to compel them to say what was required of them. I let him talk on, and, when he had done, I waited a little for him to recover somewhat from his rage, and then went up to him laughing and embraced him, saying that I was amused to see him fly into such a passion over what I had told him, because I knew he understood differently, and that the affair was of such a character as to be only as good or as bad as the Queen liked to make it. She could take it as a good sister and friend, as I hoped she would, and had shown signs of doing which was the easiest, most just, and even most necessary way, since it was only right to take the actions of a friend in good part, at least until bad intention be proved, or she could, for other reasons, look at in a different light, which might make it more difficult, to the prejudice of his Queen and of your Majesty. I did not believe, however, that any sensible man who had the interests of the Queen at heart would do this, and it was for this reason, and my zeal to preserve this friendship, that, as soon as I heard of it, I wished to let him know so as to be beforehand with the mischief makers, and because I knew him to be faithful to the Queen and well disposed towards your Majesty's affairs. I meant him to make use of my information privately in favour of the objects I had stated. He asked me whether I had not told him in order that he might convey it to the Queen and Council, to which I replied no, that I had only told him privately as a friend, and with this he became calmer. I said, as to its being a demonstration, such things were only done in time of war or as a pretext for it, as he had said, but this was out of the question in this case with the present friendship and alliance and without any cause, and particularly as your Majesty was desirous of seeing in your Court some fitting man as a successor to this ambassador, as I had told the Queen and him, and the sooner such a man was sent the sooner would friends and enemies see the good reception your Majesty would give him, and how much you honoured and loved his mistress. As to the idea that

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the ambassador's enemies had influenced your Majesty, I said he was to believe no such thing, and that your Majesty was not to be persuaded except of the truth, as would in due time plainly appear, and, with regard to the Emperor's action with King Henry's ambassadors, no doubt the reasons were different from the present case, and I thought he (Cecil) would agree with me in this, knowing how carefully and considerately your Majesty always acted, and it should suffice for the Queen, the Council, and all the world that your Majesty had ordered a certain course to be taken to be sure that just and ample reasons existed for doing so without my justifying it. The inquisitors, I assured him, were not in the habit of obtaining evidence by threats, but with the greatest gentleness, and, as for the statement that I had made mischief about the ambassador, that was absurd. I had in fact no knowledge that anything was being done against him, and knew nothing at all about the matter until I received your Majesty's despatch ordering me to inform the Queen. I had indeed been very sorry that your Majesty had been compelled to take the course you did, more sorry, perhaps, than any member of the Queen's Council that her ambassador had given cause for it, being, as he was, a minister of hers. In reply to his question as to whether I had told the Queen when I spoke to her about it that it was your Majesty's intention to take this course with the ambassador, I said yes, I had, and him (Cecil) as well. He said he did not recollect that I had told him, and I replied that he must have forgotten it amidst other matters.

He gave me to understand that the Council regarded me with suspicion, and blamed him greatly for giving credit to all I told him, hinting that the Queen did the same. I said he knew full well, from long communication with me, how mistaken the Council was in this, how many good offices I had done, and how straightforwardly I had always acted with him. As regarded the Queen (whom I knew they had been trying to persuade that I was deceiving her), if I did not know her and had not experience of her great talent, I should be grieved to think that she might allow herself to be misled by them; but I know well that no one would make her believe anything about me against her own knowledge and experience of the attachment with which I had always served and advised her for the best. I said she was the best witness, and, in continuance of my good offices, I desired to conduct this business in a way to prove that nobody had been in fault except the ambassador himself, and so to banish any contrary suspicion. With reference to his question as to how I should feel if I were treated in the same way, I said, that although I should grieve, being a minister of your Majesty, if the Queen were to do it without any fault of mine, yet, if I were to blame, I would endure it with patience. I told him he was the only person to whom I had communicated the banishment of the ambassador from the court, without desiring him to convey the intelligence to the Queen and Council because I had understood already that they had decided to recall the man, and I did not wish that the recall should be delayed on this account; but I am quite sure he will at once tell the Queen

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and Council what passed between us. In the course of the conversation, he said that the English complained that they could never get justice done to them (in Spain), and, even though your Majesty issued decrees for it to be done, they were not obeyed, and no notice was taken of them by the officers of justice, whereat he said he was much surprised. I said that was new to me, and asked him for a statement of complaints. At last he seemed more tranquil.—London, 24th May 1568.

31 May. **29.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

I have already written to your Majesty the answer given to the Portuguese ambassador, and do not again refer to it here except to say that, when he again requested audience of the Queen to discuss the reply, she referred him to the Council. They confirmed the answer previously given; whereupon the ambassador was again offended, and told them that, if they did not agree to what his master demanded, they would have a war on their hands. I understand that they made light of this, in the belief that the forces of Portugal cannot do them much harm, in which I think they are mistaken, for, considering the state they are in, a smaller power still could make things uncomfortable for them. The warrants were dispatched yesterday for those who have been appointed to take breadstuffs to Biscay, &c., and, at the same time, three licenses were given for Spanish ships which are here to load food for the same destination. It is not much, but under cover of these permits, with a little scheming (without which nothing can be done here), they will take as much as they can ship.

The queen of Scots is at Carlisle on the Scotch frontier. The Council has been considering lately what they shall do with her, but I do not know that any decision has been arrived at, although it will not be long delayed. The French ambassador, who went to Scotland, came the day before yesterday to my lodging, and told me that this Queen had asked him to assure his master, from her, that the life of the queen of Scots would be safe here. The servant of the Queen's ambassador (in Spain) is leaving from day to day, but still does not start. They say he bears the ambassador's letters of recall.—London, 31st May 1568.

5 June. **30.** The SAME to the SAME.

The Queen informed me yesterday that she had ordered her ambassador to be recalled, as it was not desirable to have a person to represent her near your Majesty who was distasteful to you, although she greatly wished that your Majesty would hear him in his exculpation, as, by his own account to her, he had not transgressed, and it gave her pain that an ambassador of hers should be, as it were, banished from your Court and presence, on account of the talk it would give rise to. I reminded her I had previously asked that a fitting person should be sent at once, and said the welcome and good reception your Majesty would give him would prove to all with what affection you regarded her, and always had done. I said I was glad to hear of her resolve to recall the

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ambassador, and knew your Majesty also would be pleased, particularly as her readiness to do so proved her goodwill towards you. She still wished to blame the Duke de Feria in the business, as she did when I discussed it with her before, and I did my best to reassure her. I have not heard of a new man being appointed, nor did I mention it, except to remind her, as I have said, in order to avoid . . . . * entering afresh into discussion now the matter is settled.

When I left the Queen, and had dispatched some private business with Cecil, I told him what the Queen had said about recalling the ambassador. He confirmed it, and said that he had received letters from the ambassador saying that two secretaries had been to convey to him your Majesty's orders for him to leave the court; one of them, Gabriel de Zayas,† and another, whose name he did not know. He wrote, saying that he had never exceeded what the duke of Feria had told him, namely, that, as to religion, he personally could do as he pleased, so long as he did not set a bad example. He had not departed from this course, and had not forbidden his people to go to mass. He said that the person your Majesty was going to send to the Queen to inform her of the reasons for your action had not left yet, and he did not know whether he would go.—London, 5th June 1568.

12 June. **31.** The SAME to the SAME.

The servant of the Queen's ambassador (in Spain), who came hither on his business, started on his return on the 6th instant, and no doubt took the letters of recall, as I wrote on the 5th by way of Flanders. I am informed that he carried also for your Majesty a statement of the proposals made by the Portuguese ambassador on the King's behalf, and of the answer they gave, which is, in substance, the same as I have already advised. It is to be supposed that their reason for communicating with your Majesty on this subject is that they would like to come to some agreement, notwithstanding their show of contempt for the Portuguese.

M. de Montmorin, one of the gentlemen of the king of France who came, as I have reported, to visit the Queen and recommend to her the affairs of the queen of Scots, had audience on the 7th, but they have not yet given him an answer. I understand he asked for leave to go and see her (the queen of Scots).

Fleming and Herries have also had audience on behalf of the queen of Scots. These are the men that, the Queen told me, are here secretly, and whom she had not decided whether she would

* There is a word erased here, and in the margin of the letter there is a note in the King's handwriting which perhaps refers to it, as follows: "There seems to be a word "missing here. Look if it is in the cypher. I thought the same thing occurred "yesterday in part of the letter from Don Francés, but I forgot to mention it. Look "that up as well. I do not know whether it was something about those three men "respecting whom he wrote to you, and said that he was also writing to me on the same "subject, although I do not recollect that he did so. Look well into it so that we may "know what it means, for I did not understand it yesterday."

† Note in the handwriting of Secretary Zayas: "It is true that Gaitan was with me, "but he did nothing but accompany me."

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receive or not. They begged for help to restore their Queen, and permission for Fleming to go to France. No answer has been given to them either.

Fleming sent me two letters, one from his Queen to the duke of Alba, and the other from himself to me, copy of which I enclose with my answer, and another short note from him. Herries who, as I say, also came for the queen of Scotland, seeing that both he and Fleming were kept as prisoners and without liberty to walk and talk as they liked, owing to the English guard told off to accompany them, spoke to the Council about it, and said that he was surprised that such a course should have been taken with him, whilst the person sent hither by the Regent was free to go where he pleased, and especially as he (Herries) was one of those who advised his Queen to come to England, and not to France, whither she could have gone. He requested that they would give him a prompt answer, and let him go, as he could not suffer the long delay usual here, nor would the nature of the business permit it, and he wished to learn whether the Queen, as she had always said, was willing to help his Queen. When the Chancellor asked him how or when the Queen had bound herself to do so, he replied, in a letter written with her own hand and by a jewel she recently sent to his Queen as a token by the hand of Throgmorton when he went thither, and he, Herries, had no doubt the Queen would fulfil her promise; but, if she did not, he would go and beg aid from the King of France, the Emperor, your Majesty, and even the Pope.

The earl of Bedford, who is the most zealous of them, at once exclaimed, "the Pope!" "Yes," said Herries, "and even the "grand Turk and the Sophi, seeing the need my Queen is in." The Council met to-day to consider the answer they would give him. They have ordered the queen of Scots to be brought to a castle in the county of Staffordshire, called Tutbury, which I am told is a mean place of small importance. They want to serve her and her household in English fashion, and will provide necessary food for them, although the number of officers and followers to be allotted to her has not yet been fixed.—London, 12th June 1568.

19 June. **32.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

The Queen has informed me that she has ordered her ambassador to return. I told her that I thought she had acted wisely in doing so, and that, so far as I could learn, if he had been a minister of any other sovereign but herself, so much consideration and forbearance would not have been shown him. He had been provided with another house in a place that he himself had chosen, as well as retaining in his possession his house in Madrid. The Queen asked me whether he was a prisoner, to which I replied no, that, on the contrary, he was very well treated. She does not seem aggrieved except that your Majesty would not hear him in his defence, but even this grievance is now mitigated, and she is calm. She is also tranquillised about the League,* and, on this subject, I took the

* The Catholic league against England and the Protestants. *See* Vol. I., 646.

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opportunity of again reassuring her, and greatly praised, on your Majesty's behalf, the answer she gave to Count Egmont and the Palatine, whereat she was extremely pleased. She told me that her ambassador had written to her that Dr. Illescas' book had been reprinted, but with worse expressions than at first. I repeated to her what your Majesty had ordered to be written to me on the subject, and the diligence of Cardinal Pacheco in calling in the books and having them amended, where she was referred to, in such a way as to prove conclusively to her the love and interest your Majesty felt in all that concerned her, and especially where her reputation was touched. She has made much of this business, and will greatly esteem all that is done in the matter for her.—London, 19th June 1568.

24 June. **33.** The SAME to the SAME.

The Queen has sent a decided answer to Herries and Fleming, and has refused to give leave to the latter to go to France respecting the Scotch Queen's affairs. Her answer is that she has ordered their Queen to approach nearer to her, and has sent word to the (Scotch) government to send representatives to the same place, whither she herself will also send persons to treat with both parties. If she is assured that their Queen was not an accomplice in the murder of her husband, she will help her, and if she was privy to it, she will try to reconcile her to the government. Everything seems to be tending to what I have previously written was the intention in this business.—London, 24th June 1568.

26 June. **34.** The SAME to the SAME.

The Queen has replied to Herries and Fleming, who, as I have written, came on behalf of the queen of Scots, flatly refusing Fleming his passport to go to France, and saying that, as to her seeing their Queen, she had ordered the latter to approach nearer here, and had written to the Regent and government asking them to send persons to discuss matters, which persons will meet in the same place as the queen of Scots. She (Elizabeth) will thereupon appoint representatives who will treat with both parties, and if she is advised that their Queen was not culpable in the murder of her husband, she will help with all her forces to restore her to her former dignity; and, if the contrary should be the case, she will try to reconcile them in the best way possible. These folks are a good deal embarrassed in this matter, and fear that a French force may be sent to Dumbarton, which would cause them some anxiety.

In spite of the threats made to the sect called the Puritans, to prevent their meeting together, I am informed that recently as many as 400 of them met near here, and, although a list of their names was taken, only six of them were arrested, in order to avoid scandal and also because they have their influential abettors.

The Queen has sent an ambassador to the Muscovite, a brother of that Randolph who was killed in Ireland. This Randolph is as great a heretic as his brother was a Catholic. He is going with a good equipment which it is suspected is paid for by the

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company of adventurers they call the Muscovy company. They say the principal reason of his going is that the agent of the company there, an Englishman who is married in the country, refuses to come home and render accounts. No doubt other matters will be settled respecting facilities and security for trade, and, considering that the Muscovite is an enemy of the Holy See, some think that an alliance will be negotiated, or, at all events, that attempts will be made to win over his sect if possible. Two English merchants go with the embassy, who will proceed to Persia in order to see how best a trade can be opened up and established with that country. The company is giving them the whole of the expenses of their voyage, on their declaration of the amount, and 3,000 crowns each for their trouble. It is asserted that a great quantity of spices could be brought from those parts if the business could be established.

Since writing the aforegoing, Herries and Fleming have sent to convey to me the answer they had received from the Queen (which is the same as that which I have already written) and to ask me for my opinion. I replied that their Queen should show full confidence in this Queen, and should act, at present, in such a way as to give to the latter no reasonable excuse for not helping her and treating her well. She should be very careful, I said, to avoid all suspicion that she had any pretentions to the crown during this Queen's life; and, as regards satisfying her respecting her husband's death, their Queen should say that she herself desired to do so, loving her as she did as her sister and friend, but by other means than by judicial action and question and answer with her own subjects, which would be a derogation of her dignity and unfitting to her rank.

I wrote recently that, amongst others who had been arrested for religion were two women, one of whom was called lady Cave (?), and the other the wife of a rich merchant. They were accused of having mass celebrated in their houses. One of them had been arrested previously for the same offence, and, although the punishment is now doubled, she has been pardoned by the Queen and the other has had to find surety.

The lawyers of the college of Arches who had refused to take the oath recognizing the Queen's supremacy, in all her dominions in ecclesiastical and spiritual affairs as well as temporal, were further pressed, and, although they were somewhat obstinate, means were found to persuade them, the oath being slightly disguised in the form enclosed. They set forth the various reasons which they thought justified them in conscientiously taking the oath. Some of the Catholics, however, have refrained.

Herries and Fleming have pressed me to write to their Queen and assure me that it will be a great consolation to her in her troubles. I have accordingly done so and enclose copy of my letter.—London, 26th June 1568.

27 June. **35.** The KING to GUZMAN DE SILVA.

On the 7th instant Roche the courier returned with your letters of 11th, 14th, 16th, 21st, and 22nd ultimo. Before proceeding to

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answer them I wish to inform you that, bearing in mind what you recently wrote respecting your desire to leave England, I have appointed you my ambassador in Venice, and Don Guerau de Spes, the bearer of this, to be your successor in your present post. I write to this effect to the Queen by him, for her due information, and you may take leave of her and come hither forthwith, in order to arrange your affairs, which we are informed you require to do, and receive personally your instructions and information as to how you are to bear yourself with the French ambassador respecting precedence, which is the principal question now at issue in Venice, and about which it is needful that you should thoroughly understand my will. I leave to your own discretion whether you should come by land or sea. . . . .* Before leaving, you will thoroughly inform Don Guerau of the state of public and private affairs, and point out to him the persons whom he may trust, as well as all other matters in that country and court, in order that he may be able to write to me fully. You will see his instructions and make what remarks upon them you consider will help him in his task. You will accompany him every time he has to speak to the Queen whilst you are there, taking your leave of her amiably so as to keep her pleased and contented for the due maintenance of our friendship, and to enable Don Guerau the more advantageously and easily to fulfil his mission with benefit to me and my subjects.

The aforegoing, together with Don Guerau's instructions, and the verbal expressions of my wishes, which I have ordered him to convey to you, will nearly suffice to answer the various points in your letters, which, notwithstanding their length, may be treated briefly here. First, we are glad that the Queen has come to the decision to withdraw her ambassador, in accordance with our request, and to send another in his place who will be more acceptable to us. We were in some anxiety until we heard how she had taken the demonstration made against this John Man, who, as you say, stretched matters to the extent of writing to the Queen that I had denied him audience 19 times. It is well that you should know that I never appointed an audience with him, nor did he ever come by my orders to the palace, although it is true that he sent to ask for audience, and I put him off as I was unwell at the time, and especially as I had already resolved that I would not see him or allow him to enter my presence for the reasons I have already stated. If he came to the palace it was without my orders and only to negotiate with Ruy Gomez, as the latter subsequently told me. It will be well for you to explain this to the Queen that she may see there has been no shortcoming on this point, and say that I will always extend to the new ambassador she may send the kind reception and treatment demanded by our friendship and brotherhood, on the sole condition that he acts properly, or, in other words, that he does not transgress the limits of his position. I beg she will therefore send expressly a man who will avoid similar

* There are several words erased here, and in the margin in the King's handwriting is the following note :—"I do not erase this because I do not intend to do it when opportunity offers, but because there is no reason to tell him so here."

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occurrences which, without any fault of hers, might disturb our friendship. I am so anxious to maintain this unbroken that I am grieved to see this matter of the league still being spoken of, being, as it is, so far from the truth that such a thing has never crossed my thoughts, and I am very desirous that you should inform the Queen fully on this point before you leave, and banish from her mind the suspicions she expressed to you of the duke of Feria in the matter of John Man. By the statement taken by Don Guerau it will be seen perfectly clearly that the man's only enemies have been his own faults and excesses, and I trust that she will look upon the Duke in another light and favour the relatives of the Duchess, which to me will be a source of great contentment, as it has been to hear of the measures adopted by her respecting the Flemish freebooters who have taken refuge in her dominions. You will thank her for this on my behalf, urging her to have her orders rigorously carried out, and reminding Don Guerau to follow the matter up in the way you will point out to him, and in accordance with the orders he will have received from the duke of Alba.

It was well done to write to me in detail the position of the affairs entrusted to the ambassador of my nephew the king of Portugal, as I informed the King of it at once, which I thought necessary to do. I have no answer from him yet, but I shall be glad that you and Don Guerau continue the help and favour you have hitherto extended to the ambassador, as if the business were my own. I instruct Don Guerau to the same effect, as you will see, and have also set forth the terms in which he is to satisfy the Queen in the matter of those words contained in the "Pontifical History," which certainly have annoyed me, as will be seen by the order given to withdraw the books and eliminate all that appears objectionable.

This Englefield who is here is such a worthy gentleman, so modest and so good a christian, that I am quite sorry for the severity with which the Queen treats him, and I should be glad, when you take your leave of her, if you would again mention the matter to her, and try to obtain from her the favour he asks, which is so reasonable, as you are aware. You will press her so that you may bring with you some good news for him, whereat I shall be pleased; but if you cannot manage it, you will inform Don Guerau of the condition in which you leave the affair, so that he may follow it up as opportunity offers.*—Madrid (?), 27th June 1568.

3 July. **36.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

I have informed your Majesty of the return hither on the 26th ultimo of M. de Montmorin, and the news he brought of the queen of Scotland. On the day after his arrival here he had audience of

* In the King's handwriting: "It will be well to put the same in the instructions to Don Guerau so that he may keep the matter in view when opportunity offers." This was a petition of Sir Francis Englefield, who had been a member of Philip and Mary's council, to be allowed to enjoy the revenue of his estates during his exile. The petition was refused and Sir Francis subsequently went to reside in the Netherlands with the duke of Alba.

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this Queen, in the course of which he told her about the letters from the earl of Murray's people, which had fallen into the hands of the Queen, and both he (Montmorin) and the ambassador asked her to see the queen of Scots and aid her restoration to the throne. They tell me they gave this Queen to understand that if she did not do this their King could not avoid assisting her (the queen of Scots) in her need. The Queen gave a fair spoken reply, but they thought it was merely words. On the same day Herries and Fleming went to the Queen to take her the original letters of Murray's agent, and good deal was said at the interview. She subsequently referred them to Secretary Cecil, and ordered the agent to be examined before them, but he made no statements of importance. No doubt he had been advised beforehand what answers to give.

On the 29th I went to speak with the Queen, ostensibly on private business, but really to hear about the queen of Scotland, and what she (Elizabeth) thought of doing with her after hearing Montmorin and the two Scotsmen. I waited for her to start the subject, which she did, remarking that the business was somewhat perplexing her, as, on the one hand, it was only right that the Queen should be treated well, and, on the other, that she should be taken care of. I answered that, if what the Queen sought was help for her restoration to the throne, and she (Elizabeth) was not willing to help her, I begged she would undeceive her, and let her go over to France, and if she was not willing to allow that, at least she should let her go to Scotland again and take her chance. She said, as regarded giving her help towards a restoration by force, not only were there difficulties in the way of this, but the result of such an attempt would be uncertain, and she therefore thought it would be better to negotiate some terms. These, she said, must be hard, because Murray and his gang would never be safe if the Queen returned as a ruler, even though she pardoned them now, as she could easily find an excuse afterwards to be revenged on them. On the other hand, the Queen could not return without any position, so that she thought the best course to adopt was for her to return with the title of Queen, but that the government should be carried on in the name of her son, as it is now, without giving her power to change it, or to do anything without the orders of the Government and Council. She said that, in order to discuss this, she had sent (as she had already told me) to Murray, asking him to despatch representatives with whom she might treat. She was still of the same mind about it as she had been from the first, and would not, on any account, allow the Queen to go to France; and as for sending her back to Scotland alone after she had placed herself under her protection, that would be a great dishonour for her (Elizabeth) and her country. Seeing also the pretensions she had to the English crown, it would be dangerous, she said, to allow her to be free in this country, as she might take opportunities of satisfying people about past events and gain them over. She (Elizabeth) had therefore, as she had already told me, determined to bring her to some place in the interior of England, both that she might be safer from her enemies, and also in order that, if she

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attempted to escape clandestinely to Scotland, her flight should be made longer and more difficult; as between Carlisle and Scotland there was only one small river, which could easily be crossed. I asked her why, then, she did not bring her away at once? to which she replied that the Queen would not leave Carlisle, and had sent to tell her (Elizabeth) that she would only do so under compulsion, by which she understood a direct and peremptory order from her. She (Elizabeth) said she did not want to affront her by treating the matter in this way, and she was sorry for her to remain where she was, for the reasons she had said; which reasons, as I understand from Fleming, are the very ones which make the queen of Scotland unwilling to leave, although she says it is because she wishes to be near where she may know quickly what is passing in her country, and keep in close touch with her friends. I told the Queen that, as this was a matter of so much importance, I thought she ought to keep her friends informed of her acts and intentions with regard to it, and that she should so manage it that, whilst looking to her own interests, she should satisfy the other powers. She said that she had already done so with every one but your Majesty, but, as you had refused to receive her ambassador, she had not ordered him to communicate it to you. She asked me, however, to write to your Majesty what her intentions were, and again repeated to me her assurance that she would not allow her (the Queen of Scots) to return to Scotland. She said that not even her enemies would wish that to be done, or to allow her to be again endangered in Scotland after she had placed herself in her (Elizabeth's) power. She (Elizabeth) is anxious about it, as well she may be, for the queen of Scots has certainly many friends, and they will increase in number hourly, as the accusations of complicity in the murder of her husband are being forgotten, and her marriage with Bothwell is now being attributed to compulsion and fear. This view is being spread, and friends easily persuade themselves of the truth of what they wish to believe, especially in this island. It therefore behoves this Queen, especially, to prevent the queen of Scots from marrying in France, to look out for her own interests by settling the business with all speed, and getting the queen of Scots back again in her own country without giving the French a pretext for going thither. The Hamiltons, who support the Queen, are very strong, as this Queen (Elizabeth) confesses; and it would certainly suit her (Mary) best to go back, because, being free and in the exercise of her authority, she would be in a better position to negotiate. I am persuaded that these folks here will do everything in their power to delay and procrastinate, to see what time will bring forth.

Fleming has been constantly coming and sending to convey, apparently confidentially, to me, news of his mistress' affairs. I have shown him great goodwill, and have, in general terms, assured him of your Majesty's sincere affection for his Queen, as I am letting the Catholics, her friends, also understand. With the queen of England I am proceeding in such a way that, whilst doing the queen of Scots no harm, I persuade her that my main desire is that she shall succeed in her management of so important a business, cautiously pointing out to her the need for discretion in a matter

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which deeply concerns her neighbours. She tells me that some of her people are asking her how she finds me disposed in this business; since she seems so secret with me some of them think that I am trying to forward the queen of Scots' interests, whilst others think I am in favour of those of this Queen and her country. I said that I had been glad to know her wishes and silently serve her, as I always did, to which she replied that she was quite satisfied of my good will, although I believe that some of her friends are doing their best to make her suspicious of me.

The numbers of those who belong to the Puritan religion, as they call it, are going on increasing. As I understand, they are strict Calvinists, and are called purists or reformados because they will not allow ceremonies, nor anything but what is contained in the letter of the Gospel as they call it, although they probably do not believe it. They therefore avoid the churches where others congregate, and do not allow their ministers to wear any distinguishing garb. A few of them are arrested as I have written, but no harm is done to them, and, rather than try to escape imprisonment, they offer themselves for it.

So far as can be seen, most of the heretics in this country are of the Calvinist sect, although really they are all so mixed up with their various opinions that they do not understand each other, or know for certain how they stand, which of itself would suffice to convince them of their error if they were not so blinded. There are some suspicions that certain of the Queen's councillors tried to bring her over to these new views, and to weld all these sects into one, believing that, in such case, there would be no dissensions, and that, if all were of one faith, they could maintain themselves better, and they would try to get people in other places where divers sects existed to do the same. I saw how injurious this would be if it were done, and took a good opportunity of saying to the Queen how distrustful she and other princes ought to be of these libertine heretics (for this is their right name), as liberty and freedom from all subservience is the real aim of the wretches. I told her it was reported that amongst some of those who surrounded her there was a talk of persuading her to abandon the Augustinian creed, which is that which she professes to follow, and adopt this other one, and I begged her not to allow herself to be deceived and misled. She replied that there was no one near her who would dare to suggest anything of the sort to her; I might be sure of that. I said very likely no one would openly venture to do it, as she, with her intelligence, would understand what would be the result; but they might artfully try to persuade her by working upon her fears and representing that their numbers were large, in order to prevail upon her to assist them for her own preservation, instead of which, I said, it would be to her ruin. She told me that, in the last few days, fifty Anabaptists and other evil sectarians had been expelled, and no doubt they tell her this, but I have heard nothing of it and do not believe it, nor is it to be expected that there can be concord amongst so many diverse and extraordinary opinions. They will doubtless try to attain it, but the devil is no friend to concord and will only help them for his own ends. The book of the names of

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the persons who gave alms for those in Louvain, which was in the possession of that good man named Wilson, now in prison, has not been forgotten. The names of all the donors were not contained in it, and those that were there were disguised; but they threatened Wilson with torture, and he has declared the names of some of the subscribers, under the belief that no harm could be done to them for giving charity. They have commenced proceedings against some of them, and have arrested a gentleman of wealth and wisdom named Copley, who was formerly a heretic, but who, for the last five years, has been a good Catholic and a person of great virtue. They have also summoned Roper, who married Thomas More's daughter Margaret, a person of high position, and it is not yet known what will be done with him.

A book has been printed here and has been sold publicly for the last three days (and has even been fixed in certain public places in this city), a quarto nearly two inches thick, called "*Declaracion evidente de diversas y subtiles astucias de la Sancta Inquisicion de España.*" It was written in Latin by Reginaldo Gonzales Montano, and has been recently translated into English, but the translator's name is not given. I have only been able to see the prologue, which speaks very shamelessly of the Pope.

The night before last there arrived here a gentleman named Douglas, who was concerned in the escape of the queen of Scots, and who was said to be her favourite. He is going to France, and has been advised to separate himself from her, in consequence of the favour with which she was said to regard him. He is accompanied by a young secretary of the Queen, who passed as his servant, and from whom I have received a letter from his mistress, copy of which I enclose with my reply to a former letter of hers, of which also I send your Majesty a copy. The message he brings me from his Queen is the same as that which I wrote had been conveyed to me by Montmorin and Fleming. I have replied to the same effect as I did to them, showing sympathy and general good will, and did my best to encourage her without any pledge. I enclose copies of the letters sent by the queen of Scots to this Queen, and the substance of those which were taken from the courier despatched by the Regent's servant, who, I am told, is called John Hood.

The duke of Norfolk denies that he said to Tyrwhitt what the latter alleges, and Cecil and Throgmorton do the same. The Duke's word may well be believed, as he is a worthy gentleman, only that he is an Englishman, and the best of them are not to be trusted overmuch.—London, 3 July 1568.

10 July. **37.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING,

The Queen arrived in this city on the 6th in good health and continued her progress which, as I have said, will only be in the neighbourhood, as she is careful to keep near at hand when troubles and disturbances exist in adjacent countries. She came by the river as far as Reading, and thence through the country in a carriage, open on all sides, that she might be seen by the people, who flocked all along the roads as far as the duke of Norfolk's

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houses where she alighted. She was received everywhere with great acclamations and signs of joy, as is customary in this country; whereat she was extremely pleased and told me so, giving me to understand how beloved she was by her subjects and how highly she esteemed this, together with the fact they were peaceful and contented whilst her neighbours on all sides are in such trouble. She attributed it all to God's miraculous goodness. She ordered her carriage to be taken sometimes where the crowd seemed thickest and stood up and thanked the people. Amongst others there approached her a presentable looking man who exclaimed, "Vivat Regina. Honi soit qui mal y pense"; whereupon she said to me, "This good man is a clergyman of the old religion." I replied that I was very glad he should show so openly the good will and affection with which the Catholics had always served their sovereigns, and that she might be sure their fidelity was advantageous to her, in order to check the disobedient people in the country. For this reason, I had several times advised her not to allow them to be molested and maltreated. She said she had in this followed my advice and would still do so, and said one of the things she had prayed to God for when she came to the throne was that He would give her grace to govern with clemency, and without bloodshed, keeping her hands stainless. This gave rise to a remark from her about the justice which has been done in the States of Flanders, but not such as to indicate that she thought it so hard as when she spoke of it before; indeed, my observations to her on the subject seem to have convinced her that it was necessary. The earl of Leicester also mentioned the subject to me the same day, and what seems to aggrieve them most is that the persons executed were not heard in their defence, on which point I undeceived Leicester and Sussex. The latter said he had been much distressed at this action of the duke of Alba, for your Majesty's own sake, and he would rather have walked to Rome and back, or further still, than that this execution should have taken place. I showed him how mistaken he was in thinking that the Counts had been condemned unheard, and said they had been clearly convicted of high treason by judges of great ability, and their own countrymen.* He replied that, notwithstanding this, some consideration should have been paid to Egmont's services and character. I said, if he had rendered good service it had been richly rewarded, as was well known, and for that very reason, and the high position and esteem in which your Majesty had placed him, he should have been all the more careful to prove his gratitude and fidelity. The punishment for his not having done so had been most righteously awarded, to the deep pain of those whose duty it was to punish him. Sussex said that I spoke rather as your Majesty's minister than as a man, and would yet think very differently. I replied that he was in error, and that the offences of these men and the others had been notorious, and those who had so far been fortunate enough to escape might pray that they should not be caught, for, certainly, if they were, they would share the same fate.

* Counts Egmont and Horn.

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The duke of Norfolk awaited the Queen at his house, where she was received. He told me subsequently that, in consequence of his many occupations, he had not been able to go and see me, with other compliments of the same sort, but said nothing whatever about Egmont and Horn. Two days ago there arrived here a gentleman of the queen of Scotland who had come away since her arrival at the place where Fleming is. He brought me a letter written by her, copy of which I enclose. He says she remains in good health, and with a stout heart to face her troubles. She is not displeased with those who guard her, excepting with Vice Chamberlain Knollys, who is always mentioning religious matters to her. The rest treat her kindly. The earl of Murray with his confederates are in Edinburgh.

They say the Viceroy of Ireland will be despatched to-morrow. He has been hurried off lately, but I have not yet heard what extraordinary need there is for this.

I wrote in my last letter that the Council had summoned some of the people whose names were entered in the book written by Wilson (who is now in prison), as having contributed charity to the Catholics at Louvain. Copley has been sent to prison, and Roper was told to return on the 2nd instant. When he again appeared they postponed the hearing until the 8th, and then referred him to the Chancellor and Cecil, who told him that he had confessed to sending money to the Queen's enemies in Louvain, whereat they were much surprised. He replied that it was quite true that he had sent them some money in charity, but that he did not look upon them as enemies of the Queen, but as her natural subjects who were in need. They said they understood that he had sent large sums in charity to those living abroad, but they had not heard that he had done anything for the many poor who were here. He replied that he was not obliged to render an account of the charities he gave, which he considered ought to be secret; but, since they had opened the question, they had better make inquiries of the poor students that he maintained at Lincoln's Inn and other colleges, and they would then find out whether he only sent charity to those in Louvain. They said then, that, as he was so great a friend to the poor, perhaps he would give them, (*i.e*, the Chancellor and Cecil) some charity for certain poor people they knew. He told them he would willingly give them 10*l.* or 20*l.*, in the belief that they would distribute it well. They would only take 10*l.*, and with this dismissed him. I understand that this good man gives a thousand crowns a year in charity to the Catholics who are in prison and at Louvain. Roper was the husband of Margaret, the daughter of Thomas More, and his children are strong Catholics. Copley has also been released and left prison yesterday. They have suspended proceedings against the others.—London, 10th July 1568.

14 July. **38.** Guzman de Silva to Queen Elizabeth.

B.M. Cotton, Galba, C. III., Original.

I spoke to your Majesty on the 11th instant to the effect that, for a long time past, it was stated that many rebels from the Low countries, subjects of my King, who had taken refuge here from

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those parts by the help of your Majesty's subjects, were returning thither with arms, in order to disturb the peace of the States; disembarking in places where they thought they might safely rob, and that they had killed some poor people who were unsuspectingly working in the fields, and also some priests who were performing their offices, as well as committing many other cruel murders which I refrain from dwelling upon. As these rebels have been received here as in an asylum from the punishment they deserved, I begged humbly that your Majesty would prevent them from returning in this guise to injure the States. When your Majesty had graciously heard me, you promised that a remedy should be provided and that all care should be taken to prevent the continuance of the evil. I depended upon this promise being carried out, but I afterwards heard that nothing whatever had been done in the matter, and, consequently, addressed your Majesty several times on the subject, and also appealed to Sir William Cecil, your secretary, to have the fitting orders sent out. The latter replied that the orders had been promptly despatched and were being put into execution at Sandwich, and I thereupon thanked your Majesty for the orders that had been sent, under the impression that they were official. I have since heard that this was not the case, and that they were only private intimations to the officers of the ports, and I consequently sent to inquire whether they were being carried out. I found that they were not, and that many persons with arms were still being allowed to leave, which is not ordinarily the case in this country. Many of these rebels are now making ready in London, Norwich, Sandwich, Southampton, and other places. I therefore again begged your Majesty humbly to take measures to prevent the evil, in conformity with the old friendship and alliance between the countries, and I handed to your Majesty the substance of certain clauses of the treaty between the late Emperor and your Majesty's father, King Henry, in order that you might see what were the obligations on both sides in similar cases. I also stated that, to provide for the despatch and payment of these men, subscriptions were being opened in England, also entirely against the treaty, and again begged your Majesty to prevent the passage of these armed persons. I have received no answer whatever to all these representations, and as nothing has been done as a consequence of my verbal protests, I again address your Majesty in writing, and beg you to be pleased to give public official orders that may be effectually enforced. If the matter is delayed or passed over and these people are allowed to go, together and armed, accompanied by your own subjects (as they certainly will be), for the purpose of injuring the States, it is evident that this will be carrying on open war under the cloak of friendship, and as such I shall consider it, giving due notice to my master the King and the duke of Alba, that they may take such steps as may be desirable to obtain redress. I beg your Majesty to be pleased to reply promptly, as I shall look upon silence as a refusal of my request. In order that your Majesty may understand the reasons why promptness is so necessary in this business, I may say that, in addition to the subscriptions I have already mentioned as being made in the French and Flemish

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churches here, I am informed that a subsidy is being raised from the clergy of this country in aid of the rebels who are invading my King's dominions, as well as contributions from laymen of position, who, for their honour's sake, I will not name; being sure that if I did so they would incur your Majesty's displeasure for the love and friendship you owe to the King my master. I should be sorry for this, but I cannot refrain from speaking very plainly as is my duty.—London, 14th July 1568.

Signed. D. Guzman de Silva.

17 July. **39.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

The Queen left here on the 12th instant to continue her progress. The day previously I had received notice that the Flemish rebels, in pursuance of their intention to return to Flanders for the purpose of disturbance, were purchasing arms and urging each other to take part in the expeditions. I had also learnt that the proclamations issued by the Queen prohibiting the departure from the ports of any armed persons were being disregarded, and I thought well to speak to the Queen and tell her clearly what was passing. I did this, and said that it was two months since I told her that the rebels were taking refuge here, and that, at that time, I had not wished to say anything about the way in which they were received and sheltered, thinking best to leave to her as a friend to consider what was most fitting for her to do. I said that, although the number of those who came was large, yet, knowing your Majesty's clemency and your great desire that these poor people should be convinced of their error and return to their loyalty, I had not desired to say a word against them, but only to inform her of their offences, which were notorious and which, being rebellion and disorder, would have justly deserved prosecution and punishment, in accordance with alliances and treaties between the countries. Seeing, however, that they were not satisfied with past excesses and with being let alone, but that their insolence had arrived at such a point that some of them were returning to the States to rob and kill faithful subjects there whom they found unprepared, and afterwards to take refuge again in this country, whence again they would sally out to do the like, I had asked her to be good enough to take measures to prevent their leaving the ports with arms, so that they could not commit similar offences in future. I had said they ought to be told that they would be harshly punished if they committed such crimes, as it was not reasonable that such invasions as these should be allowed to leave a friendly country, and, in addition to its being wrong, it might bring forth other evils. She had replied at the time that the evil was worthy of a remedy, and she would take care that I was satisfied. When I had again mentioned the matter to her, for the purpose of agreeing what the remedy should be, she had told me that she had already taken the necessary steps, and she sent Cecil to me to say that the orders were being carried out at Sandwich. Notwithstanding all this, seeing that no public order was given, I had taken measures to discover whether the guards in the ports were [carrying out their instructions, and I had understood that

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the contrary was the case, whereat I was much surprised, particularly as many rebels and even Englishmen had already left, and many more were arming furiously to do the same. This was done with so much impudence that the only thing wanting appeared to be the drum beat. I had, therefore, considered it necessary to again request her to find a remedy, not that there was anything to fear from such a rabble as this, but in view of other eventualities, especially as it was now known that they were helped with means in this country. The Queen said that she had sent the orders as she had told me, which would be confirmed by Lord Cobham, who was entrusted with the carrying out of the orders, and whom she said she would summon that he might give an account of it in my presence. She said that as for allowing them to come over and remain here, this she did out of pity and as they said that they came for conscience's sake, and she did not know how she could prevent them from returning if they liked. I said, "Let them return as peaceful citizens, without arms or "turbulence, separate and not in bands, so that they could do no "harm, and then, of course, there would be no objection; but they "should not be allowed to go over in warlike guise and with the "intention of disturbing, and especially being paid, as they were, as "soldiers." I said that the so-called churches of French and Flemings had contributed largely, the former 700*l.* and the latter 800*l.*, with the help of other persons. She replied that, as regards the money which was given to them, she could not prevent that or forbid them from returning to their own country; to which I again insisted that if they went separate and without arms there was no need for it, but that in the way they were going it was illegal and ought to be prevented, as otherwise it would be tantamount to England making war upon the States of Flanders; and so it would be considered by anyone who thought upon the subject. In order, I said, that she might have in her mind the obligations she was under with regard to the States and your Majesty, I begged her to read certain clauses of the Treaty of Alliance of 1542, which I gave her in writing. She read them, saying that she quite recollected their purport. I said I hoped she would recollect also to act up to it, and wished to leave her the paper, in order that she might not lose sight of it; she replied that she would not forget it, and put the paper in her bosom. I send a copy of it herewith, but I did not include Clause 7 of the treaty, by which she is bound, on 40 days' notice, to provide as many captains and soldiers as could be paid with 700 French crowns a day, which clause I only mentioned verbally in order that she might not think that this aid was being asked for.

I have written previously that some persons have come hither from Embden, and it was said that some sort of treaty was being arranged to send them a certain number of cloths every year. I have since learnt that their principal object was to say that if Ludovic's business was settled they feared the Duke might send his army against them. The Queen confirmed this to me, and said that she wished to tell me that these people had come on behalf of the count of Embden to inform her of their fears, and the Count

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had begged her to write and intercede for them with your Majesty, as perhaps by an untrue report that they had helped Ludovic,* your Majesty might be incensed against them, or might take this opportunity of invading their country in revenge for their having received cloths when the importation was prohibited in the States. She was assured that, although some of the people of the country were with Ludovic, they were men who went of their own accord and without the Count's order, as others of them are with your Majesty's forces. Her Council, therefore, was of opinion that she should write to your Majesty on the subject, since the Count had not helped Ludovic, or done anything to offend your Majesty. She thought better, however, to let me know before she wrote, so that I might report to your Majesty the causes that had moved her to do so. I replied that I had no information as to whether your Majesty was advised of this, nor did I believe that the duke of Alba would go forward in it, unless the rebels took refuge there, in which case it would be necessary to follow them up and put an end to them at once. I said I thought that they had conceived this suspicion, either because they knew they were in fault, or because I had said to people here, who had told me that Ludovic was being helped in Embden, that they had better look out what they were doing, as those lands were under the sway of your Majesty in your capacity of perpetual Vicar-General of all Friesland, and you could punish them as such. This may have aroused some suspicion, but your Majesty was not accustomed to be angry without just cause, and, if they had not offended, they had nothing to fear.

I asked her whether she had come to any decision about the queen of Scotland's affairs, to which she replied that she had not, as she could not understand it, since the Queen was so determined in her refusal not to leave Carlisle. She could not decide until she had had an interview with her, and her subjects had been heard against her. It was difficult to deal with these things where she is now, as it was so far off, and she did not consider that in honour she could allow her to return to Scotland in such peril as she would be, since she had taken refuge in this country; she would not let her go to France either, as she had very distinctly told her, and for this she had many reasons; amongst others, that the whole time she (the queen of Scots) was in France there was not an hour's peace between this country and that. She said the queen of Scotland wrote her one thing, and Lord Herries, in her name, said quite differently, pressing her constantly either to let her go to France or to return to Scotland, on the promise that she would give security before she left that no foreigners of whom this Queen could be suspicious, should go to Scotland, which undertaking would be further guaranteed by the signature of the king of France and your Majesty. I replied, as I had on former occasions, that this was a matter of high importance to be treated with great consideration, and she ought, above all, to inform friendly princes what she did. I always say the same thing when

* Ludwig of Nassau, the brother of the prince of Orange, who was still in arms against the duke of Alba.

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I speak of this matter to her, in order to sound her as to her intentions, so that if it should please your Majesty afterwards to take any action in the matter you may be well informed thereupon. She told me she had ordered a statement to be drawn up to be sent to your Majesty and the king of France. The next day when she left, I accompanied her to hear whether she would say anything to me about the Flemish rebels returning, but she did not, and I was loth to again broach the subject until I saw what she had ordered. She told me that she would not give me the written statement she had spoken about touching Scotch affairs for four or five days, as she was expecting a reply from the Queen, but, in the meanwhile, I might write to your Majesty what she had said about them. The way in which these people negotiate may be clearly seen by what passed when the queen of Scotland came to England. She (the queen of England) sent a gentleman named Middleton to try to persuade both the Regent and the Queen's party to lay down arms and see whether a reconciliation could not be effected, but before this gentleman arrived, Cecil wrote to the man at Berwick to send a messenger with all speed to the Regent, giving him notice of the message that Middleton was bearing, and telling him to immediately put into execution what he had to do. This he did by destroying the house of Herries and those of two other friends of the Queen. They have their signs and countersigns, and whilst they publicly write and do one thing, they secretly order another; and, as this Scotchman says, the queen of England uses towards his mistress fair words and foul deeds. I believe that she will treat her as I said from the first, namely, keep her in an honourable prison, the one object of these people being so to manage Scotch affairs as to keep that country friendly with them, in the belief that, whilst the two kingdoms are in accord, they have nothing to fear, and they think this could not be the case whilst the Queen remained free, because of religion and other reasons.

Seeing that between the 11th, when I spoke to the Queen, and the 14th, no steps had been taken, and that the rebels were hurrying their departure, the time meanwhile being wasted in the ordinary way here, I thought well to write a letter to the Queen at Havering, especially as I was informed that a subsidy was being secretly collected of so much in the pound on all ecclesiastical salaries throughout the various dioceses for the purpose of helping the prince of Orange and Ludovic. I wrote instead of going myself, in the hope of getting a written answer, but they replied verbally in conformity with the enclosed copy. On the same day that I sent my letter off, I wrote another letter to the Treasurer, more to see what he would say than because I thought he would remedy anything; saying that, as he knew what the Queen had ordered about armed Flemish rebels leaving England, it was his duty, in the absence of the Queen, to see that redress was granted, and I was advised that many such men were still going over, and the Queen's orders disregarded. He replied verbally that he also had reports that these people were leaving, but he had no instruction from the Queen to act; if he had had, he would have prevented their departure, and said that I should personally press the Queen

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in order that she should instruct him, as he did not know of anyone at Court who could be entrusted with the matter.

The earl of Sussex and Sidney, viceroy of Ireland, have now made friends and have dined together. Sidney retains Ireland and Wales, and Sussex has been made President of York, in place of the Archbishop, who has died. I said that they had released Copley with a fine of 50*l.* and Roper of 40*l.* They have also liberated another northern gentleman, but afterwards summoned Roper again before the Chancellor and Cecil, who showed him a document containing three heads which they said he had to sign. First he had to confess that he had broken the law by sending charity to those who were on the side of the Queen's enemies; second, he had to promise that he would in future obey the ecclesiastical laws now existing in this country and those that may be enacted; thirdly, he had to undertake not to give any more charity to those who were abroad for religion's sake, or those who, for a similar reason, were in prison. He said that he must consider carefully what he had to put his hand to, and asked for time. He consulted the duke of Norfolk and complained of what they asked. The Duke told him that he thought he could not avoid doing, partially, what the Council ordered him, nor could he get him excused, but if he would meet the demand in some moderate way, such as his conscience would allow, he, the Duke, would help him. He thought that he might say, with regard to the first head, that he had sent money to Englishmen beyond the sea who the Council declare are in league with the Queen's enemies, and he, Roper, did not wish to contradict them, but would submit to their authority. To the second head he might say that he would always be obedient to the legitimate laws of the realm; and to the third point, that he would give no charity to those outside the country, and would conform in future to the law. He did this and they released him.

They have also released Wilson, who is the clergyman upon whom they found the book with the list of subscribers to the Louvain people. I have advised your Majesty what passed with the Queen relative to the imprisonment and ill-treatment of the archbishop of Armagh. When I spoke to her about it again, and asked her whether she had inquired into it, as she had promised, and asked her to do me the favour of being merciful to him, taking off his chains and letting him have some books and the visits of his friends, she replied that she had inquired and would be glad to please me, but this man had been a traitor and a rebel, and letters had been found upon him from John O'Neil, which she herself now had. I replied that I had heard very differently, but ended by saying that if he had been a rebel I had no wish to help such people. Some of these good men think that it is only necessary for me to speak to the Queen for everything to be settled, but they are much mistaken, as the greatest of care has to be used in these matters to avoid doing them more harm than good.

This morning, seeing that they had not sent me a copy of the proclamation which was to be issued respecting the going of the rebels to Flanders, I wrote to secretary Cecil pressing him to have it published, as they were about to leave, and would have done so

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ere this if the wind had not been against them. Many have gone already to the place of embarkation. Cecil sent me the proclamation this evening with a letter of his, copies of both of which I send enclosed, and the man who brought it said that he had called in at the printers on his way to tell them to print the proclamation with all speed so that it might be sent out. I told him I wished it had been sent out to-day as the people were already departing, and it would be of little use after they were gone. It would look, indeed, more like a compliment than a remedy. I do not know whether it will be done even to-morrow, as it is Sunday, although if this wind lasts they cannot leave before it is published. It has been long delayed, which makes me doubt their sincerity.—London, 17th July 1568.

18 July. **40.** The KING to GUZMAN DE SILVA.

I only write to you to say that John Man, having received an order from the Queen to return, and a letter for me in answer to that which I had written, he asked Zayas if he could hand the same to me and take his leave. On this request being conveyed to me at the Escorial, where I was then, I ordered him to go to Barajas and deliver the letter, and say what he wished from the Queen. I promised, if there was anything in which I could please her, I would do it most willingly without his seeing me, as upon that point I did not consider it desirable to alter my determination, which had been arrived at after very mature deliberation. John Man, when he heard this, delivered the Queen's letter to Zayas, and told him that he had no particular instructions, only that he wished I would hear him in his justification. Since, however, this could not be, he would depart when he had received my reply and the passport for his safe journey. This was sent to his satisfaction, and he went on his road from Barajas without returning here, Zayas having told him to take this course. As it is desirable that you should see what the Queen wrote to me and my reply by John Man, I send you copies that you and Don Guerau may discuss the contents, and, if the subject is introduced or John Man should have told the story differently, you may know what to say. As I shall be very pleased for the successor of this man to be a Catholic, I enjoin you and Don Guerau very strictly to see whether you cannot dexterously lead the Queen into this road. You will keep in touch with the duke of Alba about it.—Madrid, 18th July 1568.

19 July. **41.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

I have detained until to-day the enclosed despatch for your Majesty, in order to send advice of the issue of the proclamation. I sent to the man who came to get it printed, urging him to press the matter forward, and he replied that it had first to be published at the Court before it was issued in London or elsewhere. This is no doubt in order to give time for the people who are ready to get away. It is the ordinary proceeding, saying one thing and doing another.

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I am informed that the contribution which was being collected from some of the councillors and others has been postponed, because every one of the members was saying what amount Cecil would have to pay, and he refused to give any more than ten pounds, whereupon all the rest of them were very angry, and the thing was suspended as they all thought he would give much more. Almost at the same time as this happened, my letter to the Queen telling her about the contribution arrived, greatly to their astonishment that the affair should have got wind before it was executed. It seems it has now been dropped. The French ambassador was suspicious that these heretics were going over to join and help some (French) heretics who had got into Valery, but news came yesterday that the Christian King was beseiging them and had opened his batteries upon them.

I have been informed that on the 17th a letter from the Prince of Condé arrived for Nicholas Throgmorton, in cipher, the substance of which was to beg him to say to the Queen that she had no doubt been informed that the conditions of the peace were not being kept in France, whereat he, Condé, felt injured and aggrieved, although he did not blame the King but his bad counsellors. He was therefore obliged to take up arms, and would do so on the 21st instant, when he would have 12,000 men, Count Rochefort having already 3,000, and he hoped with God's help to punish the King's advisers in such a way that not one of them should remain in France. He pledged his word to this, promising never to lay down the task except at its completion or his death.

I am informed also that secretary Cecil has instructed a gentleman, who is to go from Berwick to the Regent of Scotland, to say to him in the name of this Council that he must moderate the severity with which he is treating the queen of Scotland's friends, as he will stir them up otherwise to a fiercer feeling against him and his Government. He is recommended to commence his rule by fair methods and to gain popularity by choosing conciliatory officers, as he will by this means tranquillise the country more quickly. They have here already gained over Lord Maxwell otherwise Lord Herries, who promises to be on the Regent's side if he will associate him in the Government, together with some of his friends, as he is not satisfied with the Government of the Queen and will not consent to her rule. The Secretary (Cecil) advises the Regent on his own behalf to follow this course, as everyone wishes him to remain the head of affairs, and if he does not adopt the advice sent him he will not have so many friends here as otherwise he would have. It is Throgmorton who has won over Herries.

Since writing the above I sent to the Lord Treasurer a copy of the proclamation saying that, as it was already printed and ordered by the Queen, he should send instructions to the Customs houses to prevent any person passing in violation of it. He replied that it was very badly drawn up and clearly showed the animus of those who had the matter in hand, particularly in the delay that had taken place in the publication. He would, however, do what he could although he had no orders from the Queen about it.—London, 19th July 1568.

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24 July. **42.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

The proclamation issued by this Queen against those who were passing or wished to pass over to Flanders with arms in their possession in order to disturb that country, was printed on the 18th instant, but was not published until the morning of the 22nd. Some people think that it was delayed on purpose to give the people time to get away before it was issued, and I am quite of that opinion, as it is the usual mode of proceeding here in similar matters, and especially in any affair at all touching religion; their usual desire being to convince all those who are treading the path of heresy of their attachment and support. This is doubtless to encourage and affirm the various leagues and understandings they have with each other; and everything tending in the slightest degree to oppose this is managed as dilatorily as if they were carrying it to the stake. In this matter I have had to break through my habitual patience and to make them understand that, after signing a decree, it was necessary to publish it, as otherwise it looked much more like a compliment than a remedy. But they are hard folk to force and will go their own pace. I spurred them somewhat when the Council sent me a copy of the proclamation by Wilson, who was ambassador in Portugal and is much attached to the earl of Leicester, by saying that I was greatly surprised that the Earl, such a distinguished person as he was and so grateful and attached to your Majesty for your favour to him, should not try to get the Queen to do what she ought for your Majesty, and that, seeing how things were going, I was beginning to reflect upon what some people were telling me, to the effect that he, Leicester, listened to these heretics and admitted them to his acquaintance, which I could not believe of him. I thought well, however, to let him know by his intimate friend, as in such cases as this even suspicion should be avoided, and that neighbouring princes should always be conciliated where the interests of his own Queen were not jeopardised. Wilson went with this to the Earl and returned with very many thanks and excuses, giving me an autograph letter from him, copy of which I enclose. I replied that if I had not been persuaded of his kindness, I should not have sent him the message, as it was unnecessary to take any such course with an enemy with whom one has to dissemble and bide one's time. I answered his letter by word of mouth, saying that I was quite certain that what he said was true (his expressions being extremely complimentary) from what was known of my attachment to him. But although he wrote that he hoped I should not be credulous, except in his favour, I might well have answered him by referring in terms more plain than are generally used in this country to what, it is certain, he has been negotiating. I believe what he says about his having had little to do with Count Ludovic, but I do not think he is so free from the prince of Orange, about whom he says nothing, nor from French affairs either, about which he replies, although I said nothing except my general reference to neighbouring princes.

The ecclesiastical subsidy is being collected apace and, no doubt, the lay subsidy is also proceeding, only more secretly. There are

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people who hint that the Queen will keep the ecclesiastical subsidy for herself.

The Queen of Scotland is to be brought to Lord Scrope's house, sixty miles this side of Carlisle, and it is even said they will bring her to Farnham (?).

The French ambassador told me very secretly yesterday that she was not a Catholic, as he had been assured by Fleming, who said that neither he (the French ambassador) nor I ought to be deceived about it. But this Fleming himself is a heretic although he pretends to be a Catholic to me, and probably the Queen is deceiving him or else he thinks the French ambassador is a heretic and wishes to please him, as he does me. This is the present way of dealing, and one ought to believe nothing; which is one of the greatest perils of heresy.—London, 24th July 1568.

31 July. **43.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

Don Guerau de Spes who had arrived in Antwerp has forwarded to me your Majesty's letter of the 28th ultimo. As he had not found the Duke there, he being occupied in Friesland, he writes that he should be detained for some time, having to communicate with the Duke respecting matters in those States, and the questions with this country as regards commerce. There will be little to discuss however upon this point, as things are now settled and it would be better not to disturb them.

John Man will, no doubt, have left Spain ere this, and I will carry out your Majesty's instructions in endeavouring to satisfy the Queen entirely on the point, particularly to banish her suspicions of the duke of Feria, which, I have already told her, are entirely without reason. I have said that it was most foreign to his nature to show bad feeling, especially towards an English minister, he having always been so friendly to Englishmen. I will return to this subject when I speak to the Queen from your Majesty in favour of the Duchess' relatives.*

The Portuguese business is pending until the arrival of the King's reply, but, in the meanwhile, everything possible shall be done that these people may be brought to understand the best course to take. I will show the ambassador what your Majesty says, and the instructions which Don Guerau brings. I have already on other occasions assured him to the same effect, and he ought to be well pleased.

The Queen has been so hard in Francis Englefield's affair that I have been quite surprised. Everything has been done that was possible, and if the matter is not decided by the time that I leave, Don Guerau can take a favourable opportunity of trying to persuade the Queen to a better decision than hitherto.

The publication of the Queen's edict, prohibiting armed men from going over to Flanders, has somewhat cooled these rebels and others who were ready to embark. I believe, however, that

* The duke of Feria who had accompanied Philip to England, and was subsequently Spanish ambassador here, had married the daughter of Sir William Dormer of Ethrope.

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their discouragement has also been caused by the events of Friesland and St. Valery, and the knowledge that all parts are well prepared for them. They are not going over now in bodies, or in a way that violates the proclamation, but still they can find means to go over, as they do. I pressed for this edict, but it was mainly in order that these people should not openly appear so indifferent, rather than because I thought it would be a real remedy. As I have written on other occasions, the public ordinances here are not always executed, but are counteracted by private understanding, as I have frankly told these people. I have assured them that I am having the ports well watched to see that they are carrying out the orders, and I am told that they are now showing more vigilance.

The contribution of the twentieth part of the ecclesiastical revenues for the succour of Ludovic is being carried forward on the old basis. I am also advised that the aid subscribed by private persons is proceeding, and I have been recently told that the Queen, herself, is giving a considerable sum, although I cannot obtain any certain information upon this last point. The Councillors and others are constantly showing their bias and ill-feeling towards us. Notwithstanding their attempts to dissemble, it is clear that they wish nothing so much as our adversity in Flanders and elsewhere, and I told the Queen that I was sure they wish to bring her round to the belief that she could never trust your Majesty; that being their great object, in the fear that, at one time or another, she might change the religion. I have not done anything more about these subscriptions and impertinences since writing to the Queen on the 14th instant, as I await further instructions from the duke of Alba.

I do not know what decision the Queen will arrive at about the queen of Scotland. I have received two letters from the latter, copies of which I enclose with a letter which she sends me for your Majesty. I expect that the affair will be delayed as she herself fears, in order to see whether the Scots can agree amongst themselves. Although the queen of Scotland writes asking that her letter should be sent post, I have thought it sufficient to send it by the ordinary, as her affairs are proceeding so slowly, and it is as well that time should help your Majesty's deliberations as to what is best to be done.

There has been a Frenchman named Dumbal (?) secretly here lately from the French Huguenots. He treats through Throgmorton, and I have been able to get a note which he wrote to him in French, which I have had copied and send herewith in order that his dealings may be seen. I think I can get Throgmorton's answer to it and the other particulars of their dealings through a certain channel.—London, 31st July 1568.

2 August. **44.** Guzman de Silva to the King.

I wrote on the 31st ultimo, saying that the duke of Alba being busy in Friesland, Don Guerau would be detained in Flanders for some days. I see that his coming has been published here, and its object, by means of many letters from merchants resident in Flanders, and I thought best to speak to the Queen about it,

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and to discuss the other matters which your Majesty orders, so that she might be prepared for Don Guerau's coming. I accordingly left London to-day for this place, in order to be near Hatfield where the Queen is. I had sent to ask for audience in order that I might have the reply when I arrived here. I am to have audience to-morrow, as the Queen says that she wishes me to be present at an entertainment to be given to her at the house of a neighbouring gentleman. When I had nearly arrived here I met a courier from the Christian King on his way from the queen of Scotland with letters for this Queen. He handed me the letter he brought for me from the queen of Scotland, copy of which is enclosed.

The edict ordering no person with arms to go from this country to Flanders was published, and coming after the news of events in Friesland and St. Valery, the rush of these rebels to get across has ceased, although it is of no great importance, as the ports on the coast were well prepared for them.

I am still advised that the contribution of the twentieth part of ecclesiastical revenues is proceeding, as also is the other subscription.—Barnet, 2nd August 1568.

9 August. **45.** GUZMAN DE SILVA to the KING.

I was with the Queen on the 3rd and 4th instant, at Hatfield, 17 miles from here, in order to tell her of the coming of Don Guerau de Spes, which had been published in various parts. She showed more sorrow than I expected, and, changing colour, told me that she was grieved from the bottom of her heart that your Majesty should make any change, as she was so greatly pleased with my mode of procedure in affairs. She had, she said, always shown how pleased she was, and she hoped to God that there was no mystery behind this change. She dwelt so much upon this that, in order to banish suspicion, I threw the blame upon myself, assuring her that your Majesty had decided to give me leave at my own supplication and importunity, my sole reason being my poor health, which I was sure this climate did not suit. I said she knew this herself, and there was no other mystery behind it. She was somewhat quieter at this, but complained greatly of me for wanting to leave her. I spoke to her also respecting the league, and she seemed satisfied, as she was, indeed, before, in consequence of my many conversations with her on the subject. She also seemed to be reconciled about John Man, and with regard to what I told her of your Majesty's orders touching Dr. Illescas' history which she was anxious should be amended.

On my return to London, I talked with Cecil and told him of the coming of Don Guerau and my departure, whereat he expressed sorrow and assured me that the Queen would be greatly pained, especially as it would seem to confirm what had been conveyed to him from several quarters, that Cardinal Lorraine had arranged a treaty with the duke of Alba, respecting this country and the queen of Scots; which had been negotiated through me, as the French ambassador here could not be trusted. It was said also that the queen of Scotland herself was in communication with me and sent

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me letters for your Majesty, and it was asserted that, now that I had arranged what was wanted, I wished to leave in order that my successor, and not myself, should witness the carrying out of the plan. It was known that I had a person at Dieppe to advise people in France of these matters, and that Don Francés de Alava never left the side of Cardinal Lorraine. My own belief is that Cecil invented the whole of this, although he told me he would show me letters saying it, because I am told that the letter that the queen of Scotland wrote to me with the letter for your Majesty, together with another for the French ambassador, fell into Cecil's hands. I therefore replied that, as for arranging anything of the sort between the Cardinal and the Duke, I looked upon such a statement as a silly joke, and the vain talk of idle men, and I could assure him that the assertion that any such treaty had gone through my hands was absolutely false. If I had done such a thing against the Queen, I should be worthy of great punishment from your Majesty, and even from the Queen herself. I said that it would have been entirely opposed to my instructions, and that I, in my life, had never seen, written to, or in any way communicated with the Cardinal, nor he with me, and I was quite sure that the Queen would not believe such nonsense. It was true that the queen of Scotland had, since her arrival in this country, written me some letters and sent servants of hers to me, whom I had received as officers of a princess who was on friendly terms with your Majesty, but nothing had passed touching the affairs of this Queen, and I had only fulfilled my office as ambassador, which obliged me to receive all kinds of people. I said that he would recollect that when Melvin, the Scotch gentleman, was here, he, Cecil himself, had sent him to me to ask me to write to the queen of Scotland and her husband, when they were at discord, recommending them to make friends; and I had done this, I wish I could say successfully. He said it was quite true that he hoped to have arranged such a reconciliation through me, and that I might be quite certain of one thing, namely, that the Queen had so much confidence in me, and was so satisfied, that she had told him several times that she knew of no one whose opinion coincided with hers so well as my own, *and that she did not like to praise me openly in her Council, in order not to arouse the jealousy and suspicion of certain of the members.* He did not know what sort of a person Don Guerau was. I praised him very much both to Cecil and the Queen, assuring them that he would be a gracious and pacific minister.—London, 9th August 1568.

45A. STATEMENT made by DON CRISTOBAL DE SALAZAR, Secretary of the Ambassador DON DIEGO DE GUZMAN DE SILVA, respecting the Ambassador's departure from England.

I, Cristobal de Salazar, secretary of the very illustrious Señor don Diego de Guzman de Silva, of his Majesty's Council, his ambassador in Venice, et cetera, truly testify that on the 9th day of the month of September last year, 1568, the said illustrious gentleman, my master, left the house where he resided, which was called the house of my Lord Paget, in the parish of St. Clement's

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outside the walls of London, to go to Spain. He went first to take leave of the Queen of England in company with Don Guerau de Spes, who had arrived recently as his successor in the post of ambassador. After having taken leave of the Queen in the presence of the ambassador, Don Guerau de Spes, and without any further detention, he departed for the port of Portsmouth without returning again to the said house, and embarked for Spain in the said port as he had been ordered by his Majesty, in the presence of the following witnesses: Martin de Robles Ximenez, Alonso de Zuñiga, and Alonso Pantoja, servants of the ambassador. I, Cristobal de Salazar, notary public apostolic, was present at all of this.

CRISTOBAL DE SALAZAR, Notary.

16th August 1570.

45B. EXTRACT from the INSTRUCTION given to DON GUERAU DE SPES* as Ordinary Ambassador in England, dated in the Escorial, 28th June 1568.

First of all you must know that the ambassador from the Queen who has resided here lately, called John Man, is a heretic so pernicious and evil-minded that, ever since he came to my Court he has acted differently from what he ought to have done, and has in many things exceeded the limits of his position, and broken the promise he gave on his arrival to the duke of Alba, and subsequently to others of my ministers who told him the conduct he would have to observe. This was only the same as had been observed by his predecessors, both in the Emperor's time and my own. Not having complied therewith, but on the contrary having very scandalously and indecently dared to exceed in many things, his insolence and boldness could be tolerated no longer; but, as it was not desired to punish him otherwise, he being a minister of the Queen, with whom I am on friendly terms, I sent a special courier to inform his mistress of it through Don Diego de Guzman, my ambassador, in the form which you have seen by the copies of letters exhibited to you. I asked the Queen directly and through Diego de Guzman to recall John Man, whom I had declined to receive any more or allow in my Court, and to name some other person in his place who should behave with proper modesty. Pending the receipt of the reply, I ordered John Man to leave my Court, which he did, and is now at Barajas awaiting the orders of his mistress. Diego de Guzman delivered my letter to the Queen, and he writes to me that, although the Queen was somewhat disturbed at first, she afterwards became tranquillised and took the matter in good part, saying that she would recall John Man and would send another person more to my satisfaction, as you will have seen by Guzman's letters shown to you. As I promised the Queen and also Diego de Guzman to send a fuller and more complete statement of the things

* Don Guerau de Spes, the new ambassador, was a native of Lerida, and a son of Don Jaime de Spes, one of Ferdinand the Catholic's gentlemen of the chamber. He was a knight of the order of Calatrava, and had rendered himself conspicuous in Spain by his strong Catholic views.

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in which John Man had transgressed, and the scandalous, bold, and disrespectful words which he had allowed himself to use in condemnation of our holy Catholic faith and in contempt of the Pope and the holy apostolic See, you have had handed to you with this instruction a statement of Cardinal Espinosa, president of my Council of Castile and Inquisitor-General, containing the evidence of trustworthy witnesses against John Man. You will take this statement in order that you may convey to the Queen of England the details it contains in fulfilment of my promise. You will proceed in this in accordance with the advice and instructions given to you by the Cardinal Inquisitor-General, and will communicate everything to Diego de Guzman, in order that the Queen may remain entirely satisfied that the action taken towards the ambassador was rendered necessary entirely by his own bad behaviour and departure from the conduct observed by his predecessors; that his action was of such a character that I could not avoid doing as I did, and that it was only with great reluctance that I adopted this course, having regard to the respect and goodwill I bear to the Queen. You will set forth all this with the fair words and arguments which you and Diego de Guzman may consider suitable.

As John Man is so malicious as to have signified that the duke of Feria, out of regard for the Duchess and her English relatives and friends, has been the origin of this treatment, you may know that this is pure malice and meanness on the part of John Man, whose only accusers have been his own bad deeds and evil conscience, which were so flagrant that they could not be concealed. It is necessary for you on every occasion to banish this suspicion of the Duchess' relatives from the Queen's mind, whilst assuring her that the Duke has never said anything to me against John Man, but, on the contrary, has invariably shown a desire to benefit and promote his interests. I ask and beg the Queen, therefore, to graciously show all possible favour to the relatives of the Duchess, which will be for me a great satisfaction. You yourself will make the acquaintance of them, and do your best on all occasions to help them, as you know well the claims the Duke has upon my thanks and affection.

You will also try to learn what arms and gunpowder the English have received from abroad, because they neither make nor possess these things themselves, but usually provide them from Flanders and Germany through Embden. You will advise the duke of Alba of what you learn, so that he may keep his hand on the export of these things from the States, such course being of great importance to my interests.

When you arrive at the court of England you will go straight to the lodgings of Diego de Guzman, my ambassador, to whom you will show this original instruction and deliver my letter to him. He will inform the Queen of your arrival, and arrange the day and hour when she is to receive you. You will go together to the audience, and you will give the Queen my letter, saluting her gaily and graciously from me, saying that I have appointed you the successor of Diego de Guzman to reside near her as my ordinary ambassador, with instructions to serve and gratify her on every

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possible occasion, as, in fact, I wish you to do; trying to keep her on good terms, and assuring her from me that I will always return her friendship as her good neighbour and brother. In these generalities and compliments, giving her news of things here which can be fittingly told, you can pass the time of the first audience, without saying anything about business, unless she wishes to commence that subject. The first matter that you will discuss with her must be about John Man, giving her an account, as set forth in the statement, of his excesses and bad behaviour; first because I have promised her, and next because I wish her to be well informed of the truth, and thoroughly satisfied that all possible gentleness was used towards him, and that any other person she may send will be welcomed and well treated, if only he will conduct himself with the same modesty as all previous ambassadors have done. You must deal with this point in such a way that it may be smoothed over now, once and for all, and you will promptly advise me of all that passes on this subject with the Queen, as well as everything else that from time to time may occur, sending your letters to Flanders, whence my letters to you will also generally be sent. You may also sometimes, when opportunity offers, send your letters by way of Don Francés, or by sea when a passage by ship is obtainable with a trustworthy person, sending such letters to Juan Martinez de Recalde of Bilbao.*

10 July. **46.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

I have written what passed on the road, to Secretary Zayas, the last letter being from Bayonne. Approaching Bordeaux I was assailed by many people, who threatened us, in consequence of eight (Spanish ?) sloops having endeavoured to enter the Garonne to burn the flotilla which had come from Florida. Crossing the river, my boatmen pointed out to me the six ships which they say had avenged the murder of their friends in Florida, and the captain is swaggering bravely here about it. It is said he has received ten thousand crowns for the artillery he brought, with other things of great value. The whole road has been rendered dangerous by the ill-will of the French, both Catholics and heretics, against the Spaniards, and, in some places, the King's soldiers themselves took arms against us and called us Spanish hogs.† In another place, on this side of Blois, they tried to stab Jacques, postmaster of Bruges, who was with me, because they, thinking he was a Frenchman, saw him in the company of Spaniards. Everywhere they made us pay extravagantly, and Spaniards are in danger all through the country. Even Captain Jordan de Cuellar, who served this King, was stabbed to death the other day.

Lies are afloat everywhere with regard to Flanders, and these were brought daily by their couriers, so I was anxious in case there should be any truth in the reported loss of Maestricht and the defeat of Count Meghen.

* Juan Martinez de Recalde was the King's commissary at Bilboa, and was subsequently one of the principal captains of the invincible Armada. He was considered one of the first seamen of the time.

† "Españoles marranos." This term of approbrium was usually applied to Jews and outcasts or unclean people.

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I arrived here on the 17th, and was well entertained by Don Francés de Alava. I have consulted with him as to my instructions, and we went, by appointment, this morning to Little Madrid here to salute the King, the Queen, and duke of Anjou. Cardinals Lorraine, Guise, and Bourbon and the dukes of Nemours and Guise were there. I complimented them from your Majesty as ordered. They recommended the affairs of the queen of Scotland strongly to me.

I told the Queen of the bad treatment we had received, and she ordered the offenders to be punished. She also said that the Florida affair had been without her knowledge or wish, and the artillery, which is known to belong to your Majesty, has been ordered to be returned to Spain. She said we knew, moreover, that the King was not obeyed in those parts, and they had even refused to admit M. de Vielleville into Rochelle. It is reported here that the duke of Alba was going to Friesland in great force, and a successful issue may now be expected. With God's help, I leave here to-morrow for Brussels, where I will fulfil my instructions and see the duke of Alba, and will then leave to continue my service in England.

Holograph postscript: The Scotch ambassador here, who is very ill, has just sent two gentlemen to me to recommend his mistress's affairs to my care. She appears to found all her hopes on your Majesty's favour, and I have told him that I have orders, on my arrival in England, to do what I can for her.—Paris, 19th July 1568.

25 Aug. **47.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I wrote to your Majesty from Paris and to Secretary Zayas from Brussels that I was sending a special courier to the duke of Alba with his despatches. He was then at the extreme end of Friesland with his victorious army, and I informed him that I would go to Bois le Duc, where the Council was, and consult with them what had to be arranged, according to my instructions, and then would await his orders as to whether I should go to Friesland or not. He answered directing me to remain in Bois le Duc, but afterwards told me to come to Utrecht, whither the Council also went. The Duke arrived there on the 16th and was for some days so busy with the affairs of the war that he could not discuss the business I was ordered to communicate to him. He afterwards decided to go to Bois le Duc, where he told me he could attend to me, which he did; so that I am now fully informed of the grievances suffered by your Majesty's vassals, both in the States and Spain, at the hands of those who disregard alliances, ancient friendships, and good neighbourship. The damage done by this exceeds the sum of three hundred thousand ducats a year. The Council had all its papers in Brussels, but as the necessary documents had been sent to Guzman de Silva the Duke writes to him by me, telling him to deliver them, or copies of them, to me. Dr. D'Assonleville will also draw up for me a full statement of the injuries we receive and the terms which were to have been arranged by the Conference at

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Bruges, and which, no doubt, would have been carried out but for the troubles and disturbances in the States. I have come to this place, and after having provided some necessary things, I shall leave for England in a day or two at most, whence I can write more fully to your Majesty after having obtained further information from Guzman de Silva as to the remedy to be adopted.

I received the despatch from your Majesty, dated 27th ultimo, which was delayed in consequence of the death of the courier in France, and was directed either to Guzman de Silva or myself. By this I learn of the death of our lord the Prince, whose soul is now in heaven. I pray that God will give your Majesty the rest and consolation that your subjects desire for you, and many other sons and successors. I closed the letter again and sent it on to London by the courier that was leaving, advising Guzman de Silva that I should be with him in a few days.

Antonio de Guaras has sent me two slanderous papers printed in England, which the heretics of that country have made up to entertain their gang, and to endeavour to diminish the favour your Majesty extends to the Catholics, and the justice and equity which you maintain in your States. If your Majesty wishes, they can be copied and sent to you in Spanish. I shall be glad to be directed as to whether I should speak to the Queen about these insults, since she seems so much offended at the "Pontifical History," or whether it will be better to leave it as unworthy of so great a sovereign. As to John Man, the road seems now clear. I read my instructions to the Duke and he thought they were perfectly sufficient, but made several remarks on them for my guidance.—Antwerp, 25th August 1568.

6 Sept. **48.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

I arrived in this island on the 3rd instant, and found awaiting me in Dover Antonio de Guaras and all the Spaniards resident here, who accompanied me full of love and desire to serve your Majesty. The ambassador Guzman de Silva received me kindly, and we have already begun to discuss matters of your Majesty's service. The Queen is making a progress, and Guzman will come with me when I go to salute her and give her an account of John Man's affair, and will accompany me until I am fully acquainted with the persons in the Court and all that concerns them. He will then leave for the Isle of Wight, where he has given orders that the ship in which his goods are embarked should meet him, and whence he will sail for Spain.

John Man's household have arrived here by sea, from Biscay where their master landed in consequence of ill-health, with the intention of coming through France to Boulogne. A servant of the Marquis de Sarria accompanies him. I met the household the day before yesterday in Canterbury on their way to Dover, where they expected their master's arrival.

There is nothing new here nor of the queen of Scotland's affairs, excepting what Guzman de Silva writes.—London, 6th September 1568.

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15 Sept. **49.** The KING to the DUKE OF ALBA.
[EXTRACT.]

Diego de Guzman will have written to you an account of what passed with the queen of Scotland and her complaints against the queen of England, in view of which she begs me to help her to extricate herself from the trouble in which she is, which may be called an honourable imprisonment. She assures me that she will gladly die if necessary to preserve our holy Catholic faith. It has caused me great sorrow to see a Princess thus maltreated by her own subjects, and, for this and religious reasons, I am willing to help her in her sufferings; but I have refrained from taking any decision or answering her autograph letter, of which I enclose a copy, until you tell me what you think of her business, and in what way, and to what extent, I should assist her. I therefore beg and enjoin you to write to me on this by the first opportunity, and to encourage the Queen from there as best you can, to persevere firmly in her good purpose, as it is clear that whilst she does so, God will not abandon her. The Escorial, 15th September 1568.

18 Sept. **50.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

I wrote to your Majesty by Guzman de Silva, who left Newbury on the 13th, and I presume he will have already sailed. From him your Majesty will have a trustworthy account of all affairs here. On my way to London I came across a Scotch gentleman, a servant of the queen of Scots, who was coming post from Paris, and was one of those who, when I was there, came to speak to me. He bore a letter for me from Don Francés de Alava, and was in great trouble about his mistress's affairs, as, it seems, they are pressing her much and trying to force her and the country to entirely abandon the Catholic religion. This gentleman was on his way to beg permission to go to his Queen and, after having seen her, to proceed to Scotland. I told him I brought a letter from your Majesty and another from the Queen for his mistress, but I had them in London. He said he would come for them, which he did yesterday afternoon, when I handed him the letters and told him that it was advisable, in the interests of his mistress, that I should not be seen much in the matter; and as she was so discreet and devout I was sure that in this adversity she would adopt the best course to enable her to return to her kingdom, always excepting the changing of the religion. When she was at liberty, I said, her vassals would gradually return to their love and obedience, and she could count upon the support of Christian Princes. He said he would discuss the whole matter with her and would let me know, by a trustworthy person, what was decided. The deputies will go to York at the end of this month and I will inform your Majesty of what happens.

By Guzman de Silva I advised the arrival of Cardinal Chatillon. He is accompanied by the bishop of Arles who is a son of Monluc, although his actions are very different from those of his father, and by M. de Lange. He escaped from a house of his, called Brac, and embarked at Tréport. He was received by Lord Cobham, Governor of the county of Kent, and the Queen having been informed, she sent a company to meet them. The French ambassador M. de la

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Forest, also went, but missed him on the road and went straight to the house of Thomas Gresham, this Queen's factor, where the Cardinal was to stay. La Forest received him cap in hand, with much respect, which confirms the general opinion that he is a heretic; certainly a nephew of his who is here and his secretary are so.* It is certain now that this ambassador is leaving here presently, as he told me the other day when Guzman and I met him as we came from an interview with the Queen. The Cardinal dresses in cape, hat, and sword, and has been to hear the preaching of two ministers, great knaves and vassals of your Majesty, one a Spaniard and the other a Sicilian. Yesterday afternoon the Cardinal went to a pleasure house that Gresham has a league away from here. The Queen has ordered all the Councillors to be summoned and they left here this week with the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Sussex. I understand the Cardinal will remain in Reading. The bishop of Arles went first to see the Queen, and I am informed that, immediately afterwards, they brought out from the Tower here ten pieces of field artillery, three hundred harquebusses, eight hundred bows, a hundred pikes, a hundred halberds, and many corslets, and a store of powder and balls. It is said that they were going to bring them to Windsor, but I am told that it was all shipped to-night in a ship which in the course of the tide was soon out of the river. I am also informed that fifteen of the best ships are being fitted out and that troops are being mustered in the north. I will advise what else I hear to your Majesty and the duke of Alba, to whom I communicated at once the arrival of Cardinal Chatillon.†

I have just heard that the heretic bishop of London has visited the Cardinal and has promised him to get the Church to give two hundred thousand ducats for his succour, which it is thought it would do.—London, 18th September 1568.

24 Sept. **51.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I wrote to your Majesty at length by Guzman de Silva, who left Newbury on the 13th, and embarked at Portsmouth, although with contrary weather. I hope he will shortly arrive, and that, by his report, your Majesty will well understand the state of affairs here and in Scotland. I wrote on the 18th, through the duke of Alba, informing your Majesty of the arrival of Cardinal Chatillon, and of the former bishop of Arles, and said how well they had been entertained by Thomas Gresham and welcomed by the French ambassador, to the great surprise of all good people. I have received four of your Majesty's letters to-day, ordering me to report that John Man had been despatched from there. He has not yet arrived, although his servants, who came by sea, have been here for some time. Guzman de Silva, before he left here, reported his (Man's) departure, and also the death of the Prince, who is now in heaven. I have nothing to say on this point as, in the matter of

* Vulcob, the nephew of Bochetel de la Forest, was, as is here suggested, for some years a means of communication between the Huguenots and the English Court.

† Odet de Coligny Cardinal Chatillon was the brother of Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France, leader of the Huguenot party.

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satisfying the Queen about John Man, Guzman de Silva fully informed your Majesty. Your Majesty's letters of 14th and 16th ultimo order me to endeavour to obtain restitution of a galleon with her cargo which was stolen last May by an English pirate from Domingo de Olano of Monreal de Deva in Guipuzcoa. I have learnt that this ship was afterwards captured by one of the Queen's vessels called the "Lebrela," and was taken, with all her cargo, into an Irish port, where she still is. The merchant-owners of the cargo have sent thither to recover their property, and I think they will get the greater part of it. I have written on the subject to the viceroy of Ireland, but will do so again and ask the Queen also to write. I will use every effort to obtain the restitution of the ship to its owner, if possible, and will try to discover the name of the pirate who made the capture, in order that he may be punished, and will advise your Majesty.

Three days since the bishop of Rennes, the brother of the (French) ambassador here, arrived on a mission to the Queen from the Queen (mother) of France. He has requested audience, and I understand his object is to become a mediator when the deputies meet at York, and he is about to ask the Queen's permission for this. The Queen arrived the night before last at Windsor, and I intend to ask for audience to discuss this matter of the pirate, and also about the postmastership here. I will also gently ask the Queen her intentions regarding the queen of Scotland.

On the day I left Madrid a sealed document was handed to me, drawn up by order of the fiscal of your Majesty's Indian Council, for me to use against John Hawkins, an English pirate. I read it carefully before presenting it in order to master its contents, and, it seems to me, that it produces very little proof against him, as all that it alleges has been confessed by Hawkins himself. Hernalde and Cristobal de Santisteban, two of your Majesty's officers at the ports of Montespi, Isabela, and Puerto de la Plata, in the island of Hispaniola, gave a written license to John Hawkins to trade there, and received from him 105 slaves and a caravel as an equivalent for the dues accruing to your Majesty. They also agreed to register, in accordance with your Majesty's decrees, all the merchandise which he obtained by barter there, and consigned to Seville. He now claims these consignments, and alleges that he has committed no offence in your Majesty's seas, having only traded by permission of your Majesty's representatives. It therefore appears to me best not to show this document to the English, until your Majesty may have had it reconsidered and send me your orders. Since his voyage in 1563 Hawkins has made another voyage with a finer fleet and returned with great wealth. I have no information as to whether, during this last voyage, he did anything wrong or traded in your Majesty's dominions. After his return he again despatched his fleet, but remained at home himself, but is now there (*i.e.*, at the Indies) more powerful than ever. He was to have been here at the beginning of this month, as he usually comes at this time of the year, but he has not arrived yet, and the Queen is very anxious about it, as she is deeply interested. She promised Guzman de Silva that he (Hawkins) should not trade any more

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in your Majesty's dominions, and I shall be glad if your Majesty will have me informed as to whether he has done so since 1563.

Your Majesty orders me to proceed carefully in the queen of Scotland's business in conformity with your Majesty's general instructions. I will do so, and will carefully advise everything that occurs in this most important matter.

I wrote on the 17th that a servant of the queen of Scotland, who had spoken to me in Paris, had arrived here with a letter of credence for me from Don Francés. I gave him your Majesty's letter to his mistress. Another Scotch gentleman arrived here yesterday sent by his Queen to France, and he has now gone to Court to ask for his passport. He brought me two letters from his mistress to Guzman de Silva, but, as the latter has not left his cipher, or even told me that he had one with her, I have been unable to read them, and therefore send them enclosed, in order that Guzman may decipher them if he has arrived. I understand they will contain very little more than what the gentleman told me verbally, but I have kept a copy of them, and will try to get the Queen's cipher. The gentleman told me of the affliction and distress of his mistress, and, amongst other things, that the English want her and all her subjects to adopt the new religion of this country. If the Christian Princes abandon her, she says that, being a woman and alone, she does not know what she can do. She is more distressed on this point than she is even at the attempts of the English to interfere with her in the government of her country. I have been assured here that all that this gentlemen tells me is true, and that the Council is trying to do as he says. The arrangement made for the deputies to meet at York at the end of the month has been delayed by Cardinal Chatillon's arrival. I replied to the gentleman in general and complimentary terms, as he was not going straight to his mistress. I will send a letter by him to Don Francés giving an account of affairs here.

Cardinal Chatillon has arrived at Reading, and has seen the Queen almost secretly. He has also had several consultations with the Council, who, I understand, however, have not yet decided to resolutely help the French rebels, although many people wish such help to be given, and, I am told, that the duke of Norfolk is urgently in favour of open aid being extended to them. At all events, it is certain that no decision has yet been arrived at, and that nothing has been done except to take the munitions out of the Tower of London, which, it is said, were shipped, although report still insists that they have been sent to Windsor Castle. Troops are not being raised, but all the houses in the country are being searched to see that they have their firearms in order, as prescribed by the law. The Cardinal has now returned to Thomas Gresham's house two leagues from here. The French ambassador excused himself to me for having gone to visit him, saying that he wished to dissemble with him about his being in disgrace, in order to hear what he would say. The ambassador tells me that he will have to stay here a short time longer, as M. de la Mothe, who is to succeed him, has been sent by his Queen to the duchess of Vendome. I am carefully going over the Flemish documents. If matters

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calm down in the States, it would seem best that the settlement arranged at Bruges should be carried out, which was not done at the time in consequence of the troubles there.—London, 24th September 1568.*

9 Oct. **52.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

I wrote to your Majesty at length on the 6th, 13th, 18th, and 25th ultimo, and on 2nd instant, and the last letter I received is of 16th August. Juan De Castro de la Loo has been sent to Ireland to recover Domingo de Olano's ship and the cargo which had been stolen. I have an appointment with the Queen for the 11th instant, and I will press upon her the need for punishing the English pirates Edward Cook and Thomas Uffal (?) who are already prisoners, and that the rest should be captured to root out piracy thoroughly, although, looking at the tendency of these people to rob, it will be a difficult task. I will also speak of the grievance of not giving the office of Postmaster to Godefredo, a subject of your Majesty and a Catholic, who was elected by the powers in accordance with ancient custom. Cecil is the obstacle, as he wants to appoint a heretic, and says his object is to preserve intact the rights of the Postmaster-General of this country, who is now ambassador in Muscovy, and has left Cecil in charge of his affairs.

I sent your Majesty the letters from the queen of Scotland, and another servant of hers has since arrived disguised as a merchant, who says he is going to the duke of Alba with letters from her and will advise me when the boat which is to take him over is ready. The regent James is reported to have arrived in York with a guard of a hundred horsemen and all the deputies are now there. The Queen of Scotland knows how to ingratiate herself with her keepers, and has many on her side. In the neighbourhood, which is the part of the country where there are most Catholics, she has many sympathisers, and it will not be difficult to release her, and even raise a great revolt against this Queen; but it will be more prudent that your Majesty should not appear in this, and I will do nothing unless I receive orders from your Majesty or the Duke. Cecil is much against the queen of Scotland, and so jealous in the matter that, as soon as he saw Beton, the Queen's servant, he asked him whether he had been with his complaints to the Spanish ambassador, and whether he came often to see me, to which he replied that he had no dealings whatever with me. What I am afraid of is that they might poison the poor Queen, although she has won over greatly the Vice-Chamberlain and those who guard her, he (*i.e.*, Vice-Chamberlain Knollys) being a near relative of the queen of England. Frenchmen arrive here every day, and in such numbers that London is half in revolt against the foreigners who are so numerous.

The Cardinal's wife has arrived with her children, a great

* This letter, as it at present exists, is, in places, unintelligible. I have endeavoured to reduce it to a connected meaning by re-arranging, but in no case altering, the text.

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following, and all the fittings of her house, so it is probably untrue that the officers of the king of France had sacked their house. No such thing happened.

Captain Sores, Baron de Morbec, the president of Bordeaux, and many others, have arrived here, and have divulged to the Queen the plot they have to capture Havre de Grace by the help of the Governor and a Gascon Captain. I at once informed the French ambassador, who thanked me greatly, and I have written also to the Duke and Don Francés.

They have given to the Cardinal Ham House, next to Sion House, and they say the Queen has granted him a hundred pounds a month. Great efforts are being made to get the Queen to help them with money, which they want more than men.

The infantry musters here are not proceeding very warmly. The Queen has ordered as many harquebusses as have been sent to Rochelle, and great stores of munitions, such as muskets, &c.

John Man is here, and the servant of the Marquis de Sarria has gone back without seeing me and without hearing mass. I do not think it is a good sign.

A Scotch gentleman of the house of Stuart has arrived here and announces that he is going to Scotland to raise 500 horse for M. de Condé.

I send enclosed a copy of the claims now pending judicially here, and, although little justice is done, I think of mentioning the matter to the Queen, gently at first, but afterwards more rigour will be necessary, for nothing else is heard of here but the robberies they have committed on your Majesty's subjects.

I learned from the servant, whom I sent to request audience for me, that they have detained in the Court that Scotsman who first brought me the letters in cipher for Guzman de Silva, on the accusation that he was concerned in the murder of the King. Lady Margaret thinks that he was, and has sent to tell me so. This Queen wishes to make use of her to injure the queen of Scotland. Beton assures me that this man was not concerned in the murder, although he is mentioned in the pardon granted by the Parliament to the Earl of Bothwell. The latter is still a prisoner in Denmark. The deputies are as follows: For the queen of England, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, Sir Ralph Sadler; for the queen of Scotland, the bishop of Ross, Lord Herries, Lord Boyd, the abbot of Kilwinning, the laird of Lochinvar; for the Governor, governor Murray, Lord Morton, Lord Lindsay, the bishop of Orkney, who married them (*i.e.*, Mary and Bothwell), and secretary Lethington, Master James Magill, Master Henry Balnaves, and the Lord Provost.* I am sure that this Queen has helped Orange with money, and will now help Condé, the money being usually obtained in Antwerp. I have informed the Duke where he may

* The list of Commissioners is not quite correctly given. They were, for Elizabeth, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler; for Mary, Lesly, bishop of Ross, Lord Livingston, Lord Boyd, Lord Herries, Gavin Hamilton of Kilwinning, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, and Sir James Cockburn of Skirling; and for Murray, himself, Morton, the bishop of Orkney, Pitcairn, Commendador of Dunfermling, and Lord Lindsay. Magill of Rankeilor, Balnaves of Hallhill, Maitland of Lethington, and George Buchanan were appointed to attend them as assistants.

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learn what goes on in this matter, in order that he may take what measures may be necessary. Leonardo Tadeo, a Florentine, is the man who can secretly inform him.

Whilst writing this, a trustworthy person has come from the Court to tell me that the Scots, to the number of 200, have managed to enter the town of Berwick, and had almost taken possession of it, killing Marshal Drury* and other officers and soldiers, and if they had been stronger they would have kept possession of the town, but they were few and without a head. In the end they were defeated, but with the loss of the English who were in the town.

I am informed that the Cardinal seeks 600,000 ducats.—London, 9th October 1568.

14 Oct. **53.** The KING to GUERAU DE SPES.

By advices from Don Francés de Alava, and by what I hear from the French ambassador and a gentleman of the chamber named Lignerolles, we have learned of the proposal which the English ambassador in France had made to the King. It was, in effect, to persuade and advise him at great length that he should not allow the persecution of the Protestants, but that all should be allowed to live in their own way without molestation. He ended by signifying, although not openly, that otherwise the Queen could not avoid helping them. The business was so important that I was asked by the King how he should treat this. I answered that he should treat the Protestants as rebels, as in fact they are, and thereupon all possible difficulty would disappear, since no Prince, however barbarous he may be, can countenance rebels who are equally against all Princes. I said I was sure that if he treated them in this way the Queen would not help them, and that, for greater certainty, I would instruct you to approach her on the subject; and I now request that you will do so, without mentioning religion in any way, but gently reminding her that I shall be pleased if she will not interfere with the king of France in this matter, but let him punish his rebel subjects, and that she will not allow her country to favour or promote such an atrocious crime as rebellion. She herself will see that this should be her course, and my advice is mainly inspired by my desire for her tranquillity and the maintenance of peace between her and the king of France. I am sure she will take it in good part that I should have given her this advice.—Madrid, 14th October 1568.

18 Oct. **54.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

[EXTRACT.]

The Queen told me that John Man had arrived; that he was a very learned and worthy man, and she understood that the English who are in Madrid had plotted against him, causing your Majesty to be displeased with him. I told her that the English had nothing whatever to do with it, but that he himself was entirely to blame for speaking so loosely of things, which need not have been mentioned there. She told me that she had been assured that he had

* Sir William Drury, marshal of Berwick. The news was untrue.

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not spoken about religious differences, except to one or two Englishmen. I said that from the account I had, John Man was much to blame, whereupon she said she should like to see the statement to which I referred. I said that as the affair was now past, I did not think I need show it to her, but that if she wished I would give her a summary of it. I will have this summary made, and if she asks me for it again, I will give it to her. If it is finished in time for this post I will enclose a copy herewith. She will probably not recollect it again, but the coming of John Man has reopened the wound.—London, 18th October 1568.

23 Oct. **55.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I take the opportunity of a cutter leaving for Biscay to write to your Majesty to say that by letters from Antwerp I learn that the prince of Orange, with 14,000 infantry and 6,000 horse, passed the Meuse the previous night to within three leagues of your Majesty's camp. He brought no artillery, and lost some horses in the passage. As soon as the Duke was informed of it, he went with his army against him, and I have since received letters from Geronimo de Curiel, dated the 17th, informing me of the progress of your Majesty's fortunate arms. As the Duke could not write to me himself, Curiel sent me copy of a letter which secretary Juan de Albornoz had written to him in the Duke's name on the 10th instant, which is as follows :—

"The Duke has learnt that it has been decided by the natives, and by the Italians and Germans, to send a daily courier to learn news of this most fortunate army, whereat his Excellency is greatly pleased, and is delighted to be able to inform them, for their satisfaction, of the good news of the defeat of these rebels, who for the last three days have eaten nothing but apples. They do not bring enough artillery to batter an old dovecote. A nice way to conquer a country. It appears that to-day they are going towards Zantron; it is to be hoped they are going to pay for the place where the meetings were held. A hundred waggons have been taken from them, and amongst other things have been found in them some custodes, with the holy Sacrament still in them. Please God to punish those who so wickedly insult Him! Since writing the above the Duke suddenly raised his camp at Wilzen, but I had no time to close this letter. This was caused by information that the Prince was raising his camp near Tongeren. The Duke followed him so closely that our vanguard came into contact with his rearguard a half-a-league on the other side of Tongeren, where 500 or 600 men were killed, but few prisoners taken, although 100 waggons of provisions, clothes, &c., were captured. They are now in a very strong position between two mounds, and the Duke is within a league of their camp, where, it is said, they have entrenched themselves and are suffering from hunger. Many Walloon soldiers are deserting, and though the Duke reconnoitred their position to-day, he did not find the country very suitable for coming to close quarters with them. In their quarters at Tongeren were found many soldiers and waggons which were taken, and the latter given to his soldiers by the Duke. Of the Prince's soldiers,

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who were naked, the Germans were turned out towards Maestricht, but all those who are subjects of our King are hanged."

This is a copy of the letter, and the courier tells me that the enemy are hard pressed, and no men had gone to join them from any part of Flanders. This news is very distressing for these folks here, who would like to see your Majesty's army destroyed, although there are some good people who wish otherwise. Some, however, are such bare-faced heretics, that they go to St. Pauls to preach and spread false news, by which fictions they entertain the people, who are naturally of a flighty disposition. Amongst the principal of them is Cook,* the father-in-law of Cecil and of the Chancellor. He and his two sons-in-law are amongst the most pernicious heretics in Europe.

There are four ships here called the "Meda," the "Eyde," the "Gineta," and the "Phœnix," as well as a great ship loaded with stores. It is thought that these vessels will carry the money that the Queen is providing for the prince of Condé's army. She has borrowed money here at 12 per cent., payable in a year, and has given warrants of exemption so that it shall not be considered usury. I do not think that they have been able to get more than 40,000 ducats, and the rest will have to be raised in Antwerp, of which I have informed the duke of Alba. Hamberton, a nephew of the Vice-Admiral, with 30 or 40 young gentlemen, well-armed and mounted, accompanied by many servants and some soldiers, have left port, pretending that the Queen does not know of the expedition, whilst many ships are already asserted to be in the pay of the prince of Condé, and will plunder the ships belonging to the faithful subjects of the king of France. It will be well for ships coming from Spain to be prepared for this, and to come several together for mutual safety.

Cecil came to my house on Sunday last, as was agreed between the Queen and myself. He promised me that the pirates already captured should be promptly and severely punished, and that those who are accused should be arrested, if possible.

I gave him a memorial about the restitution of what had been stolen, and he said he would try to get all restored, where possible. In order that he might be better posted in the matter, I appointed two of the Spaniards resident here to go over each item in detail with him.

The business of the Postmaster is a very difficult one, and the passion shown about it proves how badly disposed these people are towards your Majesty. I have had a statement drawn up as to the customary usage on former occasions in these elections of Postmasters, and will give it to the Queen, as I do not wish to dicuss the matter again with Cecil.

Cecil again mentioned the matter of the "Pontifical History," and, although I assured him that the portions in which the Queen had been disrespectfully spoken of had been burnt by your Majesty's orders, he insisted that the book had been reprinted. I told him that to reprint the book would take fully six months, and

* Sir Anthony Cook.

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I could assure him that neither that book nor any other treating the Queen disrespectfully, would be printed in your Majesty's dominions. It would, I think, not be undesirable for your Majesty to have a letter written to me on this subject, that I may give it to the Queen to satisfy her. All this, doubtless, springs from John Man, and Cecil takes these opportunities to make bad blood between his mistress and us. He declares that your Majesty would not allow the Queen's ambassador to exercise his own religion in your Court, ignoring the just limitations which your Majesty alone imposed upon him; and even the man who has in his custody the queen of Scotland takes advantage of this falsehood to deny her permission to hear mass, saying that you would not allow the English ambassador to exercise the reformed rites in Spain. The queen of Scotland's affairs will, I think, be long drawn out. During the first few days in York the commissioners banquetted each other, and since then, documents have been produced inculpating this Queen and exculpating the queen of Scotland. Every point is submitted to the Queen here. I have a person to inform me of all that goes on, and have obtained a new cipher with the queen of Scotland, the old one having been lost.—London, 23rd October 1568.

25 Oct. **56.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

Whilst the French ambassador was dining with me to-day, a servant of the Portuguese ambassador was sent to inform me that this morning at mass the agents of the bishop of London entered the house and arrested the Englishmen who were present, but the ambassador forbade them to take them prisoners, and subsequently the officers and a great number of people surrounded the house. He wishes me to see whether I can help him, and asks me to tell him what I think he ought to do. The French ambassador and myself were both of opinion that a servant of mine should accompany the Portuguese ambassador's servant to beg the Lord Mayor* to be good enough to go and disperse the people from before the house, but when the Mayor heard that it was a question of the mass, he was in a great rage, and said that if the Bishop wished, he, the Mayor, would rather go with his men to help him. He said it was no good asking him to help men who go to mass. I sent some more of my people to the house of the Portuguese ambassador to say that I thought he ought to inform the Queen, and, at the same time, some of the officials of the Lord Chancellor, who is Cecil's brother-in-law, arrived in great anger and demanded of the ambassador that the Englishmen should be given up, saying that they had no quarrel with him or his people. The ambassador replied that there was no one there but his own servants, and on the arrival of some more Spaniards, and Wilson who was ambassador in Portugal, the constables retired for the present, those who were inside remaining there in the hiding. Probably the Queen would be glad for the Portuguese ambassador to leave after this affront without pressing her more about the prohibition of trade with the Indies and Guinea, as people here are much disturbed by the delay in Hawkins's arrival, and are afraid that the Portuguese

* Sir Roger Martin—Mercer.

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fleet has sent him to the bottom, as is reported by a ship which brings the news from Rochelle.—London, 25th October 1568.

30 Oct. **57.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.
[EXTRACT.]

I wrote to your Majesty on the 23rd and 25th by a cutter leaving for Biscay, sending the letters to Juan Martinez de Recalde, and since then the ordinary post from Antwerp has arrived fully confirming all the news, and assuring us of the small, or no, effect produced by the rebel arms in those parts, although it is greater than was at first reported. They (the rebels) hoped to unite with M. de Mouy and other bandits from France. The Duke acts with so much prudence that I hope God will give him entire victory with small loss to us. The heretics here are more impassioned than those in the camp of the prince of Orange itself.

The four ships are ready, and William Winter who accompanied your Majesty when you passed from Dover to Calais has been appointed captain of them. Money is being got together at a furious pace, and 4,000 infantry have been raised in the North.

I enclose the demands made by the Commissioners in York. Two of each party have arrived here to consult with this Queen who is at Hampton Court. I am of opinion that this would be a good opportunity of handling Scotch affairs successfully, and restoring this country to the Catholic religion, and if the Duke were out of his present anxiety and your Majesty wished, it could be discussed. Juan Brucel who wanted to disturb Amsterdam, and another man, a servant of the prince of Orange, called M. de Dolain, arrived here recently and have gone to the Court. I am watching what they arrange, and I am advised that it will be prudent to keep an eye on what Harrington writes from Spain. It would be as well to seize some of his letters.

At this moment the bishop of Ross has sent me, by one of the queen of Scotland's Commissioners, a letter from his mistress, saying that the Bishop will come and see me and give me an account of all her affairs. He leaves now for Hampton Court, and will see me at a fitting hour when he returns.—London, 30th October 1568.

? Oct. **58.** The KING to GUERAU DE SPES.

You will have learnt from Guzman de Silva and from Dr. Manuel Alvarez, a member of the king of Portugal's Council, now resident in London, particulars of the business which the latter is negotiating, and, as discussion had been opened for a settlement of the matter (of which I at once informed the King, telling him I was glad to hear it and hoped an arrangement would be effected on fair terms), I have advised him that the best course for Alvarez to adopt will be to make the most favourable terms possible, take leave of the Queen kindly and return to Portugal. As I have the interests of my nephew the King as much at heart as my own, and desire that the matter should be settled to his satisfaction, you will, after discussing his instructions with Manuel Alvarez, speak to the Queen in my name, and in the terms which you think will be most likely to persuade her to the object desired, or, at all events, as near

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to it as possible. You will also make use. for the purpose, of the Queen's ministers who may be favourable to a settlement of the business, and will assist the ambassador in every way in your power, so that he may return with all speed after arranging the best possible terms. I shall be glad to know what you do in the matter, and, in all things concerning my nephew the King, you will act as if they were for me.—Madrid, ? October 1568.

1 Nov. **59.** The KING to the DUKE OF ALBA.

Since we were in England you will, no doubt, recollect the bearer, Francis Englefield, who was a member of our Council at that time and enjoyed the full confidence of Queen Mary, my wife, and, consequently, mine. He is a good Catholic, much attached to his late mistress and to me, and, as he refused to change his religion or obey the summons of the present Queen, she has sequestrated his property and patrimonial estates, which my intercession with her has been powerless to get her to restore, or even to grant him the revenues of, although Guzman de Silva and Guerau de Spes have frequently begged her to do so in my name. He now wishes to occupy himself in affairs of my service, and I have decided therefore to send him to reside near you, as I think his prudence and good connections will be useful in the States. In order that he may be able to maintain himself comfortably, I have assigned him 1,000 twenty-plack florins* a year, as you will see by the separate warrant he bears. I beg, therefore, that you will have this sum paid punctually, and cherish this good gentleman as his quality and good parts deserve, treating him well in consideration of his wish to serve me, as I know he will do in all things in which you may employ him. I shall he pleased at all the honour and favour you may bestow upon him, so that his countrymen may see the high account in which we hold good Catholics, and thus be encouraged to persevere in the true religion.—Madrid, 1st November 1568.

6 Nov. **60.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

A French pirate has arrived here who styles himself vice-admiral of France. His name is Chateau Portut, and he has seven ships of war, having also plundered 11 vessels, 10 of which belong to obedient subjects of the French King and one to a Zealand subject of your Majesty. He has discharged his booty and is selling it on shore. The Zealander escaped at Portsmouth and demands justice from the authorities of the place and the arrest of the pirates. They refused unless they had the Queen's orders, whereupon the Zealander came to me and I sent him to Cecil. The latter came and said that it was a matter that must be brought before the Queen and Council; and, as he would express no opinion, and seeing that the merchandize was being sold and taken away, I sent the man with one of my servants to Hampton Court, writing to the Queen by them an account of the matter. They were told to return to-day for the answer which they are now awaiting.

The Queen's four ships and one of Winter's, with another loaded with stores, are at the mouth of the river, and for the last three

* Worth about 15*d*. each.

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days all sorts of heavy artillery with large quantities of ammunition have been taken to them. Ten more ships are ready at Portsmouth, which, together with those commanded by the pirate, will make up a good fleet. It is understood that this Queen is to be offered by the Admiral's party a place on this side of Rochelle, which will be delivered to Winter. The Queen is borrowing money, and has even pledged a jewel in order to get together over 40,000 ducats. She has been able to get very little in Antwerp and has sent to Frankfort. She has made the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Sussex, who were in York, return hither, and has summoned Arundel, although he excused himself by saying that he was unwell. She wishes them all to be present when a decision is arrived at about Scotland. I have received a letter of credence from the queen of Scotland for the bishop of Ross, who promises to come and see me. It appears as if the time was approaching when this country may be made to return to the Catholic Church, the Queen being in such straits and short of money. I have already informed your Majesty of the offer made by Viscount Montague's brother-in-law on condition that they may hope for protection from your Majesty. He still presses it, and I await your Majesty's orders.—London, 6th November 1568.

29 Nov. **61.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

On the 27th I informed your Majesty of the arrival here of a courier named Antonio de Cordoba, and that he had gone to the Court with a servant of mine for his passport, but as the French ambassador was there, it was signed very late by the Queen, and I have detained the man until to-day after my audience.

The Queen is willing to give a passport for the money that came in these ships to go overland, or will, at the option of the factor of the Genoese, lend one of her ships to convoy the vessels. She has appointed secretary Bernard Hampton to treat with me on all that concerns this business, in consequence of Cecil being much occupied. This is all the better as Hampton is a friend of mine. I give information about it to the duke of Alba, and the agent of the merchants reports to his principals in Antwerp. The instructions received from there shall be followed. I have given the Queen a long account of all that has happened in Flanders, upon which, in some respects, she was badly informed, not having had news that all is going so favourably as it is.—London, 29th November 1568.

12 Dec. **62.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

By the ordinary courier to Flanders I wrote to your Majesty at length on the 4th inst., and advised the arrival of two cutters and another vessel with money on the coast of this island in great peril, and since then all the others have arrived, with certain vessels from Spain loaded with wool. Amongst them was one loaded in San Sebastian with wools by Miguel de Berroes, and this was captured by Courtney, an English pirate, in company with two Frenchmen. Besides this, two very rich sloops, on their way from Flanders to Spain, were taken by Hawkins, another English pirate, with some Frenchmen, and all these vessels have been brought into Plymouth

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and the neighbouring ports as prizes, where the booty was at once sold. Up to the present two cutters and one other vessel have arrived safely in Antwerp, and for the rest of them Benedict Spinola asked me to intercede. At the same time that I received news of them I requested audience of the Queen, which was granted on the 29th, and the Queen consented to give me a passport for the money to be brought overland, or to lend one of her own ships to convoy the vessels in safety, of which I gave notice to the duke of Alba, from whom I have received no answer. In the meanwhile, I warned the captains of the vessels not to move, and had letters from the Queen sent to the officials of the ports, ordering them to defend the ships, which was highly necessary as, although in the cases where the ships could get shelter near to the towns they have done so, the pirates have attacked them, and some of our men have been killed in defending their vessels, with a greater loss still on the part of the corsairs. The Mayor himself was badly wounded in trying to pacify them. Many people have advised the Queen to seize the money, and the Vice-Admiral has written to this effect from Plymouth. I am in hourly expectation of the Duke's order for these ships to proceed on their voyage. The French pirates have about ten ships with 1,200 men, besides seven or eight more ships which will join with them. I have heard of the capture of the two sloops and the Biscay ship since I saw the Queen on the 19th ultimo, and I at once wrote to her what had happened, beseeching her for prompt and rigorous action as the case demanded. I also wrote to the earl of Leicester, who is with the Commissioners nearly every day at Westminster discussing with great fervour the affairs of the queen of Scotland. He said he would come and speak to me, but subsequently sent to excuse himself; whereupon, after having informed Cecil, and waited two or three days, I sent to beg that they would receive me, and also asked for audience of the Queen. I conversed with them at length yesterday about these pirates, when they promised to take measures at once and to write more pressing letters to the royal officers in those ports. These are now being sent off, but in all things Cecil showed himself an enemy to the Catholic cause, and desirous on every opportunity to oppose the interests of your Majesty, who is the head of all Catholics and possessor of this noble title. He has had to be dealt with by prayers and gentle threats in all this. I have also begun to discuss with them the king of Portugal's affairs, and, after having spoken to the Queen, I will see whether some settlement cannot be effected.

Winter, with six of the Queen's ships, has left for Rochelle. It is not known whether he is ordered to leave the stores and money (although some say he carries no money), or whether he is to first ascertain how the rebels are going on. Although they have promised the English to deliver some strong place to them, I do not believe they will be able to do it. Every day the nine Commissioners for the Queen meet in Westminster, and many of them want to condemn the queen of Scotland, although her agents protest. In addition to the criminal charge of homicide, they accuse her of having formerly raised this country against the

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Queen, so that there is little chance of her getting her liberty, excepting by some secret succour or contrivance, such as is being aimed at. The queen of Scotland asks permission to come here to justify herself before the peers and ambassadors, but as she has many friends here it will not be granted to her. Things are in such a form that, if this Princess could count upon support, it might be easy for her to change from a prisoner to sovereign of this country.

Yesterday, Martin de Mellica, master of a sloop carrying a courier despatched on the 20th ultimo by the duke of Alba to your Majesty, advised me that he was at the Isle of Wight afraid to proceed, and I will, with the Governor of the island and the earl of Leicester, see what best can be done for his prompt departure. Whenever Flemish matters are calm, and your Majesty and the French King choose to stop English commerce, without even drawing the sword, they will be obliged to adopt the Catholic religion, and if the French ambassador were to notify it to them first, and afterwards your Majesty's ambassador and those of other Catholic Princes, I believe, seeing the position of the country, that they would be forced to come to reason by pressure from their own people, who are largely Catholics. I have drawn up a sketch of what might be said to the Queen in such a case, and send herewith triplicate copies thereof, so that secretary Zayas may correct it and it may be ready when your Majesty may desire it.

With this letter I send to Newport, Isle of Wight, letters from the Queen to the Governor of the island, ordering the sloop to be dispatched in the best way possible, and her Majesty has also sent me the letters I requested for the captains of the ports. A man is going to provide for the safety of the ship that is in Southampton with so much money, and the letter for the sloop at Plymouth is also being sent authorizing them to disembark the money if they wish.

The Council is sitting at Court night and day about the queen of Scotland's affairs. Cecil and the Chancellor would like to see her dead, as they have ready a King of their own choosing, one of Hertford's children. I am informed to-day by Ridofi, a rich Florentine, that Gresham, this Queen's factor, has asked him for a letter of credit on Germany for 12,000 ducats for a gentleman whom this Queen intends to send thither. I expect they wish to raise as many powerful enemies to us in Flanders as they can.—London, 12th December 1568.

Without date.

63. Draft of Proposed Address from Guerau de Spes to the Queen of England, apparently that referred to in the aforegoing letter.

I have to address your Majesty on the most important subject which can be in the world, not on my own behalf, but in the name of the most powerful of Christian Princes, a kinsman, friend, and ally of your Majesty and of this most noble realm. No consideration of self-interest moves him to this, but the welfare and tranquillity of your Majesty and your dominions, with which those of his Catholic Majesty are united by ancient bonds of alliance and

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friendship. His Majesty is moved to this also by the great valour, talent, and gentleness of your Majesty, which good qualities on a former occasion disposed him to act effectively for your benefit. He, therefore, hopes that you, the more easily than anyone else, may be able to judge of the true road to salvation, and will permit your subjects to return thereto, they having been astutely and violently forced therefrom by persuasion and intrigue. My own intention is to serve all parties and do what good I can, and I will not, therefore, discourse as a theologian, such not being my profession, and this having been done already by so many learned Catholics. I will speak simply as a minister of my King, a friend and sympathiser of this kingdom, and will propose for its benefit the things that my King and other Catholic Princes consider necessary for the happiness and welfare of your Majesty and the needful unity of Catholic Christianity, so vital to the interests of your Majesty and your subjects. Our fathers, grandfathers, and more remote ancestors were as good men as we, and desired to go to heaven as we do. They obeyed the Catholic universal Church, and recognised a supreme pastor therein. We must not condemn them, nor, on the strength of mere words from vain people, consign them to hell. A fine thing would it be, forsooth, to say that St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Gregory, and other successors of the Apostles, men famous for their virtue, were mistaken, whilst in these miserable days of ours the truth was found in the mouth of vile apostates like Zingler, Calvin, Beza, and others. Who would leave the unity of the Catholic faith, confirmed as it has been by so many general councils and by universal consent, to follow new preachers, each one of whom speaks differently from the other? No maze has so many paths as the new religion has conflicting sects, and, to our misfortune, all these sects find followers and defenders, particularly the worst of them, whereby God's justice is seen upon our manifold sins.

So extreme is the evil that there are sectaries who even dare to advocate the making of a new law, with fresh precepts and rules of life, on the ground that that which we follow is old. Others read a translation of the Koran of Mahomet with so much fervour that, if another Geneva were to urge them thereto, I understand that many of them would adopt the doctrine therein set forth. I am informed by persons of great position and responsibility that, by this means, the Protestants thought to persuade Soliman, Prince of the Turks, to come to their aid, showing him how little difference there was between his creed and theirs. For more than fifteen hundred years our holy Catholic Church has flourished under a supreme pastor, and, although it has suffered before as it does now, it has still remained pure and will so remain, by the grace of Him who founded it. Calvin and Luther, like Arrio and Donato before them, claimed to speak in the words of God and follow His scriptures, and will usurp His power as their predecessors tried to do. This is the vain artifice of heretics, and only used in order to exalt them. Omnipotent God, by His goodness and through His only Son, gave us this divine law, authorized by the blood of the Giver, preached and published through the world by His holy

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Apostles and their successors. For its perfect and stable maintenance it pleased Him to leave the Church as His regent, lieutenant, and governor, without which it would be vain to hope that the Christian peoples themselves would agree on a common symbol and law of life, so that the necessity is clear and acknowledged for the existence of a supreme universal pastor as successor in the office and dignity of the holy St. Peter, and to deny it would seem to question the wisdom of Christ himself. If we banish from our hearts all the hatred and rancour which blind the human mind, if we cast out the yearning for a life of licence and offer ourselves in faith and good works to Him who by love redeemed us, the truth of this will be evident to us. It is said that jealousy is hard to root out, for the jealous always think that their suspicion has some foundation, and so it is, and worse, with heresy. But all the greater will be the glory of conquering an enemy so terrible, so subtle, and so intimate. The glorious Augustine, although at one time a contumacious heretic, and Cyprian, who was a public invoker of demons, were, nevertheless, afterwards saints and defenders of our faith; and not they alone, but great princes and others have, many times, seen their error, and with sweet tears have returned to the bosom of the holy Catholic Church.

Truly, when my King considers the prudence and the wisdom of your Majesty, the eloquence, knowledge of languages, affability, and really royal carriage you possess, virtues so rarely united in one person, he has every hope that this country, by your Majesty's orders, may yet return to the Catholic Church, and all the new errors be cast out therefrom, and their promoters punished as they deserve. This is anxiously looked for in other Christian countries, and even in your own, where, I believe, the greater number of people are still Catholics. And so much, surely, is due to the memory of the pious tears of Queen Mary and of so many Catholic predecessors of your Majesty, as well as to the host of good just Englishmen who have been true martyrs of Christ. The time seems now opportune for such a return to the faith, and is crying aloud to your Majesty. In all that has passed, the moderation shown by you has been conspicuous, in sustaining the churches and preserving to the clergy their ecclesiastical vestments, as well as maintaining a large portion of the Catholic observances, the veneration on the altar of the figure of the cross on which our Lord died, and the checking of the mad and furious insolence of those unhappy men, vulgarly called ministers, but who really are coarse clowns and charlatans. Your Majesty is now begged to end this business as it deserves, accepting and ordering to be observed in your dominions the decisions of the council of Trent, in which your action will be recognized as prompted by the Holy Spirit, and this country, formerly so Catholic, will regain its ancient renown and lustre. This will be effected without scandal and without bloodshed, by the sole good will of your Majesty, whom I am sure all your subjects will willingly obey. Here are the arms of all Christian Princes, especially those of my lord the King, ready to support, defend, and aid your Majesty, whose crown will be pro-

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tected by him with as much zeal as his own kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, to which I pledge his Catholic Majesty's word. I will also promise in his name that whatever declarations, pardons, or indulgences may be necessary from the Holy See for the security and welfare of your Majesty and your country in this conversion, His Majesty will endeavour to have granted in such a form, where possible, as to be without injury to anyone, unless they be already conceived in general terms. If your Majesty will not agree to what is now requested, or should refer the question for discussion, as was done, on a former occasion, in a certain Parliament, which, in affairs of faith, should have no authority, it would be contrary to the confidence which my King, the other Catholic Princes, and many worthy people in this country have in your Majesty, and it is certain that communications between this country and Catholic countries will be fraught with much difficulty, as it is acknowledged that when the malady is at its worst it is most contagious, and contact must be avoided. There is no doubt that the conversation of one who has left the holy Catholic faith is more dangerous than that of an infidel who was never beneath the banner of Christ.

This, your Majesty, I beg before all these illustrious persons you will deign to receive in the spirit with which you are credited, and that you will, with your admirable talent and prudence, be pleased to order it to be carried into effect. Such a course is hoped for by my King and all faithful Catholics, and thus, by your benign hand, the Catholic Church will again become one solid stock, and will obey one supreme pastor, to the eternal glory of the unconquered house of England.

18 Dec. **64.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I have given advice on the 27th and 29th ultimo, and 4th, 11th, and 12th instant, to your Majesty of the arrival of vessels on this coast, and as it was known that they carried large sums of money, it was a wonder they were not taken by French and English pirates, of whom there are many. As it was they attacked them, and men were killed on both sides. This Queen offered some of her ships as a guard and convoy, or a passport if the money was to be brought overland. This was against the wishes of many of her Councillors, who wanted to take the money. One ship and two cutters have already arrived safely in Antwerp, and I await orders from the Duke and parties interested with regard to the others. In the meanwhile the money is safe, with the Queen's letters and authority to land it if necessary, but, notwithstanding this, Courtney and Cercen (Hawkins ?), two English pirates, with some Frenchmen, have captured two sloops and a ship belonging to subjects of your Majesty, and persons have been sent to take measures to recover them, if possible, although Cecil, wherever he can, favours the pirates, both on account of religious partiality and of the great profit he derives from it. He and Cardinal Chatillon are the judges in all these depredations, and settle everything in their own way.

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I received your Majesty's letters of 4th, 14th, and 15th October, all on the same day, and on the 14th I communicated to the Queen, during my audience, that God had been pleased to call to Him our Lady the Queen,* now in heaven. She naturally expressed great sorrow, and, I suppose, will have the exequies carried out in her own fashion. I also fulfilled your Majesty's orders in persuading her not to favour the rebels against the Christian King, alleging the reasons, which seemed suitable. She replied to the same effect as at Windsor, and called to witness the late French ambassador here as to what she had done for his King and Queen. She had never declared herself against them, but said the house of Guise, which now ruled, were her enemies, whilst the Chatillons were her friends. She said that she knew that, after the King had pacified his country, he would turn upon her for the sake of religion, as she was assured by persons in her favour who were members of the Christian King's Council. I tried to satisfy her about all this, assuring her that no prince would interfere in her affairs if she did not provoke it herself; that the house of Guise wished to serve her, and that these Chatillons,† if it suited their purpose, would be the first to turn against her, for, if they could not be loyal to their own sovereign, much less would they be loyal to her. She will still continue to be made distrustful, but her answer seems confused when she says that she will not be against the Christian King, and yet will not abandon the Chatillons nor the cause of her religion. I tried to persuade her that this war was not about religion, but was founded simply on rebellion and disobedience. I will inform the duke of Alba and Don Francés de Alava of all this, as your Majesty orders, and, in relation with this, I told the Queen of the great objection there was to her allowing the French pirates in her ports, and that Englishmen should join them in their robberies, committed both on Frenchmen and on our own people. I said it would be a terrible thing to tolerate them, especially as they did not contribute to the principal object of the war, whereas the damages and robberies would be infinite. Whilst she let them remain here it would be very difficult for her to preserve her friendship with the States of Flanders. She said she would punish them, although I have no great confidence about it. I also discussed with her the affairs of the King of Portugal, pointing out to her the great expense incurred by him in guarding the extremes of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and the benefit received by all India by instruction in the Christian faith. I said it would be very unjust to hamper the King and spoil his commerce, and agreed with her that, as the Portuguese ambassador had requested audience, she would appoint persons to discuss the matter with him and with me, and would give him audience on Sunday. I will then try to have these affairs settled on the best possible terms.

I have received a letter from the queen of Scotland, in cipher, copy of which I enclose. I know this Queen has great connections

* Elizabeth of Valois third wife of Philip II.

† Chatillon was the lordship owned by the Coligny family, and the Admiral and his brothers were commonly thus called.

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here, and it is quite possible, seeing the wickedness of people, that some attempt may be made against the person of your Majesty, upon whom alone depends the preservation of the Catholic Church, against which and its defenders many here are furiously and rabidly opposed, and are capable of any perversity for their end. Your Majesty, in your great prudence, will have this looked into, and, in the meanwhile, I will manage to send one of my servants to the Queen, as she asks, in order to learn more of this business from her. The bishop of Ross has shown me letters from this unhappy Queen, saying that many of the supporters of the Regent James have gone against the castle of Dumbarton, which is in that part of Scotland opposite to Ireland. Their intention is to prevent victuals being taken in, and as the Castle is on the coast the queen of England's ships can go thither at any time. The Queen was in want of money to revictual and aid this place, from which she could always escape. Your Majesty will decide for the best in this. The factor of this Queen is taking credits here on Germany, and has already one for fifty thousand ducats in Nuremburg and Frankfort, in the name of Christopher Mundt. I do not know whether it is to help Orange, or to pay the troops being raised for Condé.—London, 18th December 1568.

21 Dec. **65.** GUERAU DE SPES to the DUKE OF ALBA.

I have just received advice from Lope de la Sierra, who is with his ship at Southampton, that the Queen has sent orders for his money to be discharged. The Captain of the Isle of Wight has therefore discharged it, and, against Lope de la Sierra's wish, has entrusted it to the keeping of the Mayor, as you will see by Lope de la Sierra's letter enclosed. I believe they have done similarly in all the ports by orders of the Council. I was in fear of some such pitfall as this, as they were making enquiries as to whether the money belonged to his Majesty or to private persons. As Benedict Spinola had put his own money in safety, he has been slack in the dispatch of these other ships, although he was authorised to spend a thousand pounds sterling in the transit. He thought this was not enough, and sent for authority to spend a larger amount, which authority, he said, he expected hourly, although I believe it has been nothing but a subterfuge. I am now sending to give an account of the matter to the Queen, and shall ask for audience, in conformity with her reply. I also write about the Marseilles ship.

Whilst I was writing the above, I have received your Excellency's letter of 15th instant. It is not for me to advise you but to follow your orders, but I do not like this way of beginning here, and it is my opinion that all English ships and merchandise should be at once seized in the States, and particularly in Antwerp, news of it being also sent swiftly to Spain as there are valuable English ships at Bilbao and Laredo.—London, 21st December 1568.

22 Dec. **66.** GUERAU DE SPES to the DUKE OF ALBA.

Last night I dispatched a courier to your Excellency reporting that the money had been taken out of Lope de la Sierra's ship, and

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wrote to the Queen and Cecil asking them to return it to the custody of those who held it before, requesting audience for myself at the same time. Cecil was very grave about it, as also was the earl of Leicester. Sometimes they said they were guarding it for his Majesty, and sometimes that it belonged to other persons; but they would not say whether they had sent similar orders to Plymouth and Falmouth. Their refusal to declare themselves on the point, however, proves that they have done so. They consulted the Queen and then said that the money was in safe keeping and no other answer could then be given. I pressed for an audience and they told me to ask again after dinner, they in the meanwhile being closeted with the ambassador of the prince of Condé, so that I could get no reply from them. The Chamberlain was requested to go and ask the Queen which he went in to do at once, and came out very much irritated, saying he had not ventured to ask her Majesty for audience as she was not in the habit of granting it on such days. The affair is thus in a very bad way and these people are determined to do any wickedness, so this money will not be recovered. I pray your Excellency do not fail to seize all English property and send word to Spain instantly for them to do the same there. Please also instruct me as to what I am to do. As I am writing this in great haste to catch the courier at Dover, I do not write to the King. Please have this copied and forwarded to him, although I fear they will stop courier and letter too.

Leicester said they knew your Excellency was very ill and my servants assured him you were quite well. They will again ask for audience to-morrow, and one of my men shall stay there until he learns about the queen of Scotland.—London, 22nd December 1568.

27/30 Dec. **67.** Guerau de Spes to the Duke of Alba.

By my letter of 21st and that of 22nd, which I sent after the courier, I have advised your Excellency that the Queen had ordered the money to be discharged from Lope de la Sierra's ship at Southampton, and had placed it in the keeping of the Mayor. I have since learnt that they have also detained the cutters and have sent to Plymouth and Falmouth, where I have two men with a passport. I do not yet know how the thing happened, but I do know that, at the instance of many of her Councillors, and the instigation of the bishop of Salisbury, a great heretic, the Queen has determined to take the money, saying that God has sent it to defend His gospel. Dr. Junio,* agent of the Count Palatine, was at once dispatched, his errand here having been to persuade the Queen that although his infantry had been maltreated this year, his cavalry had gained great distinction. The Palatine is to be told by him about this money as he promises to go back to the States more powerful than before, and the Queen fears that all the responsibility will fall upon her, as your Excellency will have learnt from the prisoners of the help she has extended to the rebels. Cecil and Leicester tell her

* Dr. Junius de Jongh who was governor of Vere and an agent of Orange and the Palatine.

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so, and she thus wishes to declare herself openly against his Majesty in the belief that, if she makes herself mistress of the sea, and another army goes by land to attack the States, the task will be easy, especially as they think the French will be disturbed if trade is suspended. I pray your Excellency do not doubt this determination. I again importuned for an audience, and they said that either to-morrow or the next day I should have one. I have a servant at Court to learn whether it is to-morrow and to take a lodging for me. I fully expect the Queen will give me a temporising answer and delay the matter until she sees how your Excellency takes it. This is the reason that has moved me to write so urgently that you should seize all English property and advise the King, in order that the same step may be taken in all his dominions. If the Queen restores the money and the vessels and other property stolen it will be easy to return English property to its owners. English merchants are already taking fright and are writing to their correspondents in the Netherlands advising them to transport all they can. These four cutters and Lope de la Sierra's ship are worth 400,000 crowns, and there are three more cutters due to arrive. The sloops and ships seized are worth more than 200,000 crowns.

I have received your Excellency's two letters of recommendation. I will do my duty in speaking bravely to the Queen and Council, and will convey to them what your Excellency instructs me about the robberies and the pirates.

I have sent the man to the queen of Scotland and will advise your Excellency on his return.

I believe that Dr. Junio has gone to the Netherlands, and, if diligence is exercised, he may be caught, and, whenever your Excellency thinks fit, the queen of Scotland's affair can be raised. It will be well that everything should be decided before the spring.

Certain Gallicians have just informed me that their ships have been arrested because they bring some Portuguese merchandise.

Continuation of the aforegoing letter:—The ordinary courier has arrived without bringing any letters from your Excellency, although I have letters saying you are at Mons. This Queen has postponed my audience until to-morrow, and many merchants of the city have gone to Court to beg her to return our money to us, as they fear that their property may be seized in the States. No reply will be given to them until after my audience. I pray your Excellency to take the usual course (*i.e.*, of reprisal), and, if these people do us justice, it will be a warning to them for another time. When the money is recovered we may ask the Queen, in conformity with our treaties, to restore the sloops, of which I am told there are five and the Spanish vessel, as well as the property in the Marseilles ship. Your Excellency might order to be drafted the protests or demands that I shall have to present to the Queen, for it is really unreasonable that these heretics should so impudently steal the property of his Majesty's subjects.

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I send enclosed a copy of the passport which the Queen granted with letters to the captains and governors of all the ports on the very day before she ordered the seizures. I think it would be a right thing to seize Benedict Spinola's property, as he, being the representative of these merchants, and desirous of ingratiating himself with Leicester and Cecil, has shown to the latter letters he had received from the individuals, and has told them the marks and parcels belonging to each. He is a great spy who is kept here by the members of the Council to inform them of what is going on in the States, and it is fitting that such scamps should be taught that it will cost them dear to offend a sovereign so powerful and so good as our King. He and Giacomo Pascual are in partnership at Antwerp.

Summary of another letter in continuation of the aforegoing:—The last letter from Don Guerau was dated 30th December, and in it he writes that he had audience of the Queen, who made him a long harangue excusing her action about the money. She said that, in order to prevent the corsairs from capturing it she had ordered it to be taken care of, and other groundless things of the same sort. The ambassador thanked her and handed her a letter of credence from the Duke, by virtue of which he requested her to release the money and to lend two ships under a trustworthy person to convoy it to Antwerp. She replied that two Genoese had told her that the money did not belong to the King but to private persons, in proof of which they had shown her letters from Spain and she therefore had decided to avail herself of it. Don Guerau assured her several times that it belonged to the King, and that, if the marks on the boxes showed otherwise, it was owing to the persons through whose hands it had passed who were collectors or farmers of his Majesty's revenues. Notwithstanding all these assurances, Don Guerau says they are determined not to return the money, and he has heard this from the secretary of the Council. By the aid of this money they will equip themselves to harass the States by troubling us at sea, and preventing, so far as they can, commerce with Spain.—London 27th (?), 29th (?), and 30th December 1568.

27 Dec **68.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

On the 21st inst. I informed your Majesty that two days previously the Queen had had the money which came in Lope de la Sierra's ship taken out, over twelve thousand crowns, and that they were going to Falmouth and Plymouth to do the same with the four cutters, the Queen having given a passport on the day before she ordered this to be done, which passport I sent to the vessels. She would not give me audience until to-morrow, and I understand her intention to be to keep this money, as her friends are in great alarm and will not be reassured by anything that can be said to them from your Majesty or the king of France. This alarm is incited by Cardinal Chatillon, the agent of the prince of Condé, and the Count Palatine, who offers to return this year with a larger force against the States of the Netherlands. As soon as

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the money was detained Condé's agent, a certain Dr. Junio, of Malines, went off post haste to his master. It is decided that this Queen shall molest your Majesty's states by sea, whilst Orange and the Palatine will return in strength to Flanders. To do this, since the Queen has little credit in Antwerp and Frankfort, she dares to show such treachery to her alliance and friendship with your Majesty and thus breaks her word, twice pledged to me, her own letters and orders in our favour and the passport which she signed the day before she gave this infamous order. They have appointed to-morrow or the next day for my audience with her, and I am endeavouring to get it for to-morrow. I learn from a secretary of the Council that she will retain the money and will declare herself wholly against your Majesty, so that, I have written to the duke of Alba, it would be advisable that your Majesty should order the seizure of English property in your dominions, and, when they return the money and the ships that these English and French pirates have stolen, your Majesty might restore what you had seized, otherwise they will have the advantage of the money, and will make trade with Flanders difficult or almost impossible. It is therefore necessary to take timely measures. After I have spoken with the Queen I will write to your Majesty more fully what I hear. I pray your Majesty do not consider the safety of my person, for I will suffer cheerfully any trouble or danger in your service.

On the 14th inst. I spoke to the Queen about the king of Portugal's business, and she promised me that her answer should be more favourable, and she would send some of her Council to discuss the matter with me. On the 19th she told the Portuguese ambassador that she did not see how she could improve her answer, and that her Council were of the same opinion, and she evidently wished to end the matter here. I will see if anything more can be done, but I doubt it, for these people are very exalted just now, and have lately ordered the detention of three Portuguese ships at the instance of George Winter, the brother of the man whose ship the Portuguese captured in Guinea. They have also detained two Gallician vessels. I will speak about this to-morrow to the Queen. They wish to have as much booty in their hands as possible, so as to be prepared for what may be done in Spain and Flanders, where, I understand, there are many rich English ships, as there are also in the Canaries.

From the queen of Scotland I have received advice, as I have already informed your Majesty, of the plot being formed in Venice against your Majesty's life. I have a faithful servant with the Queen, and when he returns I will send him to your Majesty with the full information, and by these means and through the queen of of Scotland, whenever your Majesty chooses, the queen of England can be attacked.—London, 27th December 1568.

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7 Jan. **69.** The KING to GUERAU DE SPES.

You already have notice of the bearer, Juan Ochoa de Mongina, as he says that on his way from Flanders he was captured in the Channel by Englishmen, who plundered him of his children and goods; he escaping, came hither to seek redress, for which purpose

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he is now returning with a letter from me to the duke of Alba and the present letter to you. I request you to help him in every way to recover the said children, and all, or part of, the property of which he was robbed, helping him in his claims on every occasion, both because they are just and because he himself is my subject and a kinsman of those who have served me well.—El Pardo, 7th January 1569.

8 Jan. **70.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

The Queen has taken possession of the boxes of money brought by Lope de la Sierra's ship and 64 boxes from the cutters in Plymouth. She is going to do the same with the other two cutters in Falmouth, notwithstanding her promise and letters, besides the passport she gave. The duke of Alba has ordered all English ships and property to be seized, and informs me thereof in his letter of the 29th ultimo, which was brought by a special courier, who, however, was careless, as with him came four others dispatched by the English. They arrived here on the 3rd at 11 at night, and immediately thereafter the ordinary post with letters of mine and others was stopped. They also tried to raise the mob against foreigners, but the aldermen and constables acted well and took possession of the streets, so that the matter has ended in the seizure of property of Flemish and other subjects of your Majesty. All the Spaniards came to my house at night, where most of them still remain. The ports are closed and orders have been issued that no post-horses are to be given to anyone. Cecil was here during the disturbances and returned next day to Hampton Court, where councils are still being held, but nothing yet has been said to me. The Queen was much upset when she heard of the affair. I meant to have sent a servant of mine to her yesterday with a letter, but I thought better to wait and see what they would do. I will try to find means to write to the Duke that he may arrange that my letters may be sent to Dunkirk or the Sluys, whither I will send for them.

Your Majesty might also order letters to be sent through the French ambassador here, upon whom and his countrymen no embargo has yet been placed. It is true that it would be greatly to the Christian King's advantage to stop English trade so as to bring them to reason, and also that he should, in union with your Majesty, show favour to the Catholics, but, in any case, he should not take it in bad part if your Majesty does so. In the meanwhile, many means will be found to bring this country to its senses and convert it to the Catholic faith. Those who have spoken to me about a rising for the queen of Scotland will not fail to return to the subject, and I will inform the Duke, as ordered by your Majesty. Pray your Majesty do not consider me or my safety but take the best course for your Majesty's interests, as I am ready to suffer any danger or trouble most willingly in such a service. I have burnt all the drafts of my letters and everything else in writing that might be dangerous. The cipher is in safe keeping. These heretic knaves of the Council are going headlong to perdition, incited by Cecil, who is indescribably crazy in his zeal for heresy. The Duke is in Brussels and the prince of Orange on his way to

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Germany by the Bar country. Ambassadors have been sent from here to him and the Palatine. I have a person in the Council who will report all that is decided and I will inform your Majesty.

The sloops that these pirates have taken are four, with a Spanish ship, all very valuable. They (the English Government) have also seized the property of Portuguese. I send this enclosed in a letter from the French ambassador, with a letter for the Duke and another for Don Francés de Alava, and yesterday I sent almost a duplicate by a man who promised to carry it to the Sluys. The day before yesterday, Twelfth day, on the pretext of asking for a letter of mine which they had seized, I sent to Court with the intention of giving Cecil a letter for the Queen if the time appeared opportune. My man found him in such a rage against the duke of Alba that he left him with the contempt he deserves. As to my letter, Cecil said he had it not, but they have really sent for one Somers to decipher it, which will not be such an easy job. They are in consultation every day and I do not know how it will end. The French ambassador told me that they would put guards over me, but, in any case, when orders from the Duke arrive and this first disturbance is pacified, something can be settled greatly in the service of God, which seems, under the circumstances, very necessary.

The day before yesterday the servant I sent to the queen of Scotland returned, and under a pretext I saw him. What she tells him is that Dulin (Alleyn ?), Cecil's secretary, who is greatly in his confidence, goes occasionally to inspect the guard, and, in conversation with one of the principal persons there, no doubt Chamberlain Knollys, or the captain of the guard (for the queen of Scotland, although she would not name him, said that he was still in the house), speaking of our success in Flanders and the bad position of the new religion, Dulin (Alleyn?) consoled his interlocutor by saying that the greatest enemy they had was your Majesty, and that if it were not for you, their religion would greatly prosper. He then went on to say that they had therefore agreed that your Majesty should be poisoned by the hands of the Flemings, and the event would take place before many months are over. These knaves frequently spread news of your Majesty's death. God give you long life and prosperity, so needful to afflicted Christianity. The queen of Scotland says that she will arrange for the bishop of Ross to discover the details of the plot through a friend if possible. She certainly seems a lady of great spirit and gains so many friends where she is that with little help she would be able to get this kingdom into her hands. I will await the Duke's orders to know whether I am to speak to the queen of England, and, if the time is not favourable, I will speak to her when she is in a tamer mood. She is fitting out four more ships as well as the twelve belonging to the corsairs.

The Earl of Northumberland came to see me, disguised, at four o'clock in the morning and is ready to serve your Majesty. I sent a post yesterday to the Duke by an Englishman who has secret communication with Flanders and enclosed him the decree published yesterday, which in some particulars is false, as I will more fully

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inform your Majesty, and also an answer which I propose to send. I am informed that they are very divided in the Council; some wish the money to be returned, and others that it should be kept. I do not fail to complain greatly of this treatment to the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, and the other members, although they throw the blame on Cecil, who also has sent me a message as harsh as usual. I now send to beg an audience and will discuss the matter with both sides to see what will be the best way to get this money back.

At midnight last night the bishop of Ross came to offer the good will of his mistress and of many gentlemen of this country, and I have reported this to the Duke. We have also agreed that he shall make use of a great friend of his, a Protestant and a companion of Dulin (Alleyn?), Cecil's servant, in order to find out particulars of the conspiracy to injure your Majesty's person.

The queen of Scotland told my servant to convey to me the following words:—"Tell the ambassador that, if his master will help "me, I shall be queen of England in three months, and mass shall "be said all over the country."

The four Queen's ships have left the river. The men in them are poor creatures. There are about 17 or 18 pirates' ships altogether.

In the part of Ireland opposite Scotland there has been a rising, and the castle of Dombibres (?) has been taken and its keeper killed.

Since writing the above, to-day the 8th instant, the servant I sent to Court reports that he requested the Chamberlain to ask for audience of the Queen, and he entered for the purpose. He came out very downcast, and told the servant that she said she had sent two of her Council to me, and they would tell me what I had to do. Before my servant arrived the Admiral and Cecil, accompanied by by a large train and most of the aldermen of the city, came to my house this afternoon at three o'clock. The Admiral began to speak, but Cecil interrupted him and spoke of the rigour of the duke of Alba, dwelling with great anger upon the seizure of Englishmen and their property. He said I was greatly to blame for it in having sent the statements I had, and he had to request, in the Queen's name, that I should not leave the house. They dismissed all my Catholic servants, except one, to go on errands, and they ordered that no Spaniard should leave the house. They took the names of all of them, and placed in possession of the house Matthew (Henry?) Knollys, brother of the man who is the keeper of the queen of Scotland.* They have also lodged Arthur Carew and Lord Knyvett and some others in the house, that they may inspect me and all those whose names are on the list, three times a day. I replied to them that, as to giving advices to the duke of Alba of events here, particularly as to the money, it was my duty to do so, and it is true that I sent a courier as soon as I learnt that they had taken the money from the ship at Southampton. I had also sent a

* The Vice-Chamberlain Sir Francis Knollys.

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servant of mine when I received the reply of the Queen, and in the meantime the Duke had done his duty also. Cecil retorted furiously that I had ordered it to be done.* I said the Duke could order me and not I him, and that my orders would not be obeyed in Flanders. He said that he had not forgotten your Majesty's severity with the English ambassador in refusing to receive him. It would be a long task to write all the impertinences that Cecil said, for he is quite blinded by his heresy. From what I can see they will not return the money, and, as for the rest, although I have not much liberty, I will do my best. Your Majesty should be informed that they are preparing for a great war by land and sea, and it will be well for us to be prepared. Be assured that in your service I will endure any hardship. I have sent my draft reply to the proclamation to the Duke.

The letter of mine which they seized from the ordinary courier they will not return, but are trying to decipher it. I do not think they will do it so easily as they think, although all the letters for your Majesty and the Duke are in the general cipher.

They have not asked to see my papers in the house, but if they did they would get little from them. There was a courier here on his way from Flanders to Spain who was able to get away in the confusion of these people's visit to the house, but only with one letter from me to the Duke, as he is returning to Flanders. I have many letters for Spain which he could not take, but I hope he will arrive safely. When these guards about me are fixed, I shall perhaps find some means of sending my letters. Letters may be written to me through the French ambassador, and the Duke will devise some way of sending.—London, 8th January 1569.

10 Jan. B.M. Cotton, Galba, C. III. Original.

71. (INTERCEPTED LETTER.) GUERAU DE SPES to the DUKE OF ALBA.

As I am authorized by Secretary Cecil to write this to your Excellency, I wish to inform you that I sent on the 8th inst. to request audience of the Queen and to endeavour to inform some of the Council. I received a reply that the Queen would send certain persons to me with the answer, and, accordingly, Cecil and the Admiral came on the same day to my lodging. The Admiral said a few not unamiable words, and Cecil many and harsh, blaming your Excellency and myself most arrogantly for what had passed. He took a list of my servants, rigorously forbidding any of them to leave the house except one Englishman. He also refused to allow anyone to come and visit me and vapoured about religion and the mass, dragged up the matter of John Man and about Bishop Quadra's affairs; and, in short, did and said a thousand impertinent things. He thinks he is dealing with Englishmen, who all tremble before him. I told him that what your Excellency ordered, you yourself would account for, and that the matter of the restitution of the goods and money seized here would have to be settled in Flanders.

This question of the money does not suit him. I beg your

* *i.e.* The seizure of English property in the Netherlands.

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Excellency not to refrain on my account from doing everything that the interests and dignity of the King demand; for, whilst Cecil rules, I do not believe there will ever be lasting peace. It is a pity that so excellent a Queen should give credit to so scandalous a person as this. God send a remedy, for in this country, people great and small are discontented with the Government. Pray your Excellency have this conveyed to his Majesty quickly. He (Cecil) is having a proclamation drawn up from which he leaves out what is most important, and mis-states the case. He says that I agreed with the Queen to return for an answer, which is false, as her Majesty said she would send it to me in four days. I have drawn up an answer for your approval.

He refused to return my packet, and these folks are getting a certain Somers to decipher the letters. If he succeeds I will pardon him.—London, 10th January 1569.*

(Signed) GUERAU DE SPES.

71A. COPY of the PROCLAMATION and JUSTIFICATION of the QUEEN OF ENGLAND "Respecting the Detention of the Money being sent to Spain."

Her Majesty has heard that the Duke of Alba, governor of the States of Flanders for her brother the King of Spain, had suddenly ordered the detention of all merchants and other subjects of Her Majesty in the city of Antwerp, and had placed guards of soldiers over them and had sequestrated all their property on the 29th December last, and that, after some days, the same course had been taken generally in all parts of the States, which is a strange and unheard of thing for the house of Burgundy to do to the Crown of England, since this detention has been carried out without any attempt to confer or agree as to the intentions of the two Sovereigns.

In view of this Her Majesty has thought fit to inform all her subjects who have any connection with the dominions of the King of Spain, that it is her will that they should not continue to trade therewith until the intentions and designs of the King are known and the reason of this treatment understood, whereafter Her Majesty will direct her subjects as to what course of action they should pursue.

In the meanwhile Her Majesty commands all and every, her justices and officials within her towns, cities, ports, and other places under her government, to take steps to detain and arrest with all their goods, chattels, and ships, all subjects born in the dominions of the King of Spain, in order that they may be held as security and pledges for the damages and loss received, without just or apparent cause, by the subjects of Her Majesty, and for other reasons which may appear.

* This letter is directed to the Duke of Alba in the usual form and again *in the same hand* to the members of the Council. It will be seen that this was subsequently a ground for grave complaint against the ambassador who, apparently incensed at the perusal of his letters by his guard, Henry Knollys, had told him to send this letter to the Council before despatching it, and, as will be seen, had himself directed it to them open. Considering the contents of the letter this was considered a very insolent proceeding.

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In addition to this, any merchants born or living under the allegiance of the King of Spain, who may be found in towns, ports, or other places under suspicion of hiding or disguise, or in any manner of fraud in order to prevent the detention of themselves and their goods, shall be called to account by the officers of justice of such places with the help of all justices of the peace, who shall inquire and examine the said merchants by all legitimate methods and cast them into prison, no matter to what nation they belong, including all those who may abet or help to hide those who practice such fraud (always excepting those who may have made prior confession) and especially those who may have concealed such persons or their property.

Her Majesty having also learnt from trustworthy sources that it was the intention to detain her subjects beyond the sea, under the pretext that the Queen had detained in one of her ports a certain ship and three or four small boats in which were certain sums of money, her Majesty thinks fit to declare briefly the facts of the case, by which it will be seen that the detention of her subjects was unjust and without due cause.

An officer of Her Majesty in a port in the west part of England advised the arrival from Spain of three or four small boats called cutters bringing a quantity of money belonging to certain Italian merchants, and to other persons in the States of Flanders, and, as on the coast there were many armed French ships of war on the watch for these cutters, in order to capture them when they sailed, and it was even feared that they would venture to enter the ports themselves for the purpose of seizing the vessels, her Majesty at once sent orders, together with special letters, to all the western ports that the merchants and masters of such vessels should be informed of this, and that the Governors of those parts should aid and favour these merchants and other subjects of the king of Spain and protect them against the attacks of the said Frenchmen by all means in their power.

The Spanish ambassador subsequently asked that new orders should be given for the defence of these vessels and the treasure against the French, and this was granted, certain letters being given to him with this object and delivered to his own messengers.

Shortly afterwards, her Majesty was requested to express her will upon the matter as to whether she would allow the owners of this money to convey it either by land or sea as far as Dover, the ambassador representing it to belong to his master. Her Majesty replied that she should allow either of these things to be done, and the ambassador thanked her greatly for her permission, saying that he would await the orders of the Duke of Alba to know which course should be adopted in carrying the money. In the meanwhile the Queen received information that the French had secretly entered by night into a port on the western coast and had endeavoured to capture the treasure by force, but that the efforts of her subjects and the measures taken to defend the ships forced the Frenchmen to retire. This fact is known in all the neighbouring ports, and the Queen herself gave an account of it to the Spanish ambassador.

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Having regard to this, and seeing the heavy cost and great efforts necessary to defend the said treasure in the ports, her Majesty decided, in the interests of her own authority, that the money should be landed and put into safe keeping, in the presence of those who had charge of it, and without in any way diminishing their hold upon it.

At this time the Queen learnt that the money was the property of certain merchants, and decided that it was not unreasonable nor opposed to the *bonos mores* of sovereigns in their own country that, after defending this money from the perils of the sea, she should negotiate with the owners thereof with their full consent and contentment, and not otherwise, for borrowing from them all or part of it upon such security and conditions as those upon which her Majesty has frequently raised loans from merchants subject to the king of Spain, as other sovereigns have done in similar cases, and exactly as she herself had done in the case of another ship near Southampton loaded with wool, and carrying certain moneys which were in danger of capture by the French, who had made great offers to her Majesty's officers to refrain from defending it. Her Majesty thereupon sent orders to the Governor of the Isle of Wight to secure the ship and defend it against the French, landing the money, otherwise it is certain the French would have captured it within four-and-twenty hours. This money also was found to belong to merchants.

Whilst this was passing, the Spanish ambassador came to the Queen with a short letter of credence on the 29th December, demanding that the vessels and money under detention should be disembargoed, on the pretence that they belonged to the King. Her Majesty replied that, if they did belong to the King, she had done him a great favour in defending them against the French, and certain efforts with this object made by her officers were related to him. She then told him that she heard that all the property belonged to merchants, and that she would discover the truth of this shortly, and could assure him that she would do nothing to to displease her good brother the King in the matter, all of which she would prove to him on his return in five or six days. With this the ambassador left, apparently quite satisfied with the reply.

Shortly afterwards, the Queen received a reply from the west country and wished to satisfy the ambassador, as she had agreed to do, not only as to the disembargoing of the ships and treasure, but also as to the fulfilment of her promise to give a safe conduct by land or sea for the money, at the choice of the ambassador.

Before she saw the ambassador, however, she learnt that all the ships, goods, and merchandize of her subjects were embargoed and seized in Antwerp on the 29th December, the same day as that upon which the Ambassador had been with her, so that it is clear that, notwithstanding the many assurances she had tried to give to him on that day, her own subjects and their property had already been seized at the time. Her Majesty therefore leaves to the judgment of the public whether the pretext above-mentioned was sufficient to excuse a detention and embargo so sudden, so violent, and so general, carried out in such a way and at such a time as it

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was; and she leaves also to public opinion the decision upon whom the blame should be laid for the evils which may result, her Majesty having no intention of displeasing the king of Spain, and less still to take possession of anything belonging to his subjects against their will or except under the just and usual conditions afore-mentioned. And her Majesty has thought fit to publish this as testimony of her sincerity and as a defence of her actions, whatever they may be, resulting from the provocation given to her.

71B. COPY of a DOCUMENT docketted: "Don Guerau de Spes, knight "of the order of Calatrava, member of the Council of his "Majesty, and ambassador to the Queen of England, to all "those to whom these presents may come, health and love."

Inasmuch as in the name of the Queen of England a printed proclamation, dated the 6th January, has been published in the city of London casting blame upon the duke of Alba for having made a general seizure of the persons and property of English subjects in the Netherlands; in order that the blamelessness of his Excellency may be made clear, and that the truth may be known, we hereby declare that, on the 23rd of November, we were advised that certain vessels had arrived in the west country from Spain with money which his Majesty was sending to Flanders for the payment of his army, and that these ships were in some peril from the French and English pirates who jointly plundered all ships, French, Spanish, Flemish, and others. We therefore resolved to ask audience of the Queen, which was granted on the 29th November, and we then requested that, in accord with the alliance and friendship between the King and her, she would order our ships to be protected in her ports and give a passport, if necessary, to bring the money overland to Dover, or else lend some ships, at our cost, to convoy this money safely to Antwerp. All this was graciously granted by her Majesty, and was communicated to the Duke who was then in Cambray, occupied in finally expelling the rebels from those States. Before his reply was received it was learned that Courtney and Herhem (Hawkins?), two English pirates, jointly with some Frenchmen, had captured three Flemish sloops and a Spanish ship carrying rich cargoes, and had brought them into the port of Plymouth and elsewhere on that coast and had divided and sold their booty. At the same time, in the ports themselves, the ships were attacked by the pirates and by persons on land. Seeing that these pirates went publicly about the country and had friends in the Court, we gave an account of the matter to the earl of Leicester and the honourable master William Cecil, principal Secretary of State to the Queen, both important members of her Council. This was on the 12th December, and they were informed of the great evils which might arise from allowing such piracies to continue, against public peace and the friendship and alliance between the two countries, and at the same time we begged audience of the Queen, which was granted on the 14th. On the same day, the 12th, her Majesty signed the passport for all this money to come either overland or by sea with all security. This being confirmed in the audience of the 14th personally by the Queen, who gave

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new and more pressing orders than before for her officers in those parts, and to William Winter, the captain of many of her ships, who was then believed to be in the west country, we despatched Pedro de Madariaga and Pedro Martinez, both resident in this city, who arrived at Southampton on the 18th ultimo, and, on the day following, presented and registered their passport. Having informed Lope de la Sierra, captain of a ship in that port loaded with 59 boxes of money, they then proceeded on their way to Plymouth for a similar purpose, and to Falmouth to see Captain Winter. On the same day that they left Southampton, Horsey, the Governor of the Isle of Wight, and other officers of the Queen, arrived there with many boats and people in them, and, having entered the vessel of the said Lope de la Sierra in violation of the Queen's passport and assurance, and against the will of the master, they discharged all the boxes of money and put them ashore under the charge of people of their own choosing, without allowing the said Lope de la Sierra or any of his people to assist in guarding them, of which facts Lope de la Sierra at once gave us information. On the 21st we sent a courier to the duke of Alba informing him of this action, and we were assured at the same time by many persons of position in this country that the Queen had decided to take possession of the money on the pretext that it belonged to private persons, although subjects of his Catholic Majesty. We also wrote on the same day to the Queen complaining of the grievance and begging of her to fulfil her promise, in order that the money might be placed in Antwerp, as had been ordered by her letters. We also complained that in the port of Southampton, after the officers of justice had taken possession of a ship, which the pirates had seized with its cargo, belonging to Spanish subjects, orders had been given to restore the ship to the pirates. Her Majesty had a reply sent to us in writing, and some of her ministers repeated verbally that Her Majesty was safeguarding the money for the King, but that, since giving the passport, she had learnt that the facts were not as represented. My servants who requested audience but could get no decided answer that day nor assurance as to whether the same course had been adopted with the cutters in Plymouth and Falmouth, which, however, subsequently proved to have been the case, and that, in addition to this, the sails and rigging had been taken out of the ships. On the 23rd we again demanded audience, which was not granted until the 29th, when, with all due respect, we complained of the action which had been taken in Southampton, begging the Queen for redress, in accordance with her promises and with reason and justice and her alliance with the King. Her Majesty very graciously replied that the landing of the money was in order the better to guard it for the King, her brother, and dwelt greatly upon the daring insolence of the pirates, all of which we accepted on our King's behalf, and thanked her greatly, promising to hold her kindness in everlasting memory. We then begged of her to lend the promised ships to convoy this money to Antwerp, which she had previously so willingly promised. Her Majesty at once resisted this, signifying that two Genoese had told her that the money did not belong to the King but to certain merchants, and

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that, if this was the case, she wished to retain it for her own use paying interest to the owners. We instantly replied that, in respect of our office and her obligation to believe us by virtue of the duke of Alba's letter of credence, we assured her that the money belonged to his Majesty, and was destined for the service of his army, having been brought from Spain specially to pay his troops. Here her Majesty was very hard, and quite different from what she had been in other audiences, and we were much surprised that so excellent a Queen should be persuaded by any one, at such a time, to appropriate to her own use money destined for the service of our King in Flanders, in violation of the friendship due to so great a sovereign. We therefore left this audience without further decision than that, in three or four days, she would prove to us for certain that the money belonged to private merchants, which, up to the present, she has not done. We were very ill-satisfied with this reply, and sent one of our secretaries to inform the Duke. We were also dissatisfied at the frequent conferences which are being held here with the agents of the Flemish rebels, to the prejudice, as it appears, of the ancient friendship existing with our King. The Duke, on receiving our report of the seizure of the money, together with the verbal statement of certain soldiers from Lope de la Sierra's ship, seeing so great a grievance, which is disapproved of by all persons in this country, both Catholics and otherwise, and believing that this seizure did not spring from the Queen herself but from other persons, at once ordered the seizure of the persons and property of English subjects, only pursuing therein a course which the Queen, without provocation, had already adopted, notwithstanding that his Majesty and his governors and subjects had always shown friendship and kindness to the Queen and this great country, which had received from his Catholic Majesty much favour and protection. Therefore, all this being so clear and obvious, we publish the same to the world in order to prove the entire truth and fair actions both of the duke of Alba as well as of ourselves.

11 Jan. **72.** The Duke of Alba to the King.

Since my last of the 4th instant, advice has been received here that the queen of England is arresting the ships in her ports, and I have sent Councillor D'Assonleville to learn her intentions on the subject. I have thought it advisable also to write and beg your Majesty to order that no ships should leave your ports until you hear from me again, and that all English persons and property should be seized. To save time I have written to Don Juan de Acuña and to Don Juan Martinez de Recalde asking them to keep them in hand until your Majesty receives this letter and sends them orders. I have made a general arrest here as a consequence of the discharge, by the Queen's orders, of the money in Lope de la Sierra's ship and the cutters, and, although I cannot persuade myself that they mean to break with us, yet the entrance into English ports of any valuable ships might give the opportunity to the Queen and councillors (who are, I think, in fault) for taking further steps in the same direction.—Brussels, 11th January 1569.

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12 Jan. **73.** The KING to GUERAU DE SPES.
[EXTRACT.]

It was advisable to satisfy the Queen about John Man's affair by informing her of the result of the action of the Inquisition in the investigation of the offences attributed to him, because, by what she wrote to me by Guzman de Silva, she seemed still to want to excuse him by throwing the blame on those of her subjects who reside in my Court, who she thinks accused him. We shall be glad for you to banish this suspicion of her's and particularly that against the duke of Feria and the relatives of his wife.—Madrid, 12th January 1569.

13 Jan. **74.** EXPLANATIONS of GUERAU DE SPES of the expressions used by him in the following intercepted letter to GERONIMO CURIEL, and also of those contained in an intercepted letter, dated 10th January 1569, from him to the DUKE of ALBA.

B. M. Cotton, Galba, III. Original.

LETTER to GERONIMO CURIEL.

"If you hear that I am detained here you need not be surprised, since the enchantments of Amadis still exist in this island, and Archelaus is still alive. Nevertheless, here I am, safe and sound a prisoner of Queen Oriana, and I have no doubt, even without the aid of Urgandæ or other great effort, this all will end in a comedy."

Latin.—The explanation in the margin is that if they had known the sense in which these expressions were ordinarily used in Spain, they would have seen that they were meant to be complimentary. He is much surprised that they should take them otherwise.

French.—Touching the interpretation of the words used in the letter to the duke of Alba, saying that people both great and small were discontented with the present Government, the ordinary signification of the words in Spanish would be to indicate generally persons of all degrees, nobles and others. It is true that the Spanish language possesses figurative and hyperbolical expressions different from those of other tongues, and this particular form of speech is in common use to express some persons of every class or condition, not every one of every sort universally. It is only necessary for the words to indicate one or more person of each class to be correct. It is a great mistake to suppose that the word "great," placed as it is in contradistinction to its reverse "small," can apply to the princes, lords, or nobles of the realm, especially as the universal distribution simply implies some of all sorts. It is right to say in Latin in this sense, "*minimo ad maximum*" or "*maximo ad minimum.*"—13th January 1569.

16 Jan. **75.** GUERAU DE SPES to the COUNCIL.

B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. III. Original.

I have received a letter of the 13th instant, and am much surprised that such persons should have sent a reply to letters of mine which were not addressed to them, at all events without first understanding what they meant. When in Spanish it is desired to indicate "lords," the word "*grandes*" is used absolutely, whilst the expression "great and small," "*grandes y pequeños*," has an entirely different meaning. As you were unable to understand the

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terms of the language, you have also misinterpreted my familiar letter to Geronimo Curiel, which means the very opposite of what you say, as, if you choose, I will explain to you by means of persons to whom Spanish is their mother tongue. I will also prove the straightforwardness of my proceedings, and the zeal I have always displayed in preserving peace and amity between this country and the States of my sovereign, to whom I owe this duty. As the other points of your letter are also founded on the same mistaken basis, I have nothing to reply in respect to them; but if, after you have been informed, you still think you have cause to see me, I will, as in duty bound, meet you. Leaving on one side the controversies that Secretary Cecil seems desirous of entering into with me, my expressions do not in any way refer to the lords of this country, notwithstanding which I have no doubt he (Cecil) is a good and loyal minister of the Queen, and perhaps even not my enemy.—London, 16th January 1569.

16 Jan. **76.** The Duke of Alba to the King.
[Extract.]

By the enclosed letters from me your Majesty will learn the determination of the queen of England, and that I have sent Councillor D'Assonleville to learn the reason why she has seized the money. Before he embarked from Calais he sent me a letter he had received from Don Guerau, copy of which I enclose. I send also a copy of the Queen's proclamation and a summary of D'Assonleville's letter to me, by which your Majesty will learn all there is to know on the subject. I am having drafted the reply that I think your Majesty should give, if the English apply to you in Spain, as I have no doubt they will. As far as I can judge by the proclamation, the Queen will not break with your Majesty on any consideration in the world.—Brussels, 19th January 1569.

Marginal note in the handwriting of the King: "This proclamation and the statement I have not got, thy are perhaps in the hands of Tiznach who will send them to me, or, may be, they have been sent by sea. The little note you sent me is something about alum which I will send to Tiznach as it is a matter they are discussing with the Treasury."

5 Feb. **77.** D'Assonleville to the Queen.

B.M. Cotton, Galba, C. III. Original. French.

Begs to be allowed to communicate with Guerau de Spes the ambassador, and requests a passport for a courier. He assures the Queen that if she will give audience to the ambassador he will be able to fully satisfy her respecting the accusations made against him.—London, 5th February 1569.

14 Feb. **78.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

By several previous letters I have informed your Majesty of the insolence of these Englishmen in daring to detain me and in persisting therein up to the present. They have done the same with Dr. D'Assonleville, whom the duke of Alba sent with just and reasonable instructions, and who they have not allowed to see the the Queen. It has been necessary to consult the Duke, and we

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await his reply. In the meanwhile D'Assonleville is in the house of the sheriff, well guarded. Cecil does as he likes in the Council, and, as he is such a heretic and fears that the country may return to the Catholic Church, it may well be believed that he desires to disturb everything. Some people say that he has all his money safe in Germany, so that if he does not like the look of things here he can repair thither. The money from the west, 95 boxes, entered here to-day, but that from Southampton has not yet been moved. They have detained five or six more very rich sloops from Seville, and the value of what they have seized (besides the money) exceeds 700,000 ducats, without counting what the pirates have stolen, which is worth 200,000 more. It is advisable to stop the coming to this country of oil, alum for their cloths, sugar, spices, and iron from Biscay. The iron they bring from Germany is not so easy to work as it might be. The Queen came to London on the 8th, and told the French ambassador two days before, that when she arrived she would give me audience, but not D'Assonleville, who came from the Duke, and therefore she would on no account receive him, or, at all events, not until he had given an account of his object to the Council. I believe before doing either they will await the return of this courier who goes to the Duke. Your Majesty can never trust this country whilst the present Government lasts, and even if they now return the money and goods detained, which I doubt, it will be only because they are not quite ready, or cannot obtain from their confederates the help they require. They have sent a gentleman named John Killigrew to Germany, besides others despatched previously.

It seems they intend to send 20,000 pieces of cloth and more to Hamburg and Embden, and that 16 cargo ships and four of the Queen's ships will go thither. The cloths are already being packed. I will try the best I can to keep the Duke informed, but the strictness of the guards has not been relaxed in the slightest degree. Your Majesty will understand also that, if the matter is settled, they will be glad to have some other ambassador here whom they can manage better than they can me, whereat I shall not be sorry, because I doubt whether the Council is well disposed towards your Majesty, and even if they make full restoration, I do not think they deserve an ambassador from your Majesty here at all, but only an agent, so that when they make captures, reprisals may be at once adopted and their commerce stopped, which is the only thing that alarms them. Your Majesty will please consider this, and order what you think fit. For my part, I will continue my work without thinking of the danger. I wrote to your Majesty that they had taken the queen of Scotland to Tutbury in spite of her tears and protests, the excuse being that they had found certain letters written to her subjects by the Catholics, urging them to rise against the heretics. These people do nothing without a highly coloured excuse, and this was the one the Queen gave to the French ambassador.

I wrote to your Majesty that the queen of Scotland greatly wished your Majesty to take her son and bring him up properly,

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which seems as if it would be a great service to God. Your Majesty will please consider and instruct me.*

Three hundred of the Spaniards who came in the cutters and ships that have been taken in the ports have arrived here, but the guards will not let them approach my door. I have tried to find means to give them alms, and 70 or 80 of them have been put into Bridewell, where a knavish Spanish minister goes to preach to them every day, and has given them a book and other papers in Spanish full of heresy. I sent for the papers, and had the men told not to read such things or listen to the preacher, and I gave an account of what I did to my guards, so that they might report it to the Council, the affair being so scandalous an example. To-day, the 13th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, they brought the 95 boxes of money here from the west country under a strong guard, and they have put it in the Tower, whereat the populace are much pleased, in the belief that this money will be a great thing for them, and that it will be coined anew. It is believed the same will be done with the money from Southampton. Hawkins has come from the Indies, and entered here with four horses loaded with the gold and silver that he brings, which, however, I believe, will not pay the costs. He left 240 men in Florida, which these people think they are going to colonize.

Cardinal Chatillon has signified to the Queen that he will arrange for Havre de Grace and Dieppe to be handed over to them, and they have attempted it, but as the plot has been discovered they are much confused. They are greatly petting the French ambassador just now, because they do not wish the King to declare himself entirely against them.

I have to-day, the 14th, received advice from Plymouth that there have entered that place 14 Flemish sloops on their way from Spain with rich cargoes, and some of them had fought with the French pirates and belaboured them sorely, but fortune was against them, and when they thought they were taking shelter in friendly ports, they found themselves in a land of enemies, and they have all been arrested. The Spaniards have been so ill-treated in the ports that it is impossible to exaggerate it. They could not have been worse treated amongst Turks.—London, 14th February 1569.

18 Feb. **79.** The KING to GUERAU DE SPES.

By your letters to me and to the duke of Alba, up to the 9th January, we have learnt how the ship of Lope de la Sierra and the cutters with the money from Spain, together with other vessels, Biscay and Portuguese, had been detained in England, and the steps you have taken in consequence, both with the Queen and her ministers, in order that this money and property might be allowed to proceed to Flanders. Instead of this, you say they had placed a guard over your house and detained you. Both of these pro-

* A note in the handwriting of Secretary Zayas says, "No such letter has been received here."

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ceedings are strange, and very incompatible with the ancient friendship which the house of Burgundy has hitherto held with the English crown. The step taken by the Duke in consequence of your information, in detaining ships and goods of English subjects in Flanders, was appropriate, and a similar step has been taken here. At the same time orders have been given that no ship is to sail for those parts without my orders, and I shall be guided in my future action by the nature of the reply brought by Councillor D'Assonleville from the Queen, as this will prove whether she wishes to regard me as a friend or foe. Until this reply comes to hand I cannot give you further instruction, excepting to refer you to the duke of Alba, as he, being so near and informed from hour to hour of what passes, can the better direct you as to the best course to take, and you will follow his orders If what you mention about taking the crown away from the Queen were successful, it would be certainly of great moment, and I would assist it most willingly in order to redress religion and shelter and console the good Catholics, who I am persuading are very numerous. You will endeavour to learn all about this thoroughly and advise me very fully and in detail, and you will also do the same to the duke of Alba, as usual, who will give you my instructions. I am now writing to him my wishes on the subject.—18th February 1569.

18 Feb. **80.** The KING to the DUKE OF ALBA.

[EXTRACT.]

Both in the matter of the seizure of the money and ships and the placing of guards over Don Guerau de Spes in his house, it seems to me that the queen of England is proceeding in a way which may cause me misgiving. I believe, with you, that she will not dare to declare war with me or acknowledge me as an open enemy, but that the heretics and evil councillors have egged her on to this action. It was, however, very desirable to clear up the question, and learn something of her intentions by sending D'Assonleville, and ordering the seizure of all English persons and property in the States. In accordance with your advice I have taken the same course in these realms, and have ordered that no ship shall be allowed to leave for England until further permission be given, which will depend upon events there. Don Guerau points out in my letters and yours the good opportunity which now presents itself to remedy religious affairs in that country by deposing the present Queen and giving the crown to the queen of Scotland, who would immediately be joined by all the Catholics. It will be well for you to inquire what foundation there is for this, and what success would probably attend such a design as, if there is anything in it, I should be glad to carry it out; as it appears to me that, after my special obligation to maintain my own States in our holy faith, I am bound to make every effort in order to restore and preserve it in England as in former times. If there is any foundation for the suggestion, no time more opportune than the present could be found for carrying it out, and, in order not to miss it, I have thought well to refer it to you. If you think the chance will be lost by again waiting to consult me, you may at once take the steps you may consider advisable in conformity with

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this, my desire and intention, which would certainly give me great pleasure. I have so much confidence in your good sense and prudence that I am sure I can safely leave the matter in your hands. Please keep me well informed.

It will be also desirable for you to send me the document you were drawing up of what I am to say if the queen of England sends a person here to make any representation or excuse to me, as she tries to do in the proclamation of which you send copy. As no doubt in England and elsewhere they will place their own construction on the punishment meted out by Don Martin Enriquez to John Hawkins and other pirates whom they found in a port of New Spain, I send a true statement of what happened, for your information and the transmission of a copy thereof to Don Guerau de Spes, that he may know all about it if they mention the matter to him.—Madrid, 18 February 1569.

81. Extract of a Statement of the Conversation of an Agent* of the King of France with the Duke of Alba, Saturday, 19 February 1569.

He then went on to give his Excellency an account of the plot hatched by the queen of England in Dieppe, in which many of the burgesses and 40 soldiers were implicated. The commander of the fortress had offered to surrender it for 100,000 crowns, of which the Queen was to pay one half at once and the other half when the place was surrendered. Four of the soldiers had repented, and divulged the plot to the King, all the rest of them having been arrested and confessed. He said that the Queen-mother was furiously angry and grieved, and wished for nothing so much as to be revenged on the queen of England. By way of complaint he then began to talk of the dishonesty of that Queen, and said it was hard she could not rest satisfied with the freedom she enjoyed and the subjection in which she held her people, without interfering as she did in other folks' affairs; but that sometimes God allowed men to meddle in affairs that brought with them their own punishment, and this might happen in her case. He had seen here (in Flanders) such a good company that, if his Excellency would throw a part of his men into England, and Anjou were to enter on the other side, they could take away the Queen's crown in a very few days. He did not dwell very emphatically on the matter, but soon started off on another tack with his usual gestures.

29 Feb. **82.** Guerau de Spes to the Duke of Alba.

On the 18th instant I received your Excellency's letter of the 9th, and that of the 14th by D'Assonleville's courier. On the same day, D'Assonleville was given permission to communicate with me, and we determined to request the Queen to send a secretary or a member of the Council to speak to D'Assonleville, when he would communicate the decision which had been sent to him. They replied cautiously that the Council was here and would receive him. A reply was sent to the Queen, and we have decided to act

* The identity of this agent is not indicated in the document.

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for the best, in accordance with your Excellency's orders. I will not request to be allowed to be present at the audience with the Queen. Hitherto, Cecil has ruled the whole business, and he was strongly in favour of declaring war, but he could not get the Council to agree. Some days ago, two of the principal Councillors, the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Arundel, sent Roberto Ridolfi, a Florentine gentleman, a great friend of theirs and mine (with whom they have given me a safe cipher), to tell me that the money and ships would be returned entirely, and that they had only consented to my detention and Cecil's other impertinences because they were not yet strong enough to resist him. But, in the meanwhile, they were gathering friends, and were letting the public know what was going on, in the hope and belief that they will be able to turn out the present accursed Government and raise another Catholic one, bringing the Queen to consent thereto. They think your Excellency will support them in this, and that the country will not lose the friendship of our King. They say that they will return to the Catholic religion, and that they think a better opportunity never existed than now. Although Cecil thinks he has them all under his heel, he will find few or none of them stand by him. I have encouraged them, and I write this to your Excellency in order that you may promptly give me your opinion, and I beg you will do me the favour of sending this letter itself to His Majesty, as the messenger will not carry more than one. Cecil, in the meanwhile, is bravely harrying the Catholics, imprisoning many, for nearly all the prisons are full. The Spaniards are in Bridewell, to the number of over 150, and a minister is sent to preach to them, who promises them gifts if they will become converts to his sect; but they are firm, and, although I constantly beg that the minister may be withdrawn, the matter is passed over.

I wrote to your Excellency that they had brought 95 boxes of money to the Tower. Cecil has had it all counted in his presence, and put into sacks of 20,000 to 30,000 reals each, the boxes being broken up. He would like to have had it melted, but those I have mentioned on the Council have prevented it. In the meanwhile, he sent the governor of the Isle of Wight to Southampton to bring the money taken from Lope de la Sierra's ship. The reason why the ships which were on this coast could not get away was that, before your Excellency placed the general embargo in Flanders, they had taken away the sails and rigging from the ships, and they made Lope de la Sierra discharge his cargo of wool and give up his ship by telling him that the pirates were in league with the holders of the forts, and that the ship would be attacked in the night. He therefore relinquished his ship and took his ordnance on shore. What are of most value are the 14 sloops which have put in here from Spain since the embargo, believing that they were entering into friendly ports, some of them wishing to continue on their voyage; but the Vice-Admiral's ship pursued them like a pirate, and made them re-enter the port, where they are detained. On the 13th instant they took away the guards posted in the wooden sheds they had erected in the garden here, which sheds were then

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destroyed. I think it was more in consequence of the severe weather than anything else. The garden gates are still fastened up, and the gentlemen who guard me remain in the porter's lodge at the principal gate, which is well guarded. I do not hear for certain that they have sent anyone to Spain or that they will do so. The Queen herself is much confused. Cecil, the Admiral, and Bedford urge her to war, although the Admiral's object is simply robbery, and he will turn round to the party that suits him, according as events may go. He is no lover of fighting. The other members and the public desire peace. These gentlemen (*i.e.*, Norfolk and Arundel) tell me not to distress myself about my detention, and that it was ordered to prevent any Catholic from communicating with me. They say the Queen knew very well I had not written to Bruges, and they were all quite satisfied with His Majesty. They cast all the blame on Cecil.—London, 29th February 1569.

27 Feb. **83.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

By many previous letters I have informed your Majesty, as best I could, of the insolence perpetrated on me and of the ill-will of these people. I have also reported the arrival of D'Assonleville, who has now been here for a month, but whom the Queen has hitherto refused to receive, although they have tried by divers artifices to discover what his errand was. The Marquis of Northampton and Cecil have given him a confused answer, as D'Assonleville will write to your Majesty, the effect of which is that, before the Queen restores this money, it is necessary for your Majesty to newly confirm the treaties now in force, and settle all points left open at the Bruges conference; the bad treatment extended to me being, as they pretend, counterbalanced by the treatment of John Man by your Majesty. Whilst Cecil governs and guides these people, their policy will be to delay the affair and keep the money, as the Queen was in want of it. They will thereby be able also to detain 22 sloops, which, unfortunately for them, since my detention, put into these ports; besides which, if German affairs turn out to their liking, they will do their best to inflict some great injury in Flanders, whereas, if a better opportunity presents itself in France, they will try to damage the Christian King in a similar way. The object is to strike a blow at the Catholic party somewhere, so that they may still remain rich and contumacious heretics for many years longer. With regard to your Majesty sending some other person to treat on the matter, seeing the bad way in which they have behaved with the Duke and D'Assonleville, and knowing, as I do, the bad disposition of Cecil and the deceit of all these people, I think it will not be conducive to your Majesty's dignity to do so, as I understand that, whilst this Government lasts, they will continue to give the same answer as they have to D'Assonleville; but your Majesty will decide, much better than I can, that which is most advantageous. There are many means here by which these people may be punished and this pernicious state of things reformed. As I have written, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, and all their friends offer to serve with this end. They are the largest party in the

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country, without counting the great multitude of Catholics who are preparing to strike, under the pretence of obeying the general order for warlike preparations which has been proclaimed. The stoppage of trade with Flanders is of so much importance here that the mere fact of its prolongation will contribute largely to change the present state of things. The only thing needful in the interim is to take care that no damage is done in Flanders, and the prudence and valour of the Duke will provide against this. The duke of Norfolk and the others who are treating with me advised me of the answer to be given to D'Assonleville, and said it would be well that we should appear satisfied with it, as that would enable them to open out somewhat to the Queen, and let her know their feelings. They are all extremely cautious in their proceedings, as they know that, although some of my guards have been removed, the number of spies has been increased, even to dog the steps of the servant who goes errands for me, and to watch all people who approach the door of my house by night. I shall, however, soon have better means of communicating with those of whom I speak, and shall be able to arrange with them what is best to be done. I will advise the duke of Alba of it. After having despoiled some 200 Spaniards, they have put them into Bridewell, and, in spite of everybody, still insist upon a minister preaching to them every day, respecting which there have been many disputes between the Council and myself through these gentlemen who guard me, who are a fine set of heretics, and, although they say they will alter it, the minister still goes to Bridewell frequently.

The queen of Scotland is kept much more strictly than I am. All the Commissioners on both sides have been allowed to return to Scotland except the bishop of Ross, whom they guard closely, as no doubt they feared that he might go to the Continent and report the wickedness which is going on here. Their anxiety is so great that, actually, Cecil sent this evening to the French Ambassador to ask him to give him an assurance that he would not take letters on any account from the Spanish ambassador or from D'Assonleville. They are very anxious for the French not to stop their trade,* but it is of the greatest importance that this should be done, and especially as regards Spain, because, without oil and alum, they cannot carry on their cloth manufacture, by which the greater number of the people of the country live. If they cannot work, or there is any obstacle to the disposal of their goods, they usually take up arms; and at the time of the Bruges negotiations, when the stoppage of trade was only to the Netherlands, the Queen was forced to buy cloths from the towns at a loss, in order to keep things going. They are bragging now about sending cloths to Hamburg, and they are packing some already, although many people think that they are only doing it for show. The effect will soon be seen.—London, 27th February 1569.

* In the King's handwriting: "It would be well to reinforce this, so that nothing shall go thither. Tell Juan Vazquez to write to the ports again."

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Holograph postscript: By the letters from me to His Majesty and from D'Assonleville to your Excellency, you will know what is passing here. I shall not know the intention of the Lords until to-morrow, but will write to your Excellency when I do. By the memorial you will see that I have given the Council here an account of the robberies that have recently been committed. Another sloop has just arrived at Southampton, and has been detained. The courier Florian comes in her, with many letters from the merchants of Lisbon, and some servants of Montigny and of Counts Egmont and Horn who were in Madrid.* Your Excellency should send recalling D'Assonleville, as that will be necessary in the interests of the negotiation.

Note.—This letter was doubtless sent open to the duke of Alba for his perusal before he forwarded it to the King.

84. Document endorsed: "Copy of a statement made to Don "Francés de Alava by the English ambassador resident "in France, respecting what had passed with Don Guerau "de Spes concerning the money and the arrest of his "person in his house. Sent by Don Francés to the Duke, "with the letter from the Queen to His Majesty enclosed."

At the end of November last Her Majesty the Queen received reports from her governors and officials in the west of England, namely, in certain ports of Cornwall and Devon, that some ships had arrived there on their voyage to Flanders, and that there were certain armed French ships at sea, for fear of which neither they nor the English merchants dared to put to sea, particularly such as desired to go to Bordeaux for wine, and the said ships on their way to Flanders.

Her Majesty, thereupon, seeing that she was already informed by petition that her subjects could not trade with Bordeaux as usual, ordered some of her own ships to be fitted out for the defence of her subjects, and she sent promptly to order William Winter, who had command of her ships there, to extend the same protection to the subjects of the king of Spain, both at sea and in the ports, as he would extend to her own subjects. He had previously determined to steer his course direct for Bordeaux, but, understanding that the said Spanish ships were in certain ports of Cornwall and Devon, first went thither and gave them promises of protection. After he had been there a short time, the French ships entered the ports, and he ordered them expressly to avoid molesting the Spanish ships, and to be gone out of the ports, which they did. Notwithstanding which, they secretly returned in the night and robbed the Spaniards, but were expelled by Winter and many of them wounded.

About the same time the Spanish ambassador, having received notice of the arrival of the said Spanish ships, begged her Majesty the Queen to order her officers to defend them whilst in the ports and to give a passport, authorising certain monies which came in

* In the handwriting of the King: "Look to this, although I know nothing of such servants being here."

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them to be brought over-land to Dover, or otherwise, that she would allow some of her ships to convoy them in safety to Antwerp. The Queen replied that she already had news of the business and had ordered her officers to look to the defence of the money, and said that she would give guards, and permission for it to be safely carried by land or sea, wherever was required. To this the ambassador answered that he would write to the duke of Alba, and on receipt of his decision, would accept one of the two offers made by her Majesty. The Queen, for greater security, wrote fresh and more pressing letters, ordering Winter and all other officers to attend particularly to the defence of the said ships, and ordered that the treasure should be put on shore, to the satisfaction of the persons who had charge of it. At the same time she sent special letters to Winter again ordering him to guard the said ships against all violence. A fortnight after this, Winter advised the Queen that it was urgent that he should sail for Bordeaux to convoy the English merchantmen, to the number of 80, which were awaiting on the coast; but that he had taken such measures in the ports that the Spanish ships should be well protected by the land forces. Those in charge of the ships, seeing that William Winter was leaving, also petitioned the officers of the ports and certain gentlemen of those parts who had been authorised to bring the treasure on shore, to the same effect; the money in the meanwhile being on shore in charge of the Spaniards themselves, aided by certain companies of Englishmen for its greater security. Whilst this was passing in the West her Majesty learnt of another Spanish ship in Southampton loaded with wool, and some treasure, and that the same ship was also in danger from armed Frenchmen, who were near the port between the Isle of Wight and the mainland. She thereupon ordered the Governor of the island, who was at Court at the time, to go post to Southampton to see if the Spanish ship was in danger or not, and if so, to warn the owners and endeavour to provide against it. According to the letters written by him it appears that he not only enjoined the French to depart without molesting the Spanish ship, but also gave orders to certain forts in the island to fire their cannon on the French, in case the latter attacked the Spaniards. After this the French offered a large sum of money to the Governor if he would only refrain from helping the said ship in case they, the French, attacked it by night taking little account, it would appear, of the guns of the forts. The Governor, for the sake of his own honour, refused the proffered money, and, in fulfilment of the command given by the Queen to protect the ship, informed the master, one Lope de la Sierra, who, seeing the danger in which his ship was, begged the Governor, in writing, to help him to place the treasure on shore, which was done three or four days before Christmas, and it was put into a safe place under the seal of Lope de la Sierra himself, so that no portion of it could be touched without his consent. On Lope de la Sierra requesting that one of the boxes should be opened that he might take a sum out for his own expenses, this was done, and in this box as in other parts of the ship, documents were found proving that the money belonged to certain merchants, and was

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not the property of the king of Spain. About the same time other documents of a similar nature were received from Devon and Cornwall with respect to the money in the cutters that were there, which documents upon being examined proved also that that treasure was private property and not that of the king of Spain. This was confirmed by the statement of some of the Spaniards who came with the treasure, to the effect that it belonged to certain merchants; besides which, letters were received from Antwerp dated 16th December, reporting that the money belonged to some Genoese merchants resident there, and that as they were sure they would be paid a fair interest, they were willing that the Queen should have the use of it for a year, or longer, if she desired. Thereupon the persons who gave this information were requested to negotiate with the Genoese merchants to this effect. Whilst her Majesty was awaiting the reply, the Spanish ambassador came to Court on the 29th December, asking that all the treasure should be removed from the places where it was; affirming that it was all the property of the king of Spain, and, in order that greater credit should be given to his assertion, he handed to the Queen a letter of three or four lines from the duke of Alba, which simply asked that credit should be given to the ambassador, without any mention being made of the money or anything else. Her Majesty having considered this and compared it with the information she had received, to the effect that the money belonged to merchants and not to the King, replied that, what she had already done, if the money belonged to the King, had been done in order to guard it against the French, and gave him an account of some of the efforts of her officers with this object. She, however, was now informed, she said, that the money belonged to merchants, and, as in four or five days she would have further particulars, she assured him on her word that nothing should be done which could displease her brother the King, and she would prove what she said within four or five days when she saw him again. The ambassador took his leave without any sign of being dissatisfied with this reply. Her Majesty afterwards received news from the west country where the cutters were, fully confirming the previous information and proving conclusively that the money belonged to the merchants. On the 3rd of January, which was the fifth day after the ambassador saw her, he having in the interim not seen the Queen or requested a reply, she learnt that Count Lodron had called together all the numerous English merchants residing in Antwerp on the 28th December, and told them that the duke of Alba had given orders for the arrest of all their persons and property. This was the day before the ambassador had his answer, so that on the following day, the 29th, when the ambassador received it, as aforesaid, a general arrest of all English subjects in Antwerp had been ordered, and all of them were lodged in a house and guarded by a company of soldiers. It must also be noted that, after the ambassador had received his reply at Hampton Court on Wednesday the 29th December, he left on Thursday for London and immediately despatched one of his servants named Marron, who is called his secretary, by way of Dunkirk, who had all the English of whom he

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could learn thrust into close imprisonment, and forbade all persons to go over to England. In Bruges also, all English subjects and property were embargoed and he (Marron) urged the Governors of the town to employ greater cruelty to the English people than was considered advisable by the Governors themselves, who apparently understood the evils which might arise from such a bold course.

At the same time, all over Flanders the greatest cruelty was used towards Englishmen, poor mariners and others, who were all cast into the public prisons, with less consideration, even, than is employed in time of war. Her Majesty was kept informed of all this, and being moved by her natural solicitude and care for her faithful subjects, ordered by public proclamation in London on the 7th January, that all commerce and trade with Flanders should cease until the intention of her brother the King should be known in thus arresting her subjects, and sequestrating their property. She also ordered that all the subjects of the king of Spain in her dominions, and their goods, should be detained in consideration of the prior embargo that had been placed on her subjects abroad. Her Majesty in doing this, had not followed the severe example set by the officers of the king of Spain in Flanders, and by the ambassador, in sending the orders he did by his said servant, as may be seen by the various moderate regulations made in the royal decree already mentioned. Her Majesty, moreover, having heard of the bad opinion universally formed by her subjects of the person of the Spanish ambassador, in consequence of his action in this matter, and the cruel persecutions prompted on the other side by his secretary Marron, which were much more severe than those ordered by the duke of Alba or Count Lodron in Antwerp, thought necessary, both for the safety of the ambassador himself, and, at the same time, to tame him somewhat, and satisfy her poor subjects who had been so cruelly maltreated, principally by his instrumentality, to order him to remain in his own house and that none of his people should be allowed outside, except for the necessary provisions. For this purpose her Majesty appointed certain gentlemen discreetly and prudently to arrange this, and to remain in the house with the ambassador, without cost or annoyance of any sort to him. To put this into execution she had sent the right honourable Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral, and Sir William Cecil, principal Secretary of State, both members of her Council, who informed the ambassador of her Majesty's resolution. When they saw the ambassador they proceeded as follows: The Admiral spoke first and briefly said in French that he and the secretary had been sent by the Queen, but that as he did not speak much Latin the secretary would communicate her Majesty's message in that tongue, which he (the Admiral) understood, although he had little practice in speaking it. With this the secretary, in fulfilment of the Queen's orders and the decision of the Council, told the ambassador that the Queen considered it very strange that a general arrest and embargo of all her subjects and their goods had been ordered in Flanders with extreme severity, and she desired to learn if he had any knowledge whether the duke of Alba had received special orders from the King to act in this way, and also whether

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he, himself, had express commands to do what he had done. To this the ambassador replied that the Queen ought not to consider it strange that the Duke should have acted as he had, as the cause of his doing so was that he considered the King's treasure had been wrongfully detained. As to whether the Duke had received special orders from the King, he thought that he had not done so, but had acted as Governor and Captain-General of Flanders. As regarded himself, the ambassador said he had no express command from the King, nor had he done anything in the matter except to report to the Duke what he had negotiated. He was thereupon told that, in the first place, the detention of the treasure was in order to secure it against the French, as was well known by him and others, and to whomsoever it belonged therefore, her Majesty should be thanked for having detained it. He also knew how reasonable had been the reply given to him on the 29th December, from which nothing could be deduced which could arouse any mistrust, or from which any blame could be imputed to the Queen, since she had assured him that she would do nothing which could displease the king of Spain, as he would understand within four or five days when she saw him again. Her Majesty, therefore, could not help holding the duke of Alba as the author of what had been done, since no trace of its having been ordered by the King existed, and as the ambassador himself confessed that he had no special orders on the subject, yet, nevertheless, it was easily discerned that he, the ambassador, had intervened very rigorously in the affair, and the Queen could not help considering that, thereby, he had exceeded the terms of his commission, he having been sent hither to aid in the preservation of the treaties of friendship and ancient alliance and commerce between the kingdoms, and not to destroy them suddenly of his own action. To prove that he had intervened in this way, against what he asserted, he was informed that he had on a certain day despatched his seccretary Marron beyond the sea, and the cruelties which the said secretary had there perpetrated in his name were cited to him. To this the ambassador answered at first that he had no such secretary, but on his being told that Marron was so considered and so styled in the letters, he replied that it was true that there was a servant of the King thus called, who had been here and had been despatched with letters to Flanders, but that even supposing Marron had used his name beyond the sea, his authority was not sufficient to carry any weight there. Notwithstanding that Marron's acts were clearly proved to him, he thought by answering in this way coolly to pass the matter over, even though letters found from Antonio de Guaras, a great friend of the ambassador, and other Spaniards, proved clearly that the ambassador had sent Marron to act as he had done. After this the ambassador was told that, for the reasons already stated, her Majesty had determined to order him to remain in his house under her protection, in order that he might be secure against the irritation of the people. For this purpose three gentlemen were presented to him, namely, Francis Carew, Henry Knollys, and Henry Knyvett. He said he was content to accept the Queen's decision, but could not help protesting that he ought to be allowed

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the rights appertaining to an ambassador. To this he was answered that, as this embargo and violation of treaties had been his own doing, without orders from his King, he himself had not thus acted as an ambassador, and the Queen did not intend to prejudice in any way by what she did her friendship with the king of Spain nor any privilege due to his ambassador. On the contrary, she desired to maintain such amity, so long as he did not wish otherwise. The ambassador, with some heat, again repeated his words of protest that his ambassadorial privileges should be respected, and he was told that much more than was now being done to him had been done to Mr. Man, the Queen's ambassador in Madrid, which action also the Queen did not attribute to her good brother the King, but to some of his officers or ministers. Mr. Man was expelled the town where he lived and sent to a poor village three leagues off, where he was placed under a guard and confined in a very small lodging without liberty to speak to anyone, and was not permitted to enter the presence of the King to answer the charges against him, although he promised that, if he could not clear himself, he would be content to suffer the displeasure of his Majesty. The ambassador replied to this, that it was well known that Man had been so treated because he wished to exercise his own religion in Spain, which could not be tolerated, and thereupon the ambassador was told that the queen of England's ambassador, had as much right to exercise the religion of his country, without interfering with the King's subjects, as he, the ambassador, had to attend mass here; because the queen of England is a sovereign princess equal to any, and a subject to no other person. He was told that he was also to be blamed in this matter as he was not content to exercise this privilege for himself and his household, but connived at the attendance of the Queen's subjects at religious ceremonies which are forbidden by the laws of this country. Towards the end of the conversation the ambassador asked authority to send some person to Flanders for money to provide for his daily expenditure and maintenance, and was told that it would not be necessary for him to do this as he would not fail to obtain the necessary provisions, and would have more credit here than the bishop of Aquila had who was here before Don Diego de Guzman, in whose praise some well-merited expressions were used. Whilst the Bishop lived here he had bought on credit both goods and provisions from many poor persons, for which nothing hitherto had been paid, and these poor creditors had never ceased since his death to beg for payment, both through the Queen's ambassadors in Spain and through the King's ambassadors here. Although promises had been given that these debts should be paid, no part of them had been received, and many poor people had been ruined thereby. The ambassador said that this money had been paid, which, being contrary to the truth, he was told so. He was subsequently told that if he wished to write to the duke of Alba or to any other person to report the cause and manner of his detention, he might give the letters to be read before closing them to the English gentlemen who remained with him, and if he would write a letter in his own hand, that the bearer of them should pass safely when he arrived beyond the sea,

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a man would at once be sent with his letters direct to the duke of Alba, since experience had shown that otherwise no Englishman could land in Flanders without immediately being arrested and cast into prison, it is presumed through the action of his secretary Marron. To this the ambassador only replied that he would consider it, and this is all that passed on that day, without a single word having been uttered more harsh than those set forth, as can be testified by various English gentlemen who were present and heard all the conversation, although the ambassador has since written to a different effect. It is true that the admiral and the secretary had instructions to set forth divers things done by the duke of Alba since he has been in Flanders, at which her Majesty has cause to be displeased and aggrieved, seeing the good offices she has performed during the disturbed period when she might by many ways have injured the Duke and his affairs, which, however, she would not by any means do, notwithstanding the great provocation she had received. They were also told to mention to the ambassador the grievance done by the printing and publishing in Spain of certain books attacking the King, her famous father, and insulting her with obvious lies and falsehoods. Although complaints had been made of this, and redress promised, the evil was renewed by the printing and publishing of other things worse still. The bad treatment also of the ambassador, Mr. Man, was to have been set forth in detail, the action in this case having been effected with so much discourtesy that the Queen could not believe that her good brother the King was the origin of it. They were also directed to declare divers grievances which had been caused to her Majesty's subjects in Flanders recently in many ways, as for instance, in new taxes having been imposed upon them, in violation of the agreement made in Bruges within the last four years. But the admiral and the secretary, seeing that the ambassador was disturbed with what they had previously said, and they having to go to the Court the same night, eleven miles off, the hour being already late, they thought best to defer the last-mentioned matters for the present. All this passed on Saturday the 8th January. Three days afterwards, the 11th, the ambassador sent to Henry Knollys and the other gentlemen a packet of letters directed to the duke of Alba, which Mr. Knollys returned to him saying, that if he wished to advise the Duke of anything regarding his position, and what he wrote was in accord with the truth, and he would give letters assuring safe passage to the man who took it, the said packet would be sent. To this he replied that, as to the first, he would duly think it over, and with regard to the second, his letters would have no authority as a safe conduct. Notwithstanding this, shortly afterwards he sent some of his servants to Henry Knollys with the aforementioned letters open, saying that after he had read them and had them sealed up, they might be sent to the Court as promised. Whilst the letters were being read he sent again to say that if they liked they could send them to the Court open, which, having regard to some expressions in them, Knollys thought he ought not to refuse to do. When they were seen by certain members of the Council the latter were much displeased at them,

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not only in consequence of what they contained, they being written in a very unseemly way for a person in the writer's position, but especially for the insolence and presumption he had shown in ordering them to be sent to the Court open.* When the rest of the Councillors heard of this and had had the letters interpreted to them, they could not help being gravely offended, both at the contents and at the insolence of sending them open, and it was unanimously agreed to write a letter to the ambassador informing him of the reasons which they had for complaining of him and his letters. To this letter of the lords, dated on the 14th, he replied by another written on the 16th, which reply being entirely unsatisfactory, seeing that the best excuse he could make was that in consequence of their ignorance of the Spanish tongue, in which his letters were written, they had misunderstood what he said, although their Lordships had no reason to believe that they had been deceived by the translators, yet they caused some native Spaniards to read them, and found that no other meaning could be attributed to the words used than that which had already been understood. The lords therefore sent Bernard Hampton, whom it is believed the king of Spain will know, as he was Spanish secretary to the Queen Mary, and William Winter, Captain of Artillery in the Queen's fleet, both being discreet persons well versed in the Spanish tongue, that they might ask the ambassador what other possible meaning or interpretation could be placed by him on his letters than that which their Lordships had placed upon them, confirmed by discreet native Spaniards. The ambassador replied that it was true that anything, no matter how well written, could be twisted to an evil meaning, but, as regarded what he had written to the duke of Alba, saying that all, great and small, in this country were dissatisfied with the Government, he had never, for a moment, intended to allude in this to the lords and others of the Council; but that when in Spain the expression of "great and small," having said or done this or that, is used, it is understood to mean that such a thing has been commonly said or done. He also, wishing to report that the people were generally dissatisfied, had used these words; but it was not his intention in saying "that great and small were dissatisfied with the Government," to indicate that they were generally dissatisfied with the government of the State, but only with this affair of the detention of the King's money. Regarding the letter which he wrote to Geronimo de Curiel, saying that he was a prisoner of Queen Oriana, he said it seemed very strange that their Lordships should misunderstand his meaning, seeing that any person who has been, or conversed in the Court of Spain, would have understood it, and taken it in good part, because when they want there to refer to any lady of singular and excellent person they call her queen Oriana, and, indeed, the ladies and gentlemen of the Court used to amuse themselves by calling the queen of Spain by that name, and other ladies by other names out of the famous fable of Amadis. He affirmed that he had never thought of writing anything

* *See* Note, p. 99.

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injurious or disrespectful of Her Majesty the Queen, for whom he had the great esteem, which was due to so virtuous and excellent a Princess. As to what he said in his letter about Archelaus being still alive, he said he had no intention of indicating any particular person here, but that, only following the course of the fable, he mentioned Archelaus amongst other personages therein without any other intention than the afore-mentioned.

28 Feb. **85.** The KING to GUERAU DE SPES.

I have little to add to the enclosed, excepting that they have acted very badly, after arresting you to seize the letter you wrote to me. Both are acts of open hostility, but, nevertheless, you will not make any move beyond what the duke of Alba orders you. We expect advice of the reply that the Queen will have given to D'Assonleville in order to decide how to proceed, in conformity with the intentions manifested therein. If the Queen has the understanding, which you say she has, with the princes of Germany and particularly with the Palatine, to induce them to arm and jointly attack my Netherlands, it will be a decided proof that she is my enemy. You will endeavour to discover this thoroughly, and write to me by all opportunities, and also to the duke of Alba, as you will see how important it is to the interest of the States.—Madrid, 28th February 1569.

86. DOCUMENT ENDORSED: Statement made by Councillor D'Assonleville of his mission to England, upon which he was sent by the duke of Alba.

On the 22nd February 1569 Mr. Mildmay, a councillor, and Secretary Cecil, came and declared that they had been commissioned by the Queen to hear, in substance, what I had to say, in order that they might communicate it to her, to which course they said I had already consented.

I said it was true, and, as the Queen so wished it, in order to please her and expedite matters as to my audience with her, I would make the statement they requested, which I did, reserving for myself the right of stating to the Queen personally points that were for her private ear.

They said they would listen to my statement, and asked me whether I had any other point I wished to mention; to which I replied that I had, but only in case the Queen satisfied me on the first matter, and they thereupon left.

On Friday, 25th February, I was requested by Thomas Gresham to attend after dinner at the Chancellor's house, where some of the councillors awaited me. When I arrived there I found the marquis of Northampton, the Admiral, Mildmay, and Cecil, and the marquis first addressed me saying, that the Queen had been informed by the gentlemen now present of what had passed with me a few days before, and, as the duke of Alba, in whose name I spoke, had treated her with great ingratitude, Her Majesty was determined to have nothing to say to him or to me as his representative, so that it would be superfluous for me to address her personally on this or any other matter, but that Secretary Cecil would more fully state

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her intentions. Cecil then said that Mildmay and he had conveyed what I had said to the Queen, and after she had heard it, she had directed them to speak to me as follows:

First. With regard to the desire expressed for the continuance of the friendship existing between the King and their Queen, the duke of Alba having stated through me that he would maintain the same, she was very pleased thereat, and she on her part had done all she could to reciprocate the good will of the King. As far as concerned the Duke, however, she had not heard that he had taken any trouble to preserve such friendship, but rather to the contrary, that he had done what he could to break and violate it in several ways, and recently especially, by violently and unjustly ordering the arrest of the persons and goods of her faithful subjects. It is true that seizures had been made on former occasions by both parties, but it had always previously been done in proper form, and in accordance with the treaties which, in this case, have been entirely disregarded; the Duke having thus proved himself not only ungrateful for the good offices the Queen had performed, but had used her subjects iniquitously and unjustly.

As regards the money which is alleged to belong to the King, he said that, in order to acquaint me with the matter, he would state fully what had occurred, which in effect was in accord with what he had already told me at the Council, and is contained in the published statement. He concluded by saying that the Queen never refused to return the money, but had told the ambassador that as she understood the money did not belong to the King but to private merchants, which she could prove by notes which had been sent to the ambassador requesting him to take steps in relation to the money, which he was told he could say belonged to the King. It was also proved by other letters and documents from merchants, and also by the fact that the bills of exchange for the remittance of the money had been paid through the bank of Leon, all of which evidence would be produced. But, notwithstanding this, she had not refused to pay the money, but promised to give a reply within four days.

The treaties, and particularly that of 1495, lay down clearly when reprisals of seizure may be adopted, and the treaties on this occasion have not been fulfilled, as the arrests were made in Antwerp on the 29th December last, on the very day that the ambassador came to ask for the restitution of the money, in virtue of a letter of credence from his Excellency, containing only four lines; in contravention of the usual form of such letters to princes. It was thus evident that there could have been no refusal of restitution before the arrests of Antwerp, and, moreover, even the previous day, the 28th, Count Lodron had told people in Antwerp that he had orders to make the seizure of all English persons and property, so that, in any case, the order for the arrest must have been given by his Excellency several days before the ambassador had asked for the restitution of the money. With reference to my request that the money should be restored and the arrests cancelled, on condition that the same thing should be on the Duke's part, the Queen replied that she had been very badly and injuriously treated,

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and could not be expected to relax before those who had commenced the seizures.

There were, moreover, many other grave and notable injuries inflicted upon the Queen and her ambassadors, and many of her subjects were imprisoned in Spain, as well as in Flanders, the last treaty of Bruges being entirely disregarded. When she had complained on this account her arguments had been contemned and her letters rejected, besides which, arrests of Englishmen, she learnt, had now been commenced in Spain itself, where the Duke had no power. It was therefore necessary, since matters had gone so far, that both questions should be settled together and not separately.

This could not be done with me, as I had no power or commission from his Majesty, but if the King would authorize some one to deal with the whole of these differences, myself or another, she would willingly hear him, but not otherwise; and this was the answer he gave me in the name of his mistress. Having thus heard what he had to say, I replied on each point as follows:—First, as regards what the Marquis had said, I was much surprised at the reply, as both the Admiral and Cecil who were present would recollect what I had said in my last communication with them on the 20th, namely, that my mission could only be submitted to the Queen, as was customary and demanded by the dignity of my King and the reputation of his lieutenant-general, and even that of the Queen herself. All first interviews and replies, I said, were given by princes, or, at all events, in their presence, if they are minors or wards, which is obviously not the case with the Queen, who is so wise and prudent, speaks languages, and is in the habit of personally treating with ambassadors. Messieurs Mildmay and Cecil had only asked me for a summary of my commission for communication to the Queen, and on this understanding I had given it, that she should be the better informed before my audience with her. I said I had merely given a summary, reserving to myself the task of explaining and enlarging as well as answering any questions or objections which might be put to me. There was, I said, a great difference between making a simple statement and making it circumstantially, which was the reason why state affairs were more satisfactorily despatched by an ambassador than in writing, and, to prove what I said, I had not yet delivered the letters of credence and commission which I had offered to hand to the Queen in the usual way. In short, I saw that she declined to hear my errand and refused me international rights, adopting this strange mode of proceeding and declining to listen to me. As she had taken this course I protested that, if anything untoward should occur, which God forbid, between sovereigns so closely united, his Majesty would be exonerated before God and the world, as also would be the duke of Alba.

They replied that it was true I had given them an account of my commission under the reserve mentioned that I would explain it more fully to the Queen personally, but as the substance of it only was the restitution of the money and the raising of the arrests on both sides, anything I could say in addition would simply be persuasion, which the Queen did not now wish to hear, as I had

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no commission from the King to deal with the matter. As regards refusing me audience, which I said was a new thing and against international rights, they said the King had first adopted this course, having always refused to receive the Queen's ambassador, although he had been requested to do so many times. It need not therefore appear strange, and the Queen was as much mistress of her realm as the King was master of his. I said I knew nothing about all this, and, even if were as they said, some reasons must have preceded it which I did not understand. I then protested that I did not consider what they had said as a reply, but only as a refusal to grant me audience, and went on to say that I did not understand what ingratitude they referred to from the Duke to the Queen, nor the bad offices they imputed to him, and begged that they would particularize them more, in order that I might give an account to the Duke, as I was quite sure they had been wrongly informed and that these were simply calumnies invented by evil-minded people.

They said the Queen was well informed on the matter, and had, some time ago, given a statement to the ordinary ambassador, to which no reply had been given; but I could get no further particulars from them of the alleged ingratitude, unless, indeed, they referred to what they mentioned before about the welcome and salutation she had sent to the constable of Navarre at Dover.

As regards the money, I said that I had listened to the discourse they had addressed to me on two occasions, and as it was a matter which closely concerned the ordinary ambassador, I should have wished him to be present, in order to give an account of what passed. I fully believed that the Queen and Council only spoke the truth, but that an ambassador (such men being chosen for their good sense and prudence) ought also to be believed, as they have to act alone and cannot call witnesses to corroborate them. This, I said, was the reason why I had pressed so much for the presence of the ordinary ambassador, as is customary. If he had been here he would have been able to answer everything, but it was evident that these innovations were only intended to confuse matters.

When we had got thus far, I was desirous of making it clear that we did not recognise that we were in the wrong, or that his Excellency had acted in contravention of the treaties, and told them that it was evident that two months had passed after the detention of the money in England before the seizures were made on our side, namely, November and December, which, being the months fixed for the payment of troops, the Queen might understand that the matter was one that did not admit of delay.

They declared that the Queen made no detention of his Majesty's money before the general seizure on our side, nor refused to let it be forwarded. On the contrary, the detentions in England had been effected at the request of the ambassador to protect the money from pirates and Frenchmen who intended to enter the ports and steal it, which they would have done if they had not been prevented by the Queen. They had even offered her Vice-Admiral a bribe of 50,000 crowns to shut his eyes and let them do as they

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liked, and offered another captain 25,000. They said that the ambassador had never asked for the restoration of the money before the 29th December, but had asked them to guard it safely until he learnt from the Duke whether it was to be forwarded by land or sea.

I replied that I had understood very differently, and that the ambassador had previously demanded the money, the sole request for which, by the treaties, and particularly that mentioned by Cecil, (1495), was a sufficient cause for the counter-arrest. Even, however, which I did not admit, if things were as they said, I asked them whether they thought it was a just reason why they should keep the King's money?

They replied that the money did not belong to the King, as they could fully prove. I said as the King my master said to the contrary and his lieutenant-general the same, which statement was confirmed by the clearance notes, and the money was coined in his mint and exported from his country, fuller credit should be given to him than to the other arguments they adduced.

Furthermore to upset this reasoning I said that, even if this money belonged to private persons, which it did not, they could not detain it without a clear infraction of the treaties, which provide that subjects of both princes may enter and leave the ports of either country with ships and goods without any let or hindrance, and especially could foreigners enter the ports and leave freely for the country of either of the two sovereigns, as in the case of these ships freighted for Antwerp, which they themselves confessed.

They said I was right about the treaties, but that the money had not been demanded of them, except as being the property of the King, for which reason the Queen might refuse to restore it; which, however, she had not done previous to the seizures on the other side. I said the money belonged to the King, for the reasons alleged by me now, to show that, in any case, they were doing him an injury in detaining his money which he needed for the maintenance of his Netherlands States.

They said, moreover, that the Queen might receive and hold this money, as the bankers of Leon did, to which I replied that it was not for the bankers but for the King, and, in any case, the treaties provided that goods in transit should not be arrested, so that they ought to allow the money to go to its destination. I could get no further reply to this.

I then passed on to the relaxing of the seizures, as they called it, and asked that the Queen should relax first and adding that the Duke would maintain that the King's money had first been seized in England, long before arrests had been made in the Netherlands. But, I said, the way to settle the business was not to talk about who should move first or second, but the thing might be done simultaneously and everything put into its former position.

They replied that it was well to know which side had been in the wrong, and I said that I saw very clearly in the meanwhile they were going to keep my master's money. They said they would not touch it, and it would be in safe keeping, but, said I, in

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the meanwhile the King cannot employ his own funds, and I asked them whether they thought such a proceeding was worthy of a neighbouring princess who professed so much amity, and if friendship generally produced such results as these?

The only reply they made to this was that things had arrived at such a stage that it was necessary for a general agreement to be come to.

I replied that all the grievances they alleged had nothing whatever to do with the matter in hand, which was a seizure of property on both sides, in consequence of the detention of the King's money by the Queen; and, on this point, I was ready to expound my commission and negotiate in conformity with it. To this they again replied, as before, that the whole matter must be dealt with simultaneously.

I then proceeded to speak of my powers, which I said were ample, proceeding as they did from his Excellency, who they knew was Governor-General with powers to deal with all matters touching his government, such as this was. I had, I said, already proved this so clearly by examples that the Queen had sent word that I was right, for which reason I was all the more surprised that they should again assert to the contrary. They replied that the question now was not simply one of the government of the Netherlands but of Spain, from which the Queen had received many wrongs and grievances which had not been remedied. I asked them what wrongs and grievances? They replied that books had been allowed to be printed and sold in Spain, wherein the Queen had been injuriously treated as regards her person, honour, and reputation, and redress had been demanded for this and granted by the King, but, nevertheless, no effect had been produced and the books were printed worse than ever. Many persons, too, they said, were being detained there, and injury was sought to be done to them without any just cause for such action.

I asked them whether they referred to the Inquisition, to which they replied that they did.

Various points also were mentioned where the treaty of Bruges was being broken, and respecting which redress would have to be given at the same time. I asked them for particulars of these points, whereupon they said that there were so many that they could not recall them, but they had written about them and no notice had been taken. I again urged that all these differences had nothing whatever to do with the retention of his Majesty's money, which they ought at once to return, and the other questions could then be dealt with.

They said that they had heard that seizures had also been made in Spain, and I replied that if this were so (of which I was ignorant) it was only accessory to the seizures in Flanders, and when the latter point was settled, the Spanish part of the matter would be easily arranged. The Duke, if necessary, would undertake to obtain his Majesty's assent. To this they replied that it was uncertain, and in the meanwhile the money would go out of their hands. It was much better to deal with all pending questions at once under the King's own authority, especially as they believed there were many

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things being done both in Flanders and Spain of which the King was unaware, and of which it was fitting he should be informed. This was the only opportunity of communicating everything to him, and it must not be lost.

Seeing that all this was mere impertinent subterfuge, alleged as a pretext for detaining the King's money, I said, "Well, gentlemen, "then the Queen means to say, in short, that she will not restore "his Majesty's money." They replied that she did not refuse, but wished first that all pending questions between them should be settled, for which purpose she offered to negotiate with any person who was duly authorised by the King. I said that this was a very unjust and iniquitous reply, and I did not believe if the Queen had heard me that she would have given me such an answer. There was no sovereign Prince in the world, however insignificant, who would not feel seriously aggrieved at such treatment, and she might well imagine how much more it would offend such a King as mine, when he was informed that I had protested in vain (as I did now again), that if anything happened, which God forbid, between such fraternal princes, his Excellency was exonerated before God and man from responsibility, he having sent me with the offer I had made them. This I asked them to convey to the Queen. I said that, so far as I was concerned, I had not been listened to or granted an audience, which fact of itself proved the Queen's intentions towards his Majesty and the Duke; so there was nothing for me but to return and give an account of my mission. I said I saw very well what the object was. They wished, in the words of the proverb, to "complain with their hands full," and I would leave them to judge whether their action was just or reasonable or such as could be tolerated by my King.

They said they did not wish to be blamed for what they had told me. They had simply repeated to me the commission entrusted to them by the Queen, who had submitted the matter to her Council. The Queen, they said, had not taken the King's money to keep, but held it and the other goods she had seized as a set-off to the arrests made by the duke of Alba. I said that neither by right nor reason could they thus suddenly change the ground of their seizure subsequent to its having taken place, particularly as the seizure of this money had been the origin of everything that had followed. What had been the principal cause could not thus be made into an accessory fact subsequently as they wished it to be, in violation of all right and reason.

They said yes, it could, and as I could get nothing else from them, the conference ended, after I had told them that, as I had determined to return home, I wished again to speak with the King's ambassador. They said they would inform the Queen and let me know

Continuation of D'Assonleville's Statement:—On the same day, 27th February 1569, Gresham came to tell me that, on his requesting the Queen for a passport in my name, he had taken the opportunity of saying how sorry I was that I had not been granted an audience, as I had come on so good an errand from the King, and that I could hardly believe it, as she had on

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former occasions treated me so kindly and received me so frequently. He said I had hoped that if I had seen her Majesty I should have received another sort of answer, and events would have followed a different course. He had been discussing the matter with the Queen, he said, for an hour, and she had ordered him to tell me that she knew me well and considered me an honest man, as she had always been satisfied with my mode of proceeding; I had not however come on this occasion with a commission from the King but simply from the duke of Alba, who had treated her so badly and oppressed her subjects in the Netherlands. She said she declined to receive me as she had nothing to do with the Duke, and repeated to him the complaint about the letter of credence of three lines, which, she said, proved that he did not esteem her. On the contrary he disliked her and was anxious for war, and the Duke's officers and soldiers were already partitioning her kingdom, like hunters who divide their prey before they capture it. She told Gresham to convey this to me that I might communicate it to the Duke and tell him that she was Queen and mistress of her own realm as her predecessors had been and disposed of the same resources as they had done. As regards the King, she was attached to him and would do her best to keep the peace with him. If she had wished otherwise she could easily have prevented Flemish affairs from passing over so peacefully, and the Duke would never have seen the end of them if she had acceded to the request of Orange, Egmont, and others. She had acted as she had in order to keep the money safely, and the money did not belong to the King as was proved by the bills of lading and confessions of the merchants and mariners. She spoke also about the letters she had sent and the treatment of her ambassador in Spain, respecting which point Gresham said he had replied in accord with what he had heard me say, namely, that the Queen was satisfied about the King's treatment of her ambassador. She replied that she had not been spoken to about it, much less satisfied.

Finally she said that, if I had any commission from the King or anything else to say to her, except in the name of the Duke, she would willingly hear me.

Gresham told me all this in the presence of my host, adding that he had been talking with the Queen for an hour on these matters, and she wanted nothing but peace with the King; but if anyone wished to make war on her, they would find her ready; which she enjoined Gresham to tell me. I asked him whether he had anything more to say to me, to which he replied that I had better think over what he had told me, as it was late, and he would come to-morrow for the answer. On the last day of February Gresham returned, and I told him that I was much surprised that the Queen should still remain under the impression that I had not come from the King, as I came on his business, from his country, for his money, and on account of his subjects; that I was one of his Majesty's councillors and bore a commission from his Lieutenant-General in the King's absence, in the ordinary form employed on both sides in matters touching the Netherlands.

As regards the ill-will which she says the Duke bears her, and the other things she alleges, I replied that these were some false tales

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told her by the enemies of peace, and of my King and the Duke. I should like to know who were the partitioners of her kingdom, indeed, it was necessary that I should know, as I was to convey it to the Duke. I begged her to be undeceived, and assured her that, if I had spoken to her I would have convinced her that the Duke had not ordered the arrests without good reason, as the King's money, of which he was in such great need, was being detained. I said that, even if I had come on another errand, an audience ought not to have been denied me, and she was doing herself great injury by proceeding in this way.

I was glad, I said, to hear of the friendly feeling she had towards the King, and was sure nobody deserved it better than he; but I should like to remind her of what she had told me to convey to his Majesty on former occasions, and to which I did not wish to refer more definitely as it was not meet that everyone should know it.

As regards her late ambassador in Spain, I could only say that the Spanish ambassador had told me, only the day before yesterday, that he had renewed the explanations which he had presented to the Queen and she had appeared satisfied, as I am sure she would be if she would hear me. As regards the audience, I said it was evident the Queen saw that if I could not speak by virtue of my commission I could not speak without it. In answer to the next point I said yes, I had something else to say, but as that which came first in order on my instructions had been refused, it would be in vain for me to address her on other points.

Notwithstanding this, I begged Gresham, on my own behalf, to say to the Queen that it was a poor proof of her friendship for the King, especially in the present state of his affairs, to keep the money which he wanted to pay to his troops.

I added that I understood that in addition to the seizures made by the Queen's ships of our vessels which approached or entered her ports, our men, after having been plundered, were maltreated or arrested, which were acts of hostility and not merely of detention. Personally, I humbly thanked her for her good opinion of me, and Gresham promised to convey all I said to the Queen, adding that she herself desired peace, but that the nobles and the people wished for war with the Spaniards. The English had a good and populous country, with money, victuals, and munitions, besides which the riches of the Netherlands were, so to speak, at their doors, and they could draw 500,000 ducats from Hamburg in a week, and if the Queen liked to borrow from her merchants at 12 per cent. interest, she could have at once a million sterling. They (the English) had in former times captured part of France and Spain, and had fought some great wars, and, as the Duke had fought France, Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands, he had better try his hand now against the English.

I did not care to reply a word to all this extravagant bombast, excepting only to ask whether they were desirous of war, to which he replied no, and that war would cause differences here for which they would be sorry.

On the 1st of March Gresham came again to say that he had had another interview with the Queen, and, when he had asked

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her if she knew who were the Spanish officers who had discussed the partition of her realm, in order that they might be properly dealt with, she answered him that she was a woman, and had been told so. I said that he had also told me that she did not wish for war with her brother the King, and would never commence it, but that if she were forced to it she had means to defend herself.

Gresham replied to this that the Queen could muster 50,000 men immediately, that she had money, and that she was better supplied with men-at-arms, artillery, war vessels, munitions, victuals, and warlike stores, than any three of the other European sovereigns together. Notwithstanding this, however, she did not seek war, but was quite resolved to have nothing to do with the duke of Alba, since he had slighted her so, although all consideration would be shown to anyone who came with a power from his Majesty.

Referring to my statement that I had heard that the Queen's ships forcibly made (Spanish ships) which they met at sea enter her ports, she said she had not heard that this was done and she would not allow it. He (Gresham) handed me my passport, and said the Queen had heard that I had caused certain Englishmen to be imprisoned at Dunkirk, from which I exonerated myself, and said that a very false statement of the matter had been made to her. I begged her to tell me the author of the falsehood that I might make him retract it, and I urged Gresham to convey this to the Queen, which he promised to do.

He then said that the Queen had instructed him to say that she heard that the ordinary ambassador had written to the Duke that Benedict Spinola had informed her that this money did not belong to the King but to Genoese merchants, and she assured me, on her word of honour, that Spinola had said nothing of the kind. He was, on the contrary, entirely innocent, which I could make known in the Netherlands, especially as she was willing for Spinola in persom to come and clear himself to me, and that Luis Lopez de la Sierra would inform me how she had learnt it, which was through certain notes being found in the boxes naming the merchants to whom the money belonged. In conformity with this, Spinola came to me together with many other Spaniards and Italians, amongst whom was Sierra, and, in the presence of Gresham, made a long speech in his justification, all of which I said I would report. He (Spinola) told me apart that he still had in his possession the passport granted by the Queen for the transport of the money to Flanders, which he said would greatly exonerate the ambassador. Gresham concluded the interview by urging me to use my good offices to preserve peace. I said I was not in the habit of using bad offices, but I did not know how the King would take the detention of his money at such a critical time as this, and the different treatment extended to his lieutenant-general and ambassador from that formerly employed towards them. He replied that the Queen had said that she could not act otherwise, as they had not paid any more respect to her, and the Duke had so gravely slighted her Majesty.

On the 2nd of March Gresham came again to repeat the same

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thing, namely, that the Queen desired peace, and would not fail on her part to maintain it. He also said that the Queen had been badly informed about me, and that it was not I, but someone else who had had her people imprisoned at Dunkirk.

La Sierra and others informed me of the amount of money seized, and I had a note delivered to him (Gresham ?) setting forth that the total sum exceeded 300,000 crowns.

I was informed that there were 150 Spaniards, Biscayners, and others in Bridewell prison, whose ships had been taken from them, and who were living on charity, and that an apostate Spanish heretic came there every day and preached to them for the purpose of leading them astray, which was a barbarous, exhorbitant, and intolerable thing. I therefore addressed a request to the mayor of London, who has charge of the prison, that he would have the matter remedied, as otherwise I should have to complain to the Queen.

The next day the Mayor sent me word that he had summoned the said Spanish preacher before him, and was assured by him that he had done nothing but distribute alms amongst these prisoners, and say the "Paternoster" in Spanish. Since, however, I objected, the Mayor had forbidden him to go to the prison again, although the consequence would be that the prisoners would suffer more privation than before. I said that did not matter, and that the Queen, who was keeping them there, would not let them die of hunger, but would treat them as subjects of his Majesty should be treated. I let the prisoners know this, whereat they were greatly rejoiced.

The next morning the principal gentleman of the French ambassador came to say good-bye, and to express the ambassador's sorrow that he could not come himself, as he had not permission to do so.

I left London on 5th March, escorted by Gresham and William Alderson.

10 March. **87.** The Duke of Alba to the King.
[Extract.]

Since my last I have received the enclosed letters from Don Guerau and D'Assonleville, by which your Majesty will learn all that is passing. I think this business is getting more serious than at first was believed, as I notice that the Queen has been complaining lately of the alleged bad treatment of her ambassador, and those who are disposed to forward such movements have gained her ear by this means. I am awaiting D'Assonleville, and, when he arrives, I will make myself acquainted with his action in England in order to send a statement to your Majesty, as I think that, saving better information, your Majesty should act in conformity with that which we write to you from here. In the meanwhile I think it will be well to tell your Majesty what my own tendency is, so far. I do not know whether an open rupture with England at the present time will be advantageous, considering the state of the treasury, and these States being so exhausted with the war and late disturbances, and so

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bereft of ships and many other things necessary for a fresh war, and it would certainly be a grave loss of dignity, with your Majesty's power, to again return to the old negotiations. All things considered, I think it would be best to adopt a gentle course, writing to the Queen that, seeing the close friendship and alliance that have so long existed between the countries, particularly between her father and the Emperor, and your brotherly affection for her, even though she should desire to quarrel, you will not consent to do so, and that it shall never be said that the knot that binds you together has been loosened. She should be asked to say in what way she considers herself aggrieved, and your Majesty will be ready to give her every satisfaction in consideration of your tender love for her, and will not pursue towards her the same course that you would pursue with any other prince under similar circumstances. I thought well to set this forth to your Majesty in case she should send anyone to you before the definite opinion is forwarded to you from here, and you can thus go on temporising, and can, afterwards, adopt the course you think best. There will be means for fully satisfying your Majesty by-and-bye if your desire it. I much fear that the Italian who is writing to Don Guerau about that affair is deceiving him, and that he is suborned to tempt him in this and other things, he being a new man.*—Brussels, 10th March 1569.

12 March. **88.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

By many letters I have advised your Majesty that this Queen, on the 19th December last, siezed the money in Lope de la Sierra's ship in Southampton, notwithstanding her repeated promise, and her passport and letters already granted for its safe despatch. I advised the duke of Alba, and tried to gain audience of the Queen, in order to signify to her the injury she was doing. I found her very hard and harsh, full of falsehood and fictions to avoid returning the money, and I understood at once that her intention, and that of many of her Council, was to retain it, thinking thereby to inconvenience the duke of Alba and, by this means and others, to give succour to the French and Flemish rebels. Your Majesty will have heard how the Duke also placed a general embargo on English property, of which I received news here on the 3rd January by a courier who came over with four others, despatched by Englishmen and others there. They quite expected here that the Duke would do this, for, before the news arrived, they had taken all the ships belonging to your Majesty's subjects in the west country and had landed the whole of their sails and rigging. In Southampton they told Lope de la Sierra that the pirates would certainly attack him in port and that they were in league with the captains of the (Queen's?) ships. By this means they got him to discharge the greater part of his cargo of wool and afterwards arrested him. They then seized all the letters I wrote to your Majesty, to the duke of Alba, and to Don Francés de Alava, and, on my sending to request secretary Cecil to return them, he began to abuse the duke of Alba as if it

* Rodolfo Ridolfi.

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was his business to punish him, and threatened me greatly. His threats were not entirely in vain for, on the 8th January, he and the Admiral arrested me in this house with great insolence, sending away all my English servants excepting one, and putting me under strict guard. They divided the guard into four parties, for whom they made three wooden houses in the garden, and posted the fourth detachment in the lodge at the principal gate. At the river gate they stationed two armed boats with many harquebussiers and archers, and left three gentlemen with a large suite in the house. They took one of my servants to the Chancellor's house, and, under threats of torture, made him give information about a courier who had already left, and the road he had taken, which courier they at once brought back and siezed the letters. Cecil used very harsh words against your Majesty, signifying that this insult to me was partly in payment of what their ambassador had to endure in Spain. This severity with me lasted many days, during which the duke of Alba sent Dr. D'Assonleville hither. They placed guards over him when he got to Rochester, and detained him here in this manner for a long time, without allowing him to communicate with me, feigning many reasons, all false, which the Queen had for being offended with the Duke. Neither the Duke, nor any other minister of your Majesty, has ever done her any dis-service or disrespect, not even complaining of what we and all persons know she has done to injure your Majesty's States, but it is the fear and remorse of a bad conscience which make her uneasy. They afterwards told D'Assonleville that he could see me, but must not speak with the Queen, either in my presence or otherwise, on any account. They said if he had anything to say he must communicate with the Council, and both D'Assonleville and myself thought best that the Duke should be consulted. When his reply was received, D'Assonleville insisted on his request for audience and the Queen in her refusal. The Duke wrote that if the Queen would give him, D'Assonleville, audience, there was no great objection to his telling any members of the Council, sent for the purpose by her, what was the substance of his instructions, and D'Assonleville, tired out, did so. The next day a decided reply came from the Queen, by the marquis of Northampton and Cecil, saying that the Queen would return this money to your Majesty, but not through the duke of Alba, but that first all the points left open at Bruges, and others pending here and in the Netherlands, should be settled, and your Majesty should confirm all treaties now existing; and further, that satisfaction should be given mutually for the treatment extended to both ambassadors. There are other things that D'Assonleville will write about fully to your Majesty, all of which I believe are so many falsehoods to gain time and see how German affairs turn out for them. M. de Bourdeille has come hither, paid by Condé and the admiral of France to effect an offensive and defensive league between this Queen and themselves and with certain princes of Germany, and they seem very much set on this with the cardinal Chatillon, whom they have lodged in a house in the garden of the palace. When D'Assonleville received his reply they offered him his passports, and those who were to

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accompany him were in such a hurry to get him gone that, although he had orders from the Duke not to leave and had sent, with my approval, a courier to inform his Excellency of the reply given to him, saying that he ought not to remain here longer in the interests of the business, he was obliged to travel slowly to Dover, where he hoped to meet the courier, whose return had been expected for some time. This courier had been sent in the name of the French ambassador. In the meanwhile they are busy here in persecuting the Catholics, and all those who have attended mass or who are suspected of it. They put them in prison, and have lately issued a harsh decree against those who may introduce Catholic books into England. They have also ordered that vacant lands are to be cultivated, and have placed heavy burdens upon the towns to see whether the people who were occupied in the wool industry can be thereby diverted to agriculture. They have forbidden, under heavy fines, trade with your Majesty's dominions, and are preparing a fleet to send to Hamburg with large cargoes of cloth, of which the Duke has been advised. Chance has brought them so many vessels on their way from Spain that they are made more obstinate than ever, and most of the other vessels passing off the coast on their way to Flanders have been pursued by armed ships of the Vice-Admiral, and have been forcibly brought into the ports and detained. Others have been obliged to take shelter in Plymouth to escape pirates that assailed them; others, again, have been taken into and robbed in Rochelle. In this way there are in this country, belonging to subjects of your Majesty, 25 or 26 very valuable sloops, of which the Vice Admiral and other officers have plundered most, and the pirates themselves have boldly entered the ships lying in the ports and stolen great quantities of property, as even M. de Bourdeille did as soon as he arrived. On the 16th ultimo 91 boxes of money were brought hither from the west and put in the Tower, Hawkins accompanying them with four or five boxes of gold brought from the Indies. During his voyage he has lost at the rate of 50 per cent., besides the loss of his sailors, not 15 persons having survived. They said that he had left in Florida some of his men, but they tell me now that he left them in Panuco. I have already written to your Majesty how the French and English pirates, together and separately, have sallied forth from the ports of the west to plunder the vessels of your Majesty's subjects, and have brought them into the ports, selling and distributing their booty as they pleased without any measures being taken to prevent it. Indeed, many of the Council receive great presents from the pirates. This Queen thinks that your Majesty should send some person here to treat with her, without considering how badly she and her people have behaved; but, really, considering the way things are going on here, it will not be conducive to your Majesty's dignity to send anyone, but rather to punish these people in a way which shall make them realize their offence. It is disgusting to hear Cecil talk about his Queen being a monarch, and that no other Christian prince is a monarch but she. I have even heard that they are going to publish a decree ordering every person to take an oath of allegiance to this effect, which will

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mean a butchery of Catholics if God in His mercy does not prevent it. They do not treat the Flemings on board the vessels very badly, but they have treated the Spaniards worse than the Turks would do, taking from them everything they had on board the ships, and they even kept them for days without food. The Spaniards came hither, but they were not allowed to approach my door for a long time, although secretly many contrived to enter the house. and I provided for the others as best I could. They have put 200 of them in Bridewell, and have had a Spanish heretic minister to preach to them, which has been extremely difficult to prevent. They have now somewhat lightened my guard, and, although by means of the French ambassador, D'Assonleville, and the gentlemen who guard me, I have endeavoured to get the Queen to hear me, she has replied that it is not fitting that she should do so until she receives a reply from Spain. They have ordered that all persons here should have their arms ready for a general muster, which is being obeyed, especially by the Catholics. The other people, although heretics, are most unwilling to enter into this war, for they know their weakness. The duke of Norfolk and the earl of Arundel have been in close communication with me through a trustworthy person during all this, and they write that they well know the offence committed by this Queen and Council against your Majesty, but that hitherto everything has been over-ridden by Cecil and they have not dared to resist him, or even to point out to the Queen his bad government, until they have felt their way with the other nobles and with the people. They have now done this and have many sure pledges. They say they will cause this money and all the goods to be returned, and will change the Government in such a way that there shall be no more pirates in this country who will offend your Majesty's subjects. They will respect all alliances and treaties, and will even restore here the Catholic religion. They only ask that your Majesty should stand firm in the stoppage of trade, as well as the king of France, so that the English shall have no commerce with either country. The people are already beginning to murmur, and these gentlemen will find means to raise them and punish the evil doers. To add strength to the enterprise, they sent me the draft of a proclamation for me to forward to the duke of Alba for publication. It contains a statement of the motives which they desire the public to know, which are similar to what I have already written about the tyranny of some members of the Government, of the non-fulfilment of the passport given, of the favour shown to pirates and the support given to rebels. I have sent it to the duke of Alba, and assured him of the goodwill of these gentlemen and their power here. They wish the affair to be conducted very secretly for the present, for the Queen and Cecil are suspicious, even of the birds of the air. They have put Thomas Cobham and many other gentlemen in the Tower for a simple word in favour of the duke (of Alba). These gentlemen desire that the Duke should sieze the ships which are being loaded for Hamburg, which will carry 20,000 pieces of cloth, and detain them on the same grounds as those alleged for the detention of the sloops here. This would be of such great interest

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to the merchants and people of London that, immediately on the news becoming known, these gentlemen would begin their movement. I have written all this to the Duke, so that he may in his discretion decide what is best for your Majesty's service, and I have also written to your Majesty a letter, of which this is the copy, by the sailor who offered to take it in a boat starting from the extreme point of this island for Spain. I also advised how Mildmay, one of the Council, summoned Francisco Diaz, who came with the money sloops from Spain, and, after much beating about the bush, asked him at what season of the year the fleet from the Indies usually came, and what ships came with it as a convoy. He also asked him about the riches of the Rio de la Plata, and if the country was populated yet by Spaniards, and many other questions about the gold and silver mines there. From this it may be believed that they intend to attack the fleet when it comes, because, besides the ships which they are loading for Hamburg, they are fitting out the ships in the west, and have sent captains to raise troops, which they say, however, are for Rochelle. They have moved the queen of Scotland to Tutbury and keep her very close, so much so that the guards are placed on the roads for three miles round. The bishop of Ross is kept similarly elsewhere. I wrote to your Majesty that the queen of Scotland had signified to me that she would find means to have her son delivered to your Majesty to be brought up in your Court in the true religion with every virtue and accomplishment, and she wishes to know if your Majesty will favour her in this way. She also begs you, as a magnanimous prince, to consider her in her trouble. The duke of Chatelherault, since he has been in Scotland, has grown more powerful than the regent James, who is already asking for aid from here. I also sent to your Majesty the message that the queen of Scotland had conveyed to my servant, who was sent to her at her request whilst she was at Bolton, to the effect that Cecil's servant (Alleyn?), who was in the habit of inspecting the guard occasionally, was consoling Vice-Chamberlain Knollys and Captain Reid who guarded the Queen, for the victories of the duke of Alba in Flanders, and told them that, though your Majesty was destroying their religion, they might rest easy, as an arrangement had been made, through his master (Cecil), with some natives of the Netherlands, who would soon give poison to your Majesty, which God forbid. As this was known by me only a few days before I was arrested the plan formed for discovering the details of this business could not be carried out fully, especially as the bishop of Ross is in his present strait.—London, 12th March 1569.

19 March. **89.** DOCUMENT HEADED: Clauses of His Majesty's Letter of 19th March.

B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. III. Original.

Encloses an edict that he has published allowing the introduction of breadstuffs into Biscay and Asturias, in consequence of the short harvest. The ambassador is to show this to the Queen, and to beg her, in conformity with their mutual friendship, to allow wheat, &c., to be brought to Spain from England by the inhabitants of either country in accordance with the conditions set forth in the said edict. If her permission be free and unlimited, he would

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prefer it; but, if not, the ambassador is to get a license for the largest quantity possible.—Madrid, 19th March 1569.*

2 April. **90.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

I have given advice of all that has happened here as best I could, writing mostly by way of the Captain of Calais without any superscripture or other due form, so that the letters which I sent to the duke of Alba might be forwarded to your Majesty. An Asturian sailor, also, called Pedro de Rugala, who had his boat at the extreme point of England, offered to take a despatch which I gave him on the 12th ultimo. In future, I shall not be able to write so much, in consequence of the strict orders given to prevent any letters leaving the country, unless they pass through Cecil's hands. The impudence of these people has reached such a pitch that the Queen's ships publicly attacked a flotilla of sloops on their way from Spain three days ago and captured seven of them, which they took into the port of Hull. These people are well prepared, although they are downcast at the news of Condé's rout.† I have already advised how the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Arundel wish to serve your Majesty. They have many friends and adherents in this country, and, when they hear that your Majesty will accept their goodwill, they will declare themselves more openly at a convenient opportunity. The duke of Alba, on due consideration, has written, ordering me to entertain and caress them on your Majesty's behalf, and said he expected shortly your Majesty's own decision as to what was to be done. Secretary Cecil pretends to be ill, so that the Councils are held in his house. He and five or six others are getting very rich with robbery of your Majesty's subjects, and they think that, even though no war may break out, they will still be able to keep what they have stolen. They capture all the boats loaded with wine and salt they come across, and say that they will pay for them but never do so. On the 28th ultimo, the Queen ordered a muster of her pensioners and their servants, who turned out to the number of 200 horse, not very good. The muster was in the park of the palace, and the Queen was present with Cardinal Chatillon and the earl of Leicester. She was very free and joked much with everybody. The other musters of infantry have been postponed, and they have suspended the preparations on the fleet which they were fitting out for Rochelle. Captain William Rivers‡(Winter?) is to go in command. The ships for Hamburg are already loaded, and, on the return of a pink which they have sent thither, they say they will sail with four of the Queen's ships in their company, as well as two Venetian vessels which are fitting out in Norwich. There are three Easterlings who they say they are going to fit out four more, but they have great lack of sailors. Captain Jones, with four ships of the fleet, it is said, will sail shortly for the Azores. Hawkins is reported to have brought back twenty-eight thousand dollars in

* The letter of which this appears to be an extract is referred to on page 23 and was doubtless written in 1568 and not 1569.

† The disastrous battle of Jarnac, 13th March 1569.

‡ Guillermo de Rivas.

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gold, and a box of pearls. Some silver was also brought in a ship of his which was thought to be lost, but which has arrived in Ireland and has on board, as a prisoner, a gentleman of Alava called Don Juan de Mendoza, son of Señor de Mariota y Mendoza. He was in one of the islands of the Indies, and, out of friendship for the English, had them supplied with water and victuals. Going on board one of their ships, they sailed away with him in payment for his simplicity. He is now in Ireland and thinks Hawkins will liberate him, in which I believe he is mistaken, as they are guarding the prisoners here very closely, besides which, many of the Spaniards are very badly treated and kept in chains. The money from Southampton was brought here on the 26th ultimo, and has been weighed and put up like the rest without any discharge yet having been given to those who brought it. They showed Lope de la Sierra everything in the Tower, but he saw nothing of the money they had brought from the west. It is therefore suspected that they have melted all or part of it, as they are coining money with frantic haste, which is unusual with them. The Secretary of Lord James has arrived here, and the Councillors now publicly state that James and the duke of Chatelherault have agreed that the former shall remain at the head of the Government and the latter be declared the successor of the prince. The Parliament is to be called together for this purpose. I doubt the truth of this, because not a day passes without some new tale being made up to comfort the people; just as, recently, they cried up the rising of the Moriscos of Granada, as if it were some great thing. This Cardinal Chatillon goes so far as to say now, that if the news of Condé's death be true, which they do not yet believe, he will go to sea as captain of all the corsairs, although if the intention of his doing so is to commit more robberies, I do not see how that is possible. Many Catholics write letters secretly to me saying that the moment they see your Majesty's standards raised in this country they will all rise to serve you, and it is certain that if your Majesty commands measures to be taken for the conversion of the kingdom and the punishment of these insolent heretics and barefaced thieves, I do not think it will be difficult to bring them to subjection, or, at least, to change the Government and religion. If, on the other hand, the matter is passed over, in addition to other great evils, Flanders will be in continual unrest. Your Majesty will have it all considered and will decide for the best. I am still in durance but not so horribly closely kept as before. It looks as if they were trying to make it up with me somewhat, but as regards any principal points, I will do nothing until I receive orders from your Majesty or the Duke. In the meanwhile, I am sending complaints of the assaults and robberies, although I do not hear of all of them. Some of these people are under the impression that they will get great concessions from your Majesty, and amongst others, that, if the English are friendly, they will be exempt from the power of the Inquisition whilst in your Majesty's dominions. As soon as these gentlemen who guard me *come with their hints of this, I tell them that in your Majesty's dominions a heretic, whoever he may be, will be punished,*

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and they need not think that we change our religion there as they do here.—London, 2nd April 1569.

Postscript:—I have heard that Peter Wolschart, the agent of the King of Poland in Madrid for a long time past, reports to a brother or kinsman of his, who came hither with John Man and remains here, all that passes. As they correspond in Polish, their secrets are very safe. He is a well-known man.*

They have raised the embargo from the goods of all Flemings here who have declared themselves of the Anglican faith; I mean the merchants who were here at the time of the Queen's proclamation. Many of them have therefore joined the Church and go to the meetings of the Flemish refugees, who have separate ministers, as have also the French refugees. There is one minister here, the son of a Spaniard, born in Holland, who was a friar in Spain and fled from the Inquisition, against which he has written a blasphemous book which is current here in three modern languages. He afterwards went into Bridewell to preach to the Biscayners, although some of them told him that he had better go to Calahorra† to preach such stuff as that. He gave them a "Christian doctrine" in Spanish, composed, it is stated on it, by Dr. Juan Perez. It is printed here, although it bears the imprint of Venice and is very artfully written to conceal the heresy. I am told that many copies of these books have been sent to Seville.‡ I have had him (the minister) brought away from Bridewell by main force. He preached that he disapproved of the robberies that were being committed, and Cecil has ordered him not to preach again without a fresh license, saying that he had been informed that he was an Arryan. Robert Etienne's§ little book in French is also current here, printed at Antwerp in the year '67. It is terribly blasphemous against the holy sacrament and all the articles of the Catholic faith, with a curious device of writing certain discourses about Herodotus.

The other night some heretics handed it in at my door and it was presented to me. I at once had it burnt, and it would be well to have it served in the same way in Flanders and wherever else it may be found. I have just been informed that in agreement with the Queen, Cardinal Chatillon has requested to be allowed to go with the fleet to Rochelle, where he would help her against the common enemy. The Queen answered that she could not allow him to go against the King her brother. They at once let the French Ambassador know of this, and they think they can deceive both sides with such tricks as these.—London, 2nd April 1569.

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* In the King's handwriting: "I do not know whether it is the man who left the other day."

† In some parts of Spain the grating whence bread was distributed to starving people in times of famine was called by the cant name of Calahorra (which is also the name of a town), and, as any doctrine might be made acceptable when accompanied by bread, it became a common expression to say that such a thing must be told in Calahorra to be believed, as one might say "Tell it to the marines."

‡ In the King's handwriting: "Take notice. Let the Cardinal know immediately on his arrival."

§ Robert Etienne was printer to the King of France and sent a copy of his book to Queen Elizabeth by Norris, her ambassador, in August 1569, when he was expelled his country for his religious opinions.

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2 April. **91.** The DUKE of ALBA to the KING.

French. My letters of the 11th, and enclosures will have informed your Majesty of the state of affairs in England and the issue of Councillor D'Assonleville's mission, which was that the Queen had finally declared that, for the present, she would not grant or refuse the restitution of the money which she had arrested until the questions pending between your Majesty and her, in Spain and elsewhere, have been considered and arranged. She was determined that this should only be done with envoys bearing your Majesty's power, and refused audience to D'Assonleville. I thereupon instructed D'Assonleville to report to me in cypher the circumstances and manner in which everything had occurred, in order the better to understand the Queen's designs and enable us to consider maturely the whole matter, and advise your Majesty, The roads both ways being, however, so insecure, D'Assonleville had left before my letters arrived. He gave me verbally an account of his reasons for leaving and made a statement to the Council here, which he afterwards handed me in writing and which I now enclose.

We have commenced the discussion of the whole matter in order to grasp it thoroughly, but as we have received news of Condé's defeat, which appears very important, we defer the decision of the English business until we learn whether it is true or not.—Brussels, 2nd April 1569.

4 April. **92.** The DUKE OF ALBA to the KING.

[EXTRACT.]

As regards English affairs, I beg your Majesty will read the despatch in French, D'Assonleville's report, and the decision arrived at by the Council and myself. It is all as full as I can make it, and notwithstanding what Don Guerau writes, I am not yet convinced that they are not deceiving him. I thank your Majesty very humbly for the confidence you place in me, and whenever I see that an opportunity of serving you may be missed by waiting to consult you, I will presume to act as you order. I will not otherwise dare to break with anybody, as I fully recognize that your Majesty's confidence in me is greater than my parts deserve, and I will not trust arrogantly to my own judgment. I have thought well not to send to Don Guerau the statement of what passed between Don Martin Enriquez and Captain Hawkins until they broach the subject in England.—Brussels, 4th April 1569.

Note in the handwriting of the King: "Tiznach has sent me a "packet, which is no doubt this, but I have not been able to open it "yet."

23 April. **93.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

On the 14th instant I wrote your Majesty a long letter by way of Flanders, with a copy of a letter from the queen of Scotland, and of the agreement which is under discussion between the people of her country. I also send note of the ships which up to that date had been detained in this country, and the correspondence between the Council and myself respecting the robbery and piracies committed by the Queen's own ships. In order not to make this letter too bulky, I am not sending any further statement herewith. I have informed your Majesty that I had sent a letter to the queen

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of Scotland and I am still awaiting the reply. It is impossible to treat with this queen of England for the present, since the duke of Alba has forbidden trade with this country and given license to carry arms. The Queen at once obtained a copy of the duke's placard and Cecil wished to reply to it by another, which, I am told, was drawn up in very arrogant terms. In answer to the duke's assertion that the Queen's proceedings were against the will of the greater part of the nobles, Cecil wished to make not only the Councillors but all the principal people in the country sign approval of them. The duke of Norfolk and earl of Brauges* (Arundel ?) refused to go to the Council, although many embassies were sent to them from Cecil. In the end, however, the Queen is satisfied with leaving the placard unanswered. The duke and the earl say that, in a very short time, they will make the Queen do as she ought to do, and will change the Government, restoring the property that has been stolen. It will certainly not be difficult for them, seeing how unpopular the present Government is; but as they act in the usual cautious English fashion with one another, they will not declare themselves frankly, and the affair drags more slowly than it would elsewhere. They (Norfolk and Arundel) have sent to me to day asking me to send to the Council by a special messenger when the duke is there all the points proposed to me by Bernard Hampton on the 19th, and to which I gave him my answer at the time, as the Duke knows nothing of Bernard Hampton's coming, and it was all managed by Cecil, Leicester, and the Admiral. I will do this, as a means by which they may begin to fall out amongst themselves. All the replies that Bernard Hampton gave me were illusory. He said that all the goods detained were well guarded, which is untrue, that the 13 sloops brought into the port of Plymouth by the new ship were not brought in by order of the Queen, although her standard was flown. The five sloops that were handed over to the French, also, he said, had not been delivered by her order. He wished to make out that the queen of England was sovereign of the sea with supreme dominion, and I told him that this element was a very inconstant one for the Queen to wish to rule over. I also justified the proceedings of the duke of Alba, and smoothed over John Man's affair which they only use now as an excuse for my detention. I also touched upon their complaints respecting the action of the Inquisition in Spain towards Englishmen, and gave him a general answer on all points, in the presence of Captain William Winter, and he did not dare to give me a written reply in order to prevent me from retorting in like manner. As, however, the Duke and the Earl wish me to present these matters point by point in writing, I will do so, and will send copy of my statement to your Majesty. The Hamburg fleet will be ready to sail in four or five days, well fitted and valuable, as your Majesty will see by the memorial I send. To take this fleet would be to take all England, and even the detention of it would be giving a grand spur to the action that these gentlemen here wish to take in your Majesty's service. News has been received here that Holland is arming, and, if the fleet is ready and strong, the departure of the

* In the King's handwriting: "He must mean Arundel."

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Hamburg ships may perhaps be stayed. They have pilots from Hamburg here already. The French ambassador has promised Roberto Ridolfi that the king of France will issue a similar placard to that of the duke. I think, certainly, that if the Queen does not change her government voluntarily, there will be a rising here within a month, especially if any ill should befall these fleets for Hamburg or Rochelle, or if these people were distressed by our taking their ships as they do those of others. If any disturbance arises here, either by the action of these gentlemen or otherwise, the government can be overthrown, and if the matter is taken up vigorously the country may be mastered, or, at least, may be brought to what is desired. The Queen is abandoned by many, and hardly anyone really likes her. The Council only looks after its private ends. She is so poor that these gentlemen tell me that she had not 30,000 ducats before these seizures. Alleyn (?), a servant of Cecil, who, although he is not a Catholic, sometimes gives me private information, says that even if they do not keep this money, they wish to help the arming of the French and Flemish rebels, and have adopted the device of arming the followers of Cardinal Chatillon and the prince of Condé, together with those of three or four Englishmen, sometimes bearing the Queen's standard and sometimes that of Condé. With these they will plunder all the ships that come to this country, and they had already taken more than 200,000 ducats before these detentions began, nearly all from subjects of your Majesty. On the top of this came the windfall of the money, and Benedict Spinola tells me that the reason Cecil gave for taking it was that the Queen had no credit in Antwerp or Frankfort to enable her to aid her friends. They thought that affairs in Flanders would not go so well for us as they have done, and that your Majesty would dissemble with them and let them enjoy the money on their promising simply to pay interest. They imagine, no doubt, also, that these robberies would be treated as those of seven or eight years ago were treated, for which they have never yet been called to account. The rigorous action of the Duke in embargoing all their goods in Flanders has grieved them much, as they had expected, for the reasons I have mentioned, that things would have been allowed to drift without an open rupture, and that they might, with their usual deceptions, continue to help the rebels. With regard to the other points upon which your Majesty instructs me, especially as to Montague's brother-in-law and the caution necessary for similar negotiations with him or others, I will take great care, and must leave for my next letter further news, as the Hamburg fleet is now leaving.—London, 23rd April 1569.

94. Copy of a Memorial given to His Majesty respecting English Affairs by Merchants interested.—Madrid, 28th April 1569.

Your Majesty already knows that the queen of England has ordered the seizure in her ports of a large number of vessels on their voyage from Spain to Flanders, and *vice versâ*. By our advices we learn that they number already over 70, with great sums of money which were sent from here with your Majesty's

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license for Flanders to pay your Majesty's obligations there. The value of the property so detained, including money and goods, exceeds three million and a half in gold, and although it has not hitherto been confiscated, the delay that has taken place already makes us fear that it may be regarded as lost unless your Majesty promptly orders measures to be adopted for its recovery, inasmuch as we know that much of the merchandise is being sold and dispersed, and we fear that the same may be done with the money. The queen of England has declared that she will not treat with the duke of Alba on this matter nor with your Majesty's ambassador, for certain reasons which, although insufficient, influence her, and which will cause the business to go from bad to worse daily to the great loss and injury of your Majesty and your subjects unless redress be promptly provided. We therefore briefly set forth certain things that we consider might be done to remedy matters, for your Majesty's consideration and decision, in the hope that your Majesty will be pleased to approve of them. First, we would suggest that your Majesty should be pleased at once to send a member of your council of the treasury, of experience in affairs, to make some agreement with regard to the goods that have been sold and dispersed in England, and also with regard to the money, in case the Queen should not consent at once to restore it all.

Inasmuch as the sum taken is a very large one, every month of delay means a heavy loss for your Majesty's subjects and your royal treasury also. This is particularly so as regards the marine duties and customs dues on wool, which have all ceased in consequence of the stoppage of maritime trade, caused by the obstacles to navigation. It is certain that if your Majesty's subjects in Spain and the States, and others that have served you, lose this great sum of money, commerce would be nearly suspended, and many would be totally ruined and undone. Even though it be not lost but subsequently returned, the fact of its having been so long detained under embargo, will cause great loss of credit and suspension of payments; besides which it will be almost impossible to provide money in Flanders for want of means of transit, and inasmuch as credit will be disturbed, it will not be possible to raise funds otherwise. The loss and damage to your Majesty's subjects and others that will be caused thereby cannot be exaggerated; especially to those who have undertaken obligations in Flanders to provide money and who are not only prevented from entering into fresh commitments, but cannot fulfil their present undertakings. For this reason we presume humbly to beg your Majesty most urgently to promptly order measures to be taken for our redress, since every month of detention means a loss of over 300,000 ducats to your Majesty's subjects and other servants, except a very small portion belonging to the Portuguese, there being no other business at the present moment so important as this to your Majesty's interests and those of your subjects and vassals.

9 May. **95.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING

I wrote to your Majesty on the 23rd ultimo, and you will have heard since from the duke of Alba that the Hamburg fleet left here

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and has been forced by contrary winds into Harwich. Seven of the Queen's ships were prepared to accompany it, but it seems that only four of them went, as the other three were short-handed and it is believed they will remain to guard the coast. This fleet carries great cargoes of cloth, woollens and kerseys. An embassy has arrived from the town of Embden complaining that this trade was not continued with them as had been agreed, or, at least, that four ships with cloth have not been sent every year. But the fleet will nevertheless go to Hamburg where Cecil and the lord keeper his brother-in-law have many connections. It is notorious that they send much of their money thither, thinking to keep it in safety there. The other fleet for Rochelle, it seems, will bring back wines and salt. It sailed from the Isle of Wight on the 2nd inst., and the Queen told the French ambassador she could not avoid its going, as an agreement had been made with certain merchants in Rochelle. They promised the ambassador that, in the treaty for restitution, both parties shall be represented, and they have proclaimed that all persons claiming that the French have robbed them are to give information to the admiral. In the meanwhile they are watching the progress made by the army of the duke of Deuxponts. In the new ship which took the five sloops from Plymouth to Rochelle have returned many rebel Frenchmen, the Vidame de Chartres and his wife, M. de Saint-Simon and others, who have brought letters from the queen of Navarre, as they call her, for this Queen and Council asking for help. I have written to your Majesty that the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Arundel have sent messages to me on many occasions through Roberto Ridolfi, a Florentine, and John Suygo, a Milanese, who have entrance into my house, expressing their wish to serve your Majesty. They gave me a form of proclamation which they desired that the duke of Alba should publish, thinking that, with this and the restriction of trade, the people would rise, and they might change the Government and restore what had been stolen. The duke of Alba published the proclamation in a good, but slightly different, form from the draft, but they say that the convenient time has not yet arrived when they can do what they wished, because, with this fleet going to Hamburg, Cecil and his friends have made the public believe that the damage done by the suspension of trade with Flanders will be made up. They (*i.e.*, Cecil and his party) also exaggerate greatly the rising of the Moriscos of Granada and other fibs and fictions which they publish every day. They boast of the impossibility of your Majesty making war against them, and enlarge upon the alliances which they have in Germany, and thus the people are kept in suspense. Oil, iron, and spices were beginning to fail them, but in the sloops which they have captured large stocks of these were found, and they are now supplied from this source and with consignments which are always secretly being exported from your Majesty's dominions. Although they (Norfolk and Arundel) distinguished themselves by opposing the insolent answer to the Duke's proclamation which had been drawn up by Cecil, they have not made any move, as they declared they would, towards

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having Cecil arrested, reforming the Council and restoring the stolen property. They say they are hindered by the fact that many of the Council are deeply pledged in the robberies and fear restitution, so that they dare not oppose Cecil. For my part I believe that they have had very little courage, and, in the English way, want things to be so far advanced that, with little trouble and danger, they may gain your Majesty's rewards and favours. They have hitherto done no harm whatever. It is true that for the last two months they have been telling me through these men how much they are spending, and must spend, in the business, and begging me to let them have a sum of money, as the Duke and the Earl are deeply in debt. As Lord Lumley, son-in-law of the one and brother-in-law of the other, is also concerned in it, I do not see any great objection to take their pledge. The duke of Alba, however, replied that it was better not to give them anything until they had done some service, but that I could offer them future remuneration and reward. Their importunity was such that Lumley, thinking perhaps that Suygo had not pressed the matter sufficiently, sent me a note signed with his own hand, saying as follows:—

"Rogo tuum dominationem ut credas istum nostram amicum Juanem Suygo instalibus meis negociis quod traditi tan quam tue ipsum.—LUMLEY."

Suygo dwelt upon the great expenditure that these gentlemen had to keep up, and said that if I would advance them a sum of money, the Duke, the Earl, and Lumley would jointly bind themselves by ordinance to repay it, so that I might be the more secure, and he begged me to send him an answer in my own handwriting. In conformity with the Duke's orders I answered as follows:—

"Illustris Domine, Juani Suygo nomine dominacionis tue fidem habui habeloque etiam ut bonus talium virorum animus catholice magestatis inotescant pro eo que in pendendis offitiis liberaliter satisfiat nulla alia cura restat nisi debiti progressus honeste que conclusiones."

I do not know whether this will satisfy them much, and they now send to say that the Duke and Earl, or one of them, would like to go to Spain, but they had not yet decided. It is true that the Council have delegated to the earl of Arundel the duty of the recovery and preservation of the property stolen and detained from your Majesty's subjects, whilst the duke of Norfolk is to act similarly for French property, and they have therefore sent a message from the Council to me, saying that, if I like to appoint commissioners, the Council will appoint others in order to agree as to the salvage of what remains, and decide what is to be done with that which of necessity must be sold. This is nothing but a trick, because these commissioners, who have hitherto been in charge of the business, returned three days since, and it seems they have discovered both the robberies and the robbers, and say they can now identify all the cargoes and what is missing from them. This latter is a large proportion, and it has been sold and distributed by order of the Council. A difference has arisen between the Council and the commissioners with regard to the sale, in consequence of

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each party wanting to arrange for its own friends to buy. For this reason, I think, the commissioners have really returned. I replied that what I demand is the return of all the properties stolen and detained, at least what was stolen before the Queen's decree and in contravention of it. I wish to see what they will do about new commissioners, and to learn the reason why they do not act upon the report of the others showing what was stolen and who were the robbers. Anything that may be in favour of the merchandise I will accept readily, but there must be no trickery. I believe that it is all contrived in order that the members of the Council who have had part in the robbery may not suffer and may yet look well in the eyes of the people. I will try to learn the objects, but I cannot believe them to be good. The duke of Norfolk told Ridolfi that it was certain the Queen had alliances in Germany against Flanders, and that it was true that Killigrew had ten thousand men ready there. Perhaps he says it to enhance the value of his own services when he renders them. It is true that they have troops ready in Germany, and it is thought that these ships from Hamburg will bring some back with them. It will not be very difficult to punish these people. It will suffice for privateers to be armed for the purpose of stopping trade with Hamburg, Denmark, and Rochelle, and at the same time, keeping watch that no provisions or supplies shall come hither from the continent, for the people themselves to rise, and no acts of the government can prevent them. If your Majesty were to arrange this with the king of France, and chose seriously to attack this island with a good fleet, you would find no resistance, as they have no troops, and they are at issue among themselves, and so much alarmed that they are already crying out that they are ruined because the French have taken four of their ships. The slightest warlike demonstration in Spain would prevent this Hamburg fleet from sailing, and even if it arrived at Hamburg, I do not think it would bring them much profit. In their voyages backwards and forwards much damage might be done to them, and I am told that even in the river itself they might be assailed, of which I have advised the duke of Alba. As Hamburg and Bremen have, against the decision of former diets, left the Augsburg confession and have gone over to Calvinism, the Emperor might surely punish them. I advised your Majesty that it was believed that Duke August* was to make a great movement in Germany, and I also advised the duke of Alba and Chantonnay. The duke of Norfolk and the earl of Arundel will, I believe, openly declare themselves when your Majesty pleases to signify your approval. The earl of Northumberland also has verbally promised the same. He is a very worthy gentleman, and there are numberless others with the same desires. All the north and Wales are, for the great part, Catholic, and many of the people are attached to the queen of Scotland, although the heretic portion fear her because she is a Catholic. The members of the Council here are well satisfied because there is not one to contradict them. I advised your Majesty also that the Regent James in Scotland had arrested

* Of Saxony.

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the duke of Chatelherault, and it now seems that it was an arranged thing, as you will see by copies of the queen of Scotland's letter sent herewith and copy of the earl of Huntly's letter to her. It appears to be very desirable that she should be helped to retain what little power she has left, so that the heretics may not be entire masters of Scotland, which would be a great evil. No doubt James wants to make himself King, and the child will be in danger if God in His mercy do not protect him. On other occasions I have sent your Majesty copies of the Queen's letter begging you to receive her son, as in case of your Majesty thus favouring her, she would find means to get possession of him. As I have not a reply from your Majesty about it, I have not been able to send her news. I sent her your Majesty's letter by one of her servants and hourly expect a reply. The servant dared not trust it to anyone else, and it was therefore delayed a fortnight. The bishop of Ross is here trying to get his Queen liberated. He says that he will come here at night to let me know the answer. All your Majesty's subjects here are being maltreated and Don Lope de Ugarte has died in the west of sheer ill-usage. I have tried to manage the escape of 150 of them or more in French and other ships, and I am still endeavouring to do so although they are being kept very strictly. They are treating all Catholics with great rigour, and the prisons are full of them. At midnight last night many armed royal officers entered the house of Antonio de Guaras in search of him. They have sealed and sequestrated in the Queen's name all his property, and have closed the house, after having taken therefrom a great number of religious images and crucifixes, as well as figures of our Lady and the Saints beautifully carved in bulk and gilded. They carried them through most of the streets in the morning, as if in procession, with great mockery and laughter, saying that these were the gods of the Spaniards. There were great crowds of people, as they waited until it was market-day before they did it. Cries were raised that all the foreigners and those who owned the images should be burnt. They burnt half of these images piled on a cart-wheel before Guaras' house, and the other half they burnt in the market-place. Many good people sent fuel to prove their devotion. If any foreigner breathed a word of disapproval they took him prisoner, and they arrested a servant of mine, the only one who is allowed to leave the house, who had not said a word, although these gentleman who guard me afterwards got him out of prison as he was not to blame. All this could not have been done without the Council's orders, as the bad members of it dislike Guaras and his house was sequestrated before, on the 3rd of January. This is against the Queen's decree ordering that foreign property should not be touched. From the beginning of these disturbances Antonio de Guaras has been in my house with others, for if they found him abroad they would play him some trick. I have just received a letter from the queen of Scotland advising receipt of your Majesty's letter. I had written to her saying that I had received no reply from your Majesty about the Prince and other matters. Suygo, also, from Lord Lumley, has returned me the note I gave him, and has received back his own

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from me. These gentlemen are much grieved not to have received a sum of money at once, and it seems to have cooled them somewhat, although I keep them in hand with promises as best I can. This does not satisfy them, however. Your Majesty will please decide what is best to be done, and instruct me. The commissioners, who have returned from the task of identifying the goods detained and stolen, have also been here to-day, and promised to give me a written report in three days, in order that I may decide if it will be advisable to appoint other commissioners, and what arrangements are to be made as to the sale of perishable goods. The Queen went on the 6th to Greenwich, and I have already written to your Majesty that the two Venetian ships had been detained here by orders of the Council, which has given rise to a great quarrel between Ridolfi and Benedict Spinola, the latter having written to Venice saying that Ridolfi had incited the Council to take them for its own service, of which the Signiory complained. The quarrel between these two men and the fears of a rupture with Venice have made them restore these two ships, one of which is of a thousand tons and the others a little less. This will be injurious, because large quantities of cloth will be shipped on board of them in the names of Venetians. I do not think they will leave until some time in June, and if they touch in a Spanish port they may easily be detained. It would be very advantageous that the Venetians should abandon trade with this country at present, and that the Duke's proclamation should be respected in all your Majesty's dominions. Your Majesty in your wisdom will decide for the best. If the government is not changed in this country your Majesty can only hope for treachery and wickedness, but they will give way on the slightest pressure, as they themselves well know. I have given full information of the true state of things in Granada, but they will not believe me, and cry out that other provinces of Spain have risen against your Majesty, little knowing the fidelity of the Spaniards.—London, 9th May 1569.

10 May. **96.** The Duke of Alba to the King.
[Extract.]

I have written to your Majesty the opinion of the Council here and myself on English affairs, and the answer that should be given to the Queen pending the recovery of the property she holds; as afterwards, if your Majesty wishes to obtain satisfaction, there will be means of doing so. Until we get restitution and certain other matters of greater difficulty are settled (of which I will give your Majesty an account in answer to your letters now received), on no account should we break with her (the queen of England). Two men from the queen of Scotland have arrived here, with whom I am negotiating with much caution. After having heard them, I will give your Majesty an account of their mission and my reply thereto, in conformity with your Majesty's orders that I should manage this business from here. I will advise Don Guerau as to what I think would be best. I send your Majesty some letters of his, although I fear you will not gather much light from them.—Brussels, 10th May 1569.

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15 May. **97.** The KING to the DUKE of ALBA.
[EXTRACT.]

Commencing with England, which is the most pressing matter and demands the most speedy remedy, I ordered the letter you sent me in French and D'Assonleville's report to be translated into Spanish, and, after the Council of State had privately read them, I ordered the Council to be summoned next day, and presidents Hopperus and Tiznach to attend. The course to be adopted was then carefully considered and after much deliberation it was decided that it was undesirable to embark upon a war with the Queen, as, however great the damage we may do her, she will not by this means restore what she has taken. We think that she should be treated with a certain show of gentleness, united with an attempt to arouse her fears and suspicions that, if she does not make the restitution, we may declare war. This is in accordance with the recommendations you sent from there, and in pursuance of this end it seems well that I should reply to the letter the Queen sent me (and of which I enclose copy) explaining away all the excuses she makes, and remonstrating with her to the effect that none of these pretexts justify her in making the seizures. I have therefore had the letter drawn up which is enclosed in the despatch sent to you in French. Both of them were first drafted in Spanish, every word being weighed carefully in that intended for the Queen. There is nothing to add to it but to say that we think here that D'Assonleville should not be sent again on the business, but a person of more ability and standing, as I understand he is not thought much of there. The choice of the person is left entirely to you and you will instruct him as the state of affairs may demand.

You ask for a letter of credence for yourself, and although the letter for the Queen, as you will see, is very full in that respect, I send you besides three credential letters to make quite sure, one for yourself personally, another for the minister you may send, in which it is stated that I have appointed him here in order that they may not have the excuse of saying they will not deal with you, and a third letter, also in blank, in case you should send more than one envoy. I beg you will use all diligence and dexterity in order to recover this money as soon as possible, as otherwise the damage will be so wide-spread and will affect so many people that there will be a general collapse of credit and property, and we shall not be able to get a *real* to meet necessary payments. Pray also send me frequent and full reports of the progress of events. In order to anticipate any possible demand the Queen may make, for the purpose of settling the matter promptly, I am having sent to you the general power in the form you request; so that we shall certainly not fail for want of care.—Aranjuez, 15th May 1569.

98. The KING to the QUEEN of England. DRAFT without date.

I have received your Serenity's letter, together with the document in Spanish referred to therein, containing the discourse respecting the detention of the money and the events resulting therefrom. The duke of Alba, my governor of the Netherlands, has also sent me a full report of the matter, and I have been deeply grieved that, in the face of the true friendship and kinship between us, derived from our ancestors, confirmed by so many treaties and mutually renewed

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by so many acts of kindness, anything should have happened to produce just cause of quarrel or raise any impediment to the continuance of this friendship, which is so necessary to the advantage of ourselves and our dominions. As the detention of this money has been the origin of what subsequently occurred (which money was in truth destined for our service, having been borrowed from merchants here and sent for the service of my army in the States), I note your Serenity's assurance that the first intention was the safe forwarding of the money, but the delay in the subsequent delivery of it to the custody of your officers shows a change of such intention. From this it might be inferred that a different motive was beneath it, and the duke of Alba was fully justified in the course he took thereupon in the States; which course has also been followed in the rest of my dominions. Thereupon your Serenity's treatment of our subjects, friends and servants, and their property followed; and, subsequently, the behaviour adopted towards Don Guerau de Spes, my ambassador, and towards D'Assonleville of my Council, the envoy sent by the duke of Alba, this behaviour having been extraordinary and conspicuous. The foundation of our friendship being sincere, sound and firm, it is not necessary to discuss as to the justification or cause of dispute, nor as to the relative share of blame, since the remedy and redress of all difficulties depend entirely upon our own will on both sides to abolish the cause by raising mutually the embargoes of persons, money, goods, and merchandise, and restoring everything to its original position, as D'Assonleville recently proposed to you. This would bring about a complete cessation of the cause of quarrel and all impediment to our friendship, which would thereby be assured and confirmed. If, on the other hand, this should not be done, or any delay should occur in doing it, it would clearly demonstrate that another object had been in view, which cannot be believed of your Serenity, whose friendship I hold so dearly. I cannot believe, either, that your Serenity will listen to the advice of persons who, for their own ends and passions, may try to perturb public peace, and introduce division and difference between old friends to the prejudice of all, and only to the advantage of certain neighbours who desire such opportunities. By virtue of the powers and authorities given by us to the duke of Alba, our Lieutenant-General and Governor of the Netherlands, he is empowered to negotiate in this matter fully, as well as we ourselves could do, without further instructions; but, in order to avoid all occasion for objection or delay, we send him a new commission authorising him to proceed without scruple or difficulty to the prompt, favourable, and final settlement of the dispute, and I am confident that your Serenity will negotiate with him, animated by the same friendship, affection, and brotherhood in the matter as I feel towards you, and in full consideration at the same time of the evils which otherwise would result to both parties.

23 May. **99.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

The Queen went to Greenwich without deciding as to the restitution of the stolen property, and the duke of Norfolk and earl of Arundel, who told me they expected to bring the Queen to do as

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she ought, excused themselves by saying that they thought the people would rise; but that as no check has been put upon either the Hamburg voyage or the Rochelle expedition, and they are allowed to rob freely every ship that passes through the Channel, the people are waiting in surprise to see what will come of it all. For this reason, the Duke and the Earl say they have had no opportunity of serving your Majesty as they wish. They have constantly importuned me also for money, promising that they would have everything that has been stolen restored, however distracted and ruined the country might be. The duke of Alba, however, understands it much better than I, and is of opinion that nothing should be given to them until they have done something more than make professions, although they assert that they are in much need. They have taken full advantage of the fact that the Queen has not declared herself plainly, and they have somewhat curbed Cecil's power. I believe that when they see an opportunity they will not fail to act in your Majesty's service. I think that the intentions of the earl of Arundel are good, both as to changing the Government and restoring the Catholic religion, whilst benefiting himself somewhat, as he is very needy. Norfolk is the same, as he spends all he has, but it is certain that in the matter of these robberies their hands are not soiled like those of the rest of the Council. The duke of Norfolk has not hitherto shown himself a Catholic, and seems to belong to the Augustinian creed, but both Arundel and Lumley, the brother-in-law of the Duke, believe that they will convert him. They have got the French ambassador to write to his King saying how important it would be if he would issue a proclamation like that of the Duke of Alba, the draft of which was sent from here at their request. The ambassador says that it will be published in France, which will greatly forward the affair, as these Englishmen want to be very sure of their ground before moving.

The commissioners appointed here have been very slack in their task. The document they have given me, which is translated from English into Spanish, does not give me the particulars of the masters and cargoes of the ships nor the details of the crews. I am insisting upon this information being furnished. The Councillors have evidently recalled the commissioners because they could not agree about the sale of the merchandise, all of them wanting to get the profit for themselves and their friends. Cecil is pressing me to consent to appoint three commissioners, and they will appoint a similar number, the object of which is to restore only that which now remains in hand. I have replied with all due caution that they must first restore all that which they have captured in a hostile manner, and I will then appoint commissioners to deal with the preservation of the rest, but without relieving the Queen from the obligation to a general restitution. I send enclosed a copy of the reply I gave them, slightly changed from what I previously said I would write, in consequence of my having received, in the interim, the report of the late commissioners. I believe that Cecil is only doing this to make people think that something is being done on their side, and, indeed, the little negotiation they have already had with me has elated all the

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country. They also keep the people in suspense by spreading news to suit their own purpose. I have received no letter from the Duke this month, and await his instructions. The fleet for Hamburg has had very prosperous weather for the last three days, and I suppose will have sailed, especially as the brigantine "Giles Grey" has returned from Hamburg and the coast of Holland with news that the fleet was being anxiously looked for in Germany, and there were no signs of arming in Holland. Besides the 40,000*l.* that this Queen is to receive as soon as this fleet arrives, they are moving heaven and earth to get this city to lend the Queen another 40,000*l.*, and are in constant council with the aldermen about it. I believe that the documents are already drawn up asking for a loan from the whole country. No doubt she will give good help to Deuxponts. Besides this money she has seized 40,000 ducats which came in the last four sloops, and she has some portion of the money that came in the others, although most of it has been stolen by some followers of the Admiral and by the French. It is believed that the money in the Tower has not yet been touched. They are making great efforts to get sworn declarations from your Majesty's Flemish subjects revealing the property of each other, and I am told that the oath they administer contains divers enormities, which I have not been able to get in writing. The Venetian ships have been released, but as they only offer them 500 ducats each demurrage, for the time they have been detained, the masters prefer rather to leave it than to take it. They have loaded on board of them the kerseys, which had been bought by the Venetians before these detentions and robberies took place. I will try to prevent anything else being shipped by them, and to get them gone soon. The most important thing is that the six Venetian ships which are expected, and which will touch in Spain, should be detained there or should be made to give security that they will not go to England or ship English goods; and if these two should put into a Spanish port, they also should be detained and discharged. I have no letter from your Majesty since the 12th March, in which you order me to advise how the Crown can be taken away from its present wearer. I wrote your Majesty, that, first English ships should be attacked, and that care should be taken to prevent the coming hither of the things necessary for this country, a list of which I sent to your Majesty with a copy of the proclamation. This would certainly cause a rising of the people in spite of any attempts of the Government to deceive them. Privateers might also be armed in Spain and Holland, as numerously as possible, to attack their ships, and any others that trade with them. If, in addition to this, the French would only stop trading with them, it would bring the country to anything your Majesty wished. If these gentlemen did their duty, the successful issue would be the more prompt, although it could be done without them, if necessary; and, if your Majesty thought fit to assail the island with a strong fleet, it is certain that all the Catholics would rise for your service on the spot. In the meanwhile, it is important that efforts should be made to prevent the Regent James from entirely mastering Scotland, as it appears that

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many people are still attached to the Queen. I have sent copies of her letters and those of the earl of Huntly to the Duke, and copies are enclosed herewith, together with one written by the bishop of Ross, who is in London, to me. They are dangling vain hopes of liberty before this lady, although I am sure they will not release her, except by force. She has been ill lately, and if she were free it would be important for us, if only that her life, which is now in danger, might be safe in case of a rising. As regards the help she begs for, your Majesty will decide for the best and give me orders. If this country does not change its religion, or at least its government, your Majesty may in future count with certainty upon receiving from it nothing but evil and trouble, insolence, and robbery. A French ship came recently from Biscay with iron, of which they have much need here. Iron, oil, and soap are the things which it is important should be stopped from coming from your States, and if they are shipped for other countries, security should be given that they will not be brought hither. The six Venetian ships should be prevented from coming in any case. Captain Jones, who sailed for the Azores, has returned with a Norman ship loaded with sugar coming from Barbary. I do not know whether he will now continue his voyage. The Vidame de Chartres is being entertained in the country; he will shortly arrive in London, where a house has been prepared for him. Brissac's death has caused great rejoicing here, and the fictions and lies invented daily against Spain are most notable. I am advised that the Hamburg fleet left Harwich on the 19th with fair weather. In Ireland the Viceroy, with four thousand men, is pursuing the baron or earl of Hereferte (Fitzmaurice ?), who is a Catholic, and has risen against the Queen. Françisco Diaz, who came in the cutters that brought the money, takes this letter, and can give your Majesty an account of the ill-treatment and robberies committed here, as he has been through it all. He will also say how much alarmed the heretics are, and how full of hope are the godly ones, although nothing stops the incessant robberies, and not a ship, great or small, can pass without its being captured. I wrote to your Majesty lately how a servant of the earl of Leicester and another of the earl of Pembroke had recently captured a valuable sloop belonging to your Majesty's subjects on its way from Barbary, and another pirate on its voyage from Canaries. There were two friars of the order of Trinity in one of the eight sloops they captured in the Channel. They were on their way to Paris to the general chapter, and went on board at St. Ubes. When attacked they promptly threw overboard their habits and papers, and although the English suspected they were clergymen they have not been able to prove it. Their names are Garcia Mendez de Prado and Alonso de Leiva. They have been imprisoned at Harwich, and, since their arrival here, have been in jail. When I learned who they were I got them out on bail as mariners, and hid them in my house. I will try to send them to Flanders. The Catholics are being persecuted here more fiercely than ever, and the preachers are terribly anxious that this Queen should take up arms in favour of their religion, assuring her that

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otherwise the Papists will take the country.—London, 23rd May 1569.

23 May. **100.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

Since writing to your Majesty on the 9th instant I have no fresh news, excepting that the gentlemen who is here from the queen of Scotland informs me that he and the bishop of Ross went to Greenwich to learn the decision of this Queen in regard to the liberation of his Queen. She referred them to the Council for an answer, and when they met, a long discussion took place on the reasons alleged why the Queen should be released. When they thought the matter was taking a favourable turn, Cecil said that the Queen had received news that the bishop of Glasgow, acting under a power granted by the queen of Scotland, had renounced all her claims to the crown of England in favour of the duke of Anjou, and that the queen of Scotland must clear herself of this first. This gentleman has therefore gone to obtain letters from her upon this matter. I believe it is only for the purpose of delaying the business. I wrote to your Majesty that the Council is pressing me greatly on the appointment of new commissioners respecting the property stolen and detained. Seeing that a great part of the property is already lost, and that the commissioners they send are not over zealous in the business and do not execute their orders to view the property, I think it is nothing but a trick to deceive the people, of whom the Council are much afraid. It has not therefore appeared to me advisable to consent, excepting in such a way as is set forth in the memorial which I send to your Majesty, providing that the property stolen in a hostile manner shall be restored at once, as well as that which has been detained in contravention of the Queen's decree, and if they send to me to-morrow, this is the reply I shall give them. The Council seems somewhat mollified and are in great anxiety in consequence of the silence or dissembling of your Majesty, so much so, that the gentlemen who guard me go to great lengths to discover whether your Majesty intends to make war on them. As they are at issue amongst themselves, they fear that their own discord will bring about their ruin, and though it is true the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Arundel have not done so much as they said, yet Cecil and his friends have seen their object, which is, that there should be no war on any account, and that the stolen and detained property should be entirely restored, all deficiencies therein being made good by the parties inculpated, and in default of their property, by the Queen. I think they will soon try to make some arrangement, and these gentlemen (Norfolk and Arundel) have sent to tell me so, and that they have not been able to carry out their original intentions for want of opportunity, and because the duke of Alba had made no demonstration. They say, however, that they would still try to get restitution by other means, and will not fail to fulfil their first promises as soon as an opportunity occurs. Being Englishmen, as they are, we must take what they will give us. The fleet for Hamburg is still kept in Harwich by contrary winds. The weather is better to-day, but, if either going

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or coming, any misfortune of another sort should happen to this fleet, the people will grumble in good earnest, and may even be driven to make some movement. Captain Jones with one good vessel and another fair one, has started again for the Azores. Captain Franchot, a Lucchese heretic, and four or five other Italian merchants, are about to fit out ten ships with the support of the earl of Leicester. I do not think, however, that they will be able to do it, there being a great lack of sailors. It was said that they were going to Madeira, but they can hardly start under three months. A gentleman has just arrived from the fleet in Harwich. —London, 23rd May 1569.

1 June. **101.** GUERAU DE SPES to the DUKE OF ALBA.

I received your Excellency's letter of the 14th on the 27th ultimo, although after some mishaps, as the bishop of Rochester seized the packet and it remained in Cecil's hands for two days. It was only returned on the importunity of the French ambassador, although the letters appeared to have been opened. The letter of the 7th, enclosing another from his Majesty, addressed to Ridolfi, has not yet arrived, nor has any ordinary post come for a month. I am in great need of remittances of money for special expenses, as the cost here is tremendous. I shall now have to move my house as the earl of Leicester has bought this one from Paget's heirs, and they do badly here in not giving lodgings to ambassadors unless they pay very well for them.—London, 1st June.

Postscript: As the passport for this courier was delayed, I have time to add that I have signified to many members of the Council that the letter written by this Queen to our King was not given to Don Francés de Alava, and has not reached his Majesty by any other means. They have not taken much notice of this, perhaps because all the members of the Council are to blame for the letter not having been delivered.

31 May and 1 June. **102.** SUMMARY of LETTERS from DON GUERAU DE SPES to the KING and the DUKE OF ALBA, dated 31st May and 1st June 1569.

There had been a disturbance in the Council because Cavalcanti, the brother of Suygo (?), had been there to speak with Cecil, and he and Baptista Fortini, had taken with them a certain paper which they had drawn up there. The duke of Norfolk and the earl of Arundel had therefore had high words with Cecil who was much confused.

Don Guerau had assured them that the duke of Alba knew nothing whatever about the matter, and would not give ear to such persons, even through Chapin Viteli, whereupon they were much tranquillized and anxious to carry through their enterprise and overthrow Cecil. They (Norfolk and Arundel) had requested a copy of the document brought by Cavalcanti and Fortini in order to have Cecil punished.

Suygo had given him (Don Guerau) a paper stating what the duke and the earl hope to do respecting a general restitution; Don Guerau being urged on his part to comply with the terms requested

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of him, namely, 6,000 crowns for the Duke, the Earl, and Lumley, as a statutory loan, to which Don Guerau thought it would be well to accede.

Cardinal Chatillon and his wife had gone to the county of Leicester, and, it was thought, would go on to Bristol to call to account a French pirate who had failed to pay him (Chatillon) his share of the booty. He, Don Guerau, sends a copy of a license to rob, granted by him (Chatillon). The Cardinal it was stated wished to return to France.

Don Guerau sends a memorandum respecting the manner in which England may be assailed, and of the state of the country, the substance of which is as follows:

That the ports are badly fortified, and they hope to defend them with troops.

That they expect to be able to repel any attack by means of their fleet.

The Queen has 22 great ships, but with difficulty has been able to equip 11, it being impossible for her to fit out more.

Subjects own about 70 ships, great and small, the vessels good, and the men experienced, as they are all pirates.

The men on the fleet, although they appear bellicose, are really pampered and effeminate, different from what they used to be.

People generally, and especially the Councillors, are satisfied with the government of the Queen, which is mild, and they are at liberty to share plunder with the Corsairs, and make use of the royal treasury.

The Catholics desire a change as they are deprived of the exercise of their religion.

The English hate the very name of foreigner, and they (the Catholics) wish the change to be made in a way that shall not hand them over to any other nation.

The Council alone rules, and the Queen is occupied entirely in pleasure, being governed by Cecil.

By his advice she is countenancing the rebels in France and Flanders, having her eye on the fact that neighbouring princes are engaged in war and cannot now undertake the reduction of her country nor force restitution of the stolen property, which is so great that it has enriched all the country.

The Queen's Council fears the people more than anything else, and therefore deceives them with innumerable tricks and false victories.

If the duke of Alba will continue to enforce the proclamation published in April, and a similar proclamation is enacted in France, whilst at the same time care be taken that no merchandise shall be exported from Spain or Portugal to England, the people will themselves overthrow the Government, and will submit to any terms, perhaps even returning to the Catholic faith.

In order the more speedily to carry this out, it would be well also that the duke of Florence and the seignories of Genoa, Venice and Lucca, should order their respective subjects to have no

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dealings with Englishmen. This should be done by the authority of the Pope.

Hamburg trade should be taken away from them, either by moving some friendly sovereign to commence war against that city, or by the Empire itself doing so, on the ground that Hamburg has departed from the Augustinian creed and embraced Calvinism; or else by seizing the mouth of the Elbe or capturing the ships that go thither.

It would not be bad if they (the English) could be deprived of trade with Muscovy and Poland and the Easterling country, through which they expect to find a way for the spices.

Norfolk, Arundel, and Lumley desire a change of religion. The two latter may be considered Catholics, and they say they will make Norfolk become one.

This will be aided by the earls of Northumberland, Derby, Cumberland, Montague, Dacre, Morley, and many other Catholics, as well as by the north-country, Wales, and Cornwall.

If his Majesty would resolutely take the country in hand, with the intention of proclaiming the queen of Scotland as Queen, he would meet with help rather than hindrance from the French. It will be best, however, first to get the Queen released, as it is out of the question that the queen of England will liberate her.

If his Majesty thinks well to avenge the injuries done to his subjects by subjecting the country to the service of God and to his own dominion, he being the legitimate descendant of King Edward, and will undertake the matter powerfully, he (Don Guerau) is certain of success on account of the people being divided in religion, and also by means of the Catholic nobles who are now treated narrowly and look for favour from his Majesty. The said earls would help.

Seeing the affection borne by the Scotch people to the queen of Scotland, he (Don Guerau) is certain that if she were provided with money they would overthrow the Regent James. The man who has the prince in his keeping is a great friend of the Regent's, so that the prince is in danger of being murdered.

The bishop of Ross had told him that if it had not been for Cecil he would have already got the rest of them to agree to the release of his mistress. He (Cecil?) wishes now, that it is proved that the queen of Scotland has not renounced her rights to the English crown in favour of the duke of Anjou, that she shall make the renunciation in favour of the Queen (of England) and her heirs, a certificate being given by the Christian King and his brother that no renunciation has been made in their favour. The Bishop had replied to this, that, according to the treaty of Little Leith, this could only be done by the consent of his Majesty (Philip), whereupon they (the English) said that they did not wish to introduce him into the matter.

They also demand of the Scots a rectification of the frontier between England and Scotland, promising to favour the Regent James if this is obtained. Don Guerau is sure that, if the Queen (of Scotland) were put into possession of her kingdom again, she would do whatever she were asked.

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The Bishop asked him (Don Guerau) whether he had any instructions respecting the marriage of his mistress in Spain, where a fitting match might be found for her, according to the duke of Alba's conversation with her gentlemen. Don Guerau replied that his only orders were to endeavour to prevail upon the queen of England to liberate the queen of Scotland.

There is in Ireland an English Catholic named Thomas Stukeley who was a pensioner of his Majesty's and served him as captain at the battle of St. Quintin. He has been deprived of his office of commander of the horse in Ireland on account of his religion, the office having been given to a great heretic. A Venetian has spoken to Don Guerau on his behalf, and proposed that if his Majesty wished to take possession of that island he (Stukely) would undertake that it should be done if he were provided with 20 armed ships and some weapons for the natives, who have none now. Stukely would provide a safe port; and, if Don Guerau thought well of it, the said Venetian would go and submit it to the King, taking with him the signature in blank of Stukely. That Baron Herefert (Fitzmaurice ?) has risen in Ireland with 4,000 men and is going against the Viceroy; and many others will follow his example if help is given to them by ships from Spain.

The English say they have a league with the house of the Count Palatine and declare they have ready in Germany 10,000 foot and 6,000 horse.

1 June. **103.** The Duke of Alba to the King.
[Extract.]

I cannot gather much light about English affairs from what Don Guerau writes, as your Majesty will see by his letters. I hope your Majesty will send me what I request in my letter of 5th April, because, until we have recovered the property the Queen is detaining, we should on no account break with them. No arrangement should be made with them, however, without the restitution of what they have seized. As I say in the enclosed letter, if your Majesty wishes to break with the Queen or change the government, there will be ample opportunities for doing it after we have got our property back. It is true that the minute the French learn your Majesty's intentions, they will settle matters with their rebels to the great prejudice of Christendom, or will marry the queen of Scotland to Anjou, the undesirability of which your Majesty will see. I think therefore it would be better to wait a little until we see how things go in France, and if they turn out badly (which God forbid), your Majesty should allow me to enter the field with all the forces I have, and as many more as I can get, and go to the help of the King. We can then stipulate that your Majesty should be allowed a free hand in England and to marry the queen of Scotland to whomsoever you please.* If this be not done the Emperor may step in and ask for her hand for his brother, the Archduke Charles, and, from what I understand, the King of France would agree to this to oblige his father-in-law. If your Majesty

* In the King's handwriting: "I think we might ask him for more than this."

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countenances this, it may be brought about and not be merely imagination on my part.* The queen of Scotland has not sufficient power over her son to be able to send him to Spain to be brought up. The men from her who came to see me, brought letters of credence in virtue of which they begged your Majesty's help, pointing out where such help might be given and stating the persons in England and Scotland who are devoted to her. She places herself absolutely in your Majesty's hands in all things. I heard them kindly, and told them that to help the Queen with men and munitions would neither suit your Majesty nor her, as it would mean immediately a war with England. I said the aid that would be most useful to her would be money and advice, and I had no doubt your Majesty would send her both when her affairs were in such a position as to need such help for their successful issue. I told them to return to their mistress with this and learn what course she intended to adopt. When they had discussed the matter thoroughly with her, I told them to return to me and I would tell them what your Majesty would do. They went away satisfied. I beg your Majesty to send me instructions.—Antwerp, 1 June 1569.

12 June. **104.** The Duke of Alba to the King.

I have received your Majesty's letters on English affairs enclosing me four others in Latin, one for the queen of England containing your Majesty's proposals for a speedy solution of the differences arising out of the seizures, and the others, letters of credence for me or the persons I may send thither with the principal letter to the Queen. The proposals embodied in the letters for a mutual release of the arrested property are in conformity with my recommendations, but the opinion adopted by us here, that a letter of credence might be sent for me or the person who is to go, enabling the terms to be raised or abated as circumstances might demand, has since caused me some scruple, not on account of the suggestion itself or because I have any doubt that your Majesty has adopted the best course, and less still because I have the slightest intention of doing anything not in accordance with your Majesty's interests, but as a matter of expediency. Although, *primâ facie*, it might appear that your Majesty's intention was that the letter should be sent off at once by some special person, yet I am so sure of your Majesty's confidence in my life-long desire to serve you efficiently, that I venture to think that your Majesty will not disapprove of my delaying the despatch of the letter until I have considered, maturely, the circumstances as they at present exist. I am the more anxious to do this as your Majesty leaves to me the selection and instruction of the person who is to go. The letter itself is so extremely studiously worded and full, that a copy of it would be almost a sufficient instruction; but as your Majesty orders me to manage the business so as to attain the end desired, which, I take it, is the principal object of your Majesty's instructions, I under-

* In the King's handwriting: "But she has a son who is her heir."

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stand that I may be allowed discretion as to the means or procedure to be employed. In this confidence I have deeply considered what can be done to bring the Queen round, dexterously and secretly, to the end aimed at, and three courses have presented themselves to me. First, to send your Majesty's letters by a special envoy; secondly, to let the Queen know that if she wishes to negotiate for the settlement of the differences arising out of the seizures I have sufficient powers for the purpose; and, thirdly, whether it would not be better, before doing either of these two things, to endeavour by some means to feel our way rather than to give the idea that you are forced to take the first step towards a mutual restitution.

As regards the first point, if the Queen could be depended upon to interpret the letter with the same sincerity with which it is written, I am convinced that this would be the best course to pursue in every way, and that most in accordance with your Majesty's usual desire to live in peace and harmony with your neighbours; but apart from the Queen's natural character, which is so different from this, she allows herself to be influenced by such perverse people in her Council, and by foreigners like Cardinal Chatillon, that it is very much to be feared that they will twist the meaning of the letter to their own advantage, and so influence, to an even greater extent, the Queen's mind, which is already so proud and presumptuous. They may persuade her that this step of your Majesty's is a sign that you are forced to make the first approach to her, and that she may therefore, by standing firm, negotiate on a better footing. Besides this, she might produce a bad effect upon other princes by sending copies of the letter out broadcast, with her own gloss upon it that only pure necessity had caused your Majesty to write it. If this were done, I do not see how you could possibly put up with such an indignity without resenting it, and I see, nevertheless, that it is not the intention of your Majesty to go to war; nor are things in such a state at present as to enable us to do so. Even if war were commenced the Queen would, at least, keep everything she has seized, of which the value is immensely greater than what we have arrested, and this is a point which makes our terms the more difficult to obtain from the Queen. If she refuses to come to terms I do not know what your Majesty can do. I am thus brought to the conclusion that, in order to obtain a mutual restitution, we should avoid declaring the contents of the letter at first, and should only do so after we have elucidated the matter.

As regards the second point, of letting the Queen know that I have power to treat of the seizures, I find the power your Majesty sends me is drawn up generally and in conformity with that formerly held by the duchess of Parma, without any special mention being made of the particular point now in dispute. If I had to produce it they might object that it is not a power which is apt for purpose; although, by virtue of it, I could deal with all old points of difference which they wish to discuss at the same time as the question of the seizures, particularly as I can show nothing but the power; the letters of credence all speaking of her relaxing her seizures and

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offering reciprocally to do the same, which is open to the objection to which I have referred. The second course therefore will not do.

I will now pass the third alternative, which seems to be the least dangerous, namely, to employ some trustworthy merchant such as I have at hand, and send him there on the pretext of looking after his own arrested merchandise. He could approach some of the members of the Council who he thinks most likely to help him for a good reward, and so sound the current of opinion and discover what the feeling is with regard to restoring the property, if your Majesty will do similarly, and what they think your Majesty might do otherwise. He could learn whether they are tired of things being as they are, whether some means could be found by which they should take the first step towards a restitution, of which, although I am not depending much upon it, I am not quite without hope, as I write to your Majesty in the Spanish letter. I am the more inclined to adopt this course as your Majesty writes that someone to represent the merchants should accompany the envoy to be sent. The means by which it could be carried out are suggested by what Don Guerau writes about winning people over. Another reason why I think well of the proposal is, that it can be done in a few days, at the end of which, even though I may not have gained all I want, at least more light will have been thrown upon the situation and I shall be able to act with greater confidence. I have also borne in mind the urgency with which your Majesty presses upon me the speedy conclusion of the business, and I think that this third course is the lesser of the evils. The date on your Majesty's letter (9th May) will, it is true, get daily older, but the road is long, and by France unsafe, so that this drawback can be explained away.

It may be said that the Queen and her ministers could not make capital out of the assertion that we had taken the first step, as your Majesty's letter is in answer to one of hers; but I cannot ignore the fact that not so much can be made of her letter as of yours, because hers contains no such request, and was not sent direct to your Majesty or by a special envoy, but was forwarded in an unusual way to Don Francés, in doubt if he would send it on or not, and even now they think he did not send it.

It might also be said that the declaratory clause in the letter, offering to restore the arrested goods if England will do the same, is in substance identical with my instructions to D'Assonleville, and that, therefore, I am inconsistent in objecting to it in your letter. But there is a distinction, because I did not put it in a letter for the Queen but only in a private memorandum for D'Assonleville, and left to his discretion the declaration of it in harmony with other points. I might have proceeded in this way with the letters now sent, if I had some in blank with which I could have proceeded, step by step, but the letter sent lays bare the whole matter.

I have thought well to lay all this before your Majesty by special courier for your Majesty's decision, as to whether you will send me fresh letters in various forms that I may use them according to circumstances. If your Majesty thinks well also, you might write

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a letter to the Queen in the sense indicated in mine of 2nd April, saying that you have received her letters, summarizing their contents, and since she had adopted this course, your Majesty has ordered me to convey your intentions to her and has granted me authority to settle with her, or her agents, the matter of the seizures, both as regards Spain and here. Some more letters of credence might be sent to me for any persons we might send in your Majesty's name, besides these I send, but none of the letters should say about your Majesty's offer to raise the arrests, on England doing the same, but should merely speak generally of the property seized on both sides. I will deal with the matter as promptly as I can, using the letters I have, if I see a chance of doing so favourably, although those I ask for now will still be desirable, even though they may arrive late, as your Majesty well knows that matters of such weight as this cannot be settled in a few days. Your Majesty might also consider whether you should send me a general power to treat of all differences with England both in Spain and here, in which case I will not conclude anything touching Spain without first consulting you.—Brussels, 12th June 1569.

13 June. **105.** The Duke of Alba to the King.

Refers to the aforegoing letter (written in French) as containing the opinion of the Council as well as his own.

I was advised recently that two Florentines named Estriota Cavalcanti and Rodolfo Ridolfi had some influence with the Queen, they having been the men who negotiated the agreement between her and the French. They are pensioners of both Kings. I am told by Chapin Viteli, who mentioned them to me, that they would be glad to sound the Queen and her Council, and I consequently ordered him to write to them, saying that he had not ventured to propose the matter to me, as he knew I did not like to be spoken to about it and had no intention of taking up any negotiations, but urging them to proceed in their own way and let him know everything they heard. They did so, and Estriota sent to a brother of his the enclosed memorandum.

When I was at Antwerp I was told by Thomas Fiesco, a Genoese, merchant there, that he was very friendly with Benedict Spinola (who, I have an idea was the first cause of the money being seized), and he thought that if he went to London to see him, he could lead matters in such a way that the Queen would ask you to raise the arrests. I was much pleased with his sensible manner and entered into particulars with him. He told me that he expected to employ some 15,000 or 20,000 ducats, part of the value of the merchandise, in buying over Cecil and the other councillors who are opposed to the property being restored, and, as I thought well of the proposal, in which nothing was risked but a delay of 15 or 20 days, I have entrusted the business to him. He is to do it as if on his own account and with great secrecy and speed, not going beyond the line I lay down for him. I hope from his manner that he will make no mistake, but his task will be greatly aided by the inclination of the Queen's councillors, who are always on the look-out for their own interests. I beg your Majesty to order that the despatches on this matter may pass through very few hands,

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because, even before the courier arrived, all Antwerp knew that you had written to the Queen, and it might prejudice matters if she knew that I was keeping the letters back.—Brussels, 13th June 1569.

14 June. **106.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

In accordance with your Majesty's orders of 4th April, I will follow the instructions of the duke of Alba in all these affairs here, and give him daily information of what is going on, as well as writing to your Majesty as often as I can. I had learnt here of the letter the Queen had written to your Majesty and the excuses contained in it. Truly her heart and that of her people must have been, indeed, corrupted to have wished to disturb the tranquillity of the States of Flanders and to prevent the religious question being peacefully settled there and in France. They have now taken to rob so openly under the Queen's standard, attacking and capturing ships of your Majesty's subjects whilst peacefully proceeding on their voyages, that it is surprising to see. As they have already stolen a great proportion of the merchandise detained, and the Council itself is largely interested therein, this is a point which makes all agreements difficult. I cannot negotiate with the duke of Norfolk and earl of Arundel except through other persons, namely, Roberto Ridolfi, a Florentine, and John Suygo, a Milanese, persons attached to the said noblemen. I do not know them (*i.e.*, Norfolk and Arundel), and never saw them at Court before my detention, but I have some confidence that they will serve your Majesty well at this juncture, although the fact that they are English and not entirely Catholic, makes one always suspicious of them. In any case, they have already prevented, so far as they could, more evil being done, and have somewhat tempered the fury of Cecil. They promise, according to their intermediaries, that they will cause a general restitution of all goods detained, and they even thought of going further still. It would be greatly advantageous to settle this by their means, and after your Majesty's subjects have been satisfied and their property restored, in due time, when your Majesty wishes, punishment can be dealt out to these bad neighbours and their accomplices, and at the same time such measures be taken as shall prevent for the future any fear of your Majesty's subjects being ruined and your dominions disturbed by these people. In any other case such neighbours as these will keep us in constant turmoil, since their change of religion has freed them from the obligation to fulfil their engagements and alliances. On Sunday last the usual councillors met together and they are still at it yesterday and to-day; the gentlemen of whom I speak, have just sent to say that, although some difference still exists, they hope to arrange a general restitution and my entire liberation, but that, as it is a business which will cause some jealousy, they cannot conclude the business in the Council so quickly as they would wish, but they are sure of being able to manage it, as they have promised me in a note from Suygo which I have sent to the duke of Alba. Although the hopes of the prince of Condé have failed, the arrival and progress of the duke of Deux-Ponts in France have again raised the spirits

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of the heretics. They exaggerate affairs in Granada and the loss of your Majesty's galleys in Marseilles to such an extent as to make people wonder. On both points I give fitting information to these gentlemen who guard me, in order that it may be spread abroad. They have been much disturbed by the news from Portugal, that all persons and property of Englishmen in that king's dominions have been detained. Some ships in ballast have escaped from there and arrived here. I do not believe that the English will get much profit from their goods in Hamburg. The two smallest of the Queen's ships have remained there and the other five are at Margate, having dismissed the greater part of their crews, although this news from Portugal makes them think of again putting the ships into commission. The two Venetian ships, which are also at Margate, have decided to sail without waiting to take any more cargo, beyond the kerseys they have loaded, and they have received their clearances to-day. They probably will refrain from putting into Spanish ports, to avoid the question as to the ownership of the cloths they carry. It is asserted that many English goods enter Spain by St. Jean de Luz. They are entertaining the queen of Scotland with discussions about her release, and in the meanwhile are aiding the Regent. A ship they were sending to him with stores and 10,000 crowns in money has been lost. I will write to the queen of Scotland as your Majesty orders. Irish affairs are in a greater state of confusion than ever they have been, and this Queen has given many baronies belonging to the rebels to English gentlemen, on condition of their being recovered at their own cost. A company of 30 of the richest of the London merchants has also made an agreement with the Queen that they will conquer a certain part of the country, the lordship of which shall belong to them on payment of a tribute, and they are already preparing an expedition. The whole island (Ireland) is therefore in a turmoil, and the greater part of it in rebellion against the Queen. Thomas Stukeley, an English captain, settled there, who has been dismissed from his post, in which he had charge of all the Queen's horses in Ireland, because he was a Catholic, claims to be in favour of handing over the country to your Majesty or some other Catholic Prince. He and some of the barons intend to send to Spain to ask your Majesty to approve of this design. There is a Venetian there, also, who is in the confidence of Stukeley and the other Catholics; he has a nephew here, an honest man, who is a fitting person to send whenever it may be needful to negotiate with these Irish gentlemen. His uncle gave him the enclosed document that he might hand it to me. It is translated from the Italian. "Waterford is a large port in the "east of the island, capable of receiving the largest ships at any "state of the tide, and is therefore suitable for this business. It is "12 English miles distant from the friend's house*, and there is an "old ruined castle there inhabited by a fisherman, which castle can "be taken possession of at once, and when desirable, the other friend "could rent it. By cutting a breadth of four paces of land the port

* A slight slip of the original transcriber or decipherer makes it appear that Waterford is only 12 miles from London, which gives rise to a marginal note of surprise and enquiry in the King's handwriting.

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" may be made into an island with the castle on it. This island " will be almost a mile in circumference, and the garrison might be " kept there in spite of the English, with facility for leaving when " they liked. The friend could immediately bring thither 10,000 " men, but it would be needful to supply a large quantity of grain, " viz., three or four Flemish sloops such as usually come there in " time of peace. This enterprise would be easier in the winter than " the summer, because these people (the English) cannot stand the " cold so well as ours. The island is full of mines of gold, silver, " iron, tin, lead, alum, and glass. It is as fertile as any country ; " its inhabitants most warlike, and great enemies of the English. " They only await such an opportunity as this as the savages will " no doubt be molested ; the 29 merchants and Wareham Selliger " having taken the lordship of the savages' country on condition of " their conquering it and having promised to pay the Queen 4*d.* for " each fanega of land they till, and 2*d.* for pasture. In the west, " 500 of the Queen's men and another force beyond the mountains, " will also molest them and this will greatly enrage the Irish." 14th June 1569.

15 June. **107.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

After sealing the enclosed, on the same night, the bishop of Ross came to me with a letter from his mistress, copy of which I enclose. The Bishop told me that the duke of Norfolk and earl of Arundel had always informed him of their desire to serve your Majesty, and that I might be sure that the intention of these noblemen was, in April last, to arrest Cecil and give me complete liberty, restoring all the property stolen and detained belonging to your Majesty's subjects. He said that, on three occasions, when the project was about to be carried out, the earl of Leicester softened and said that he would tell the Queen. This prevented the execution of the intention three distinct times. The days mentioned by the Bishop to me as being those when the arrest was to have been effected were the same as those on which the noblemen told me they would be ready. These delays gave Cecil an opportunity of discovering the plot against him, and he told the duke of Norfolk so, begging him and his friends not to do anything scandalous of this sort, offering to come over to his wishes and those of the rest of the Council. He urged the Duke very strongly that they should all unite to prevent the Spaniards from scoffing at the English, and that religion should not be changed here. He gave him to understand that he had means to settle this business of the detentions, and that he, (Norfolk) and the earl of Arundel could go to Spain on the Queen's behalf to arrange everything with your Majesty, which would be better than treating with the duke of Alba or myself. He said that, if the Duke thought otherwise, he (Cecil) would entirely follow his opinion, and, with all these compliments and fine words, he softened them for the time. The idea of going to Spain also turned out illusory as these noblemen told me with some confusion and reserve ; Cecil himself having subsequently raised difficulties about it, saying that if they went they might be detained in Spain, and so the project fell through. I warned these gentlemen, through Ridolfi and Suygo, not to let Cecil deceive them, and they then again

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insisted that the time had arrived to return to the grace and friendship of your Majesty. When they intimated to Cecil, on behalf of all the Council, that they desired to enter into some proper arrangement, through Ridolfi, to settle pending questions and release me, he told them that he was trying to discover the intentions of the duke of Alba by means of Cavalcanti, in order to see whether he would give way on certain points which he, Cecil, had in his mind, and he begged them to wait eight or nine days, until he had a reply on this point. He professed to be planning a treaty which should redress all troubles in France, Scotland, and Flanders, and by which religion should remain safe with freedom of conscience for all. He said he thought that to have a private arrangement with your Majesty would not be safe at present, as you could, without appearing in it, by many means and ways, destroy and isolate them. Through his importunity they waited the eight days, Ridolfi and Suygo telling me that the delay arose in consequence of Leicester's hunting parties. By the ordinary courier now arrived, Cecil received no reply from Cavalcanti, and they are all much disturbed. I await the decision. I have given, thus fully, an account of these plans, that your Majesty may be thoroughly informed of the business from the first, and understand that these noblemen communicated their intentions to the queen of Scotland. They brought the bishop of Ross here before the day of the intended arrest (of Cecil) in order that he might be a witness of it. Lord Montague and the earl of Northumberland, as well as other Catholic gentlemen, knew of the matter and came hither in consequence. Since then the duke of Norfolk has lost his stepson, Lord Dacre, a boy of nine years old, son of his late wife, who had as fine an estate on the borders of Scotland as the Duke has in England. The Duke received 1,500 ducats a year for his maintenance, and something else for that of the three little sisters, whom he keeps in his house, and administers the whole estate. By the laws of the country these girls are excluded from the succession, and only receive a certain sum as dowry, the estates passing to the first cousin of the dead child. He is already called Lord Dacre, and is a gentleman of not very good disposition, but clever and brave, and a good Catholic, a brother-in-law of Montague and Northumberland. The duke of Norfolk, on certain grounds, tried to question his rights to the estate, but Cecil and the Council openly favoured him (Dacre), and all this has been an obstacle to the conclusion of the plots afore-mentioned. This Lord Dacre is the man of whom I wrote to your Majesty as having sent a message to me about the marriage of the queen of Scotland with the duke of Norfolk, and the conversion of this country to the Catholic Church. He now says that, whenever your Majesty pleases to send an army to this country, he and his friends will undertake to provide 15,000 selected troops for your service. I have been informed that Cecil has spoken to the Duke about marrying a sister-in-law of his, a widow with 3,000 ducats income, offering him to increase her dowry if the Duke marries her. The Duke would not listen to it, for he has his thoughts very high, having fixed his eyes upon the queen of Scotland. This has not injured her in the negotiations, for the Council now offer to recover

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her kingdom for her on certain conditions, and the renunciation by her of her claim to the English crown. With this object this Queen has sent to Scotland to request the Regent to send new commissioners to discuss it. The bishop of Ross and myself agree in our opinion that this was another of Cecil's inventions to delay the business. I am always of opinion, as I have said before, that it would be very beneficial to your Majesty's interests and the prompt despatch of these affairs, to reward these gentlemen with a sum of money for their services, and to encourage them to greater things. This can be done little by little. I may remind your Majesty that these people are very fond of money.—London, 15th June 1569.

9–16 June. **108.** Extracts from four Letters from Guerau de Spes to the Duke of Alba of 9th, 14th, and 16th of June 1569.

Yesterday and the day before I wrote to his Majesty and your Excellency by way of Calais. Since then Ridolfi came to my house, with a letter of credence from Lord Lumley, and told me that they would take the opportunity of my changing my residence to set me at liberty, and that, on my leaving here, my guards would be removed. He also informed me of the points which Cecil had drawn up to be communicated to me when I am at liberty. They deal with the question of a general restitution, the selection of commissioners for carrying it out, and request that other commissioners should be appointed to conclude the treaty of Bruges. They also request that the King should confirm the treaties anew, give facility for the English to trade with the Indies, and assure the English ambassadors and their households in his dominion of freedom in their religion, with other impertinent trifles, which can be disposed of in a very few words. A good answer can be given to all this in due time. I told Ridolfi that, when I had the entire liberty usually given to his Majesty's ambassadors, I would listen to them, but that now I had nothing to say. If they come to broach the subject again I will at once inform your Excellency of what they say and my opinion thereon. The gentleman who guards me has gone to Court to-day to learn the decision as to the house to which I am to move. They say they will take this opportunity of releasing me.

20 June. **109.** The Duke of Alba to the King.
[Extract.]

By the enclosed letters from Don Guerau, your Majesty will see what is passing in England. I have not yet allowed the merchant I mentioned to go, and I have no news from the other one I sent, except that he had crossed over. I have thought well to send to Don Guerau the 6,000 crowns he requests, to give to those gentlemen with the conditions he mentions.*—Brussels, 20th June 1569.

* To Norfolk, Arundel, and Lumley.

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22 June. **110.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

They are going to give me the bishop of Winchester's house in exchange for the one I now occupy. I am to pay for it, but the Bishop raised some difficulties, although the earl of Leicester wrote to him about it. The Council now order it, and I am told that I shall be liberated when I go thither. When I have been able to discuss with the Queen and Council the restitution of the property detained and stolen, I will duly advise your Majesty and the Duke. Ridolfi wrote to me last night that Cecil had sent him an invitation to dine with him and asked him to come and see me. Cecil is anxious to arrange matters with me at all events. I therefore expect him (Ridolfi), and shall entertain them with smooth words to see whether this property cannot be recovered, postponing the redress of other insults and injuries for your Majesty's decision. In the meanwhile, those who have taken property are in a great hurry to get it valued before the lord mayor, who insists on your Majesty's subjects carrying out the valuation jointly with Englishmen. But it is all roguery, for they have put aside everything that was good, and only made a valuation of what is spoilt. I have ordered Spaniards to have nothing to do with it, but to let them refer to the owners of the merchandize.—London, 22nd June 1569.

27 June. **111.** GUERAU DE SPES to the DUKE OF ALBA.
[EXTRACT.]

They have not yet given me my liberty, as they say that they have not yet received any decision from the bishop of Winchester about his house, and these people are so vain that I believe they will not like to release me without finding some plausible excuse for doing so. I let the earl of Leicester know I was ready to vacate this house* whenever he wished, so as not to inconvenience him, and he has just sent a letter to the gentleman who always guards me, whose name is George Speke, to tell me that he will have a house found for me, and that, in the meanwhile, anyone who wishes to see me can do so without any hindrance. He has also told the gentleman to go home, leaving me without any other guard.—London, 27th June 1569.

1 July. **112.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

I expect to-day that the arrangement will be concluded with the agents of the bishop of Winchester about the house, and that I shall at once move thither. We shall then see whether I shall be set entirely at liberty as the councillors say. I think they have delayed hitherto in order to see whether any favourable news for them came from France. In the meanwhile, I have declined to listen openly to proposals regarding the restitution of the merchandise, although Ridolfi has spoken to me about it, and Cavalcanti the Florentine has tried to learn whether I wish him to continue the negotiation that he had commenced, through some of his friends,

* This was Paget House, on the site of Essex street, in the Strand, which had been in the occupation of the Spanish ambassadors since the expulsion of the bishop of Aquila from the Queen's house, Durham place, in 1563, particulars of which will be found in the Calendar of State Papers (Spanish), 1558—1567.

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by which they thought they might find means dealing with the duke of Alba. I have endeavoured to discover the intentions of all parties, so that when I am free, I can, on receiving the Duke's instructions, take what steps may be fitting. Benedict Spinola, also, wanted to have a hand in it, and I hear from all of them that the Council desires to make restitution, although not so completely as they ought, and even then they expect to receive great concessions for doing so. I will try, when the time arrives, to get full restitution, and, at all events, I shall not fail for want of effort. I understand that the Queen has appointed new commissioners, three Englishmen and three subjects of your Majesty, with the instructions of which I send a copy. I told your Majesty's subjects to have nothing to do with it without my express order, as I am informed that the intention of those who appointed the commissioners was to value the merchandise very shortly, and sell it to the owners themselves if they wished to buy, the Queen enjoying the money, which they say she will restore when she comes to an agreement with your Majesty. This seems to me extremely undesirable, and the worst course that could be taken. I have, therefore, again most urgently told your Majesty's subjects to take no part in the matter, especially as they have acted so far in accord with me, and this would be setting a very bad example; and, although some members of the Council, who thought to make a great profit out of the business, have put great pressure upon them, they have respected my orders in your Majesty's name, and your Majesty's decision on this point and others is anxiously awaited. I am sure that, in the end, the Council will do what is right, although they try by many ways to profit. I have advised your Majesty of the disturbances in Ireland, and the wishes of Thomas Stukeley. The son of John O'Neill is in arms on one side of the island and John O'More in another part. They are both Catholics. The Queen received a post yesterday which had come in five days from a town called Cork on the coast, bringing news that a fortress near that town had been taken from the troops of Selliger and Greynvill, two English gentlemen who have undertaken to subdue a part of the island. It was captured by a Catholic gentleman named FitzGarret who beheaded all those who were in it, including a son of Selliger. The victors, to the number of some three thousand, went then to besiege Cork, and were already negotiating for the delivery to them of the wives of these two English gentlemen, who were in the town, so that with these pledges in their hands their own children and the property in the town should be safe. The said Selliger is here and is sure that by this time his wife is in the hands of these savages, to whom he and his comrades had done much damage, and some of whom he had hanged. The rising has troubled the Queen very much. The Council have agreed that the ships that went to Rochelle should be retained by the so-called Queen of Navarre, in order that the men in them may be used for the defence of Rochelle and against neighbouring places held by her opponents. The two Venetian vessels are in the Downs, and will sail with the first fair wind. The Hamburg business is turning out very badly for these people, for they have only sold 4,000 out

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of the 25,000 pieces of cloth, and these were exchanged for wax hemp, and hops, so that I do not think they will go there again. The lack of Spanish goods is being greatly felt here. Oil has doubled in price, and if it were not for these sloops, it would be at an intolerable rate. Everything else is the same. They have taken large sums of money belonging to private persons from all the ships coming from Spain, this money having been shipped from Spain without your Majesty's license. Some people think that the sum will reach 130,000 ducats, but the owners, having fallen into this fault, do not dare to publish it, so that the English will keep the money, unless your Majesty orders that it shall be claimed for yourself, agreeing with the owners that they shall have some portion of it returned to them, and shall not be punished for their offence. Without their concurrence the necessary proofs could not be obtained, and I shall be glad to know your Majesty's wishes upon the subject, in order that this money may not remain in the hands of these infidels. The four English vessels that are taking ammunition and other stores and goods to Cape Agur (?), in the kingdom of Fez, are already at the mouth of this river ready to sail. I will advise your Majesty of what happens to them. As I am closing this, I have received from the French ambassador your Majesty's letter of the 15th of May.—London, 1st July 1569.

1 July **113.** Guerau de Spes to the Duke of Alba.
[Extract.]

The servant of the bishop of Winchester is here, and, although he asked 400 crowns for the house, we have agreed that the earl of Leicester's valuation of it shall be accepted, and I will move into it. I will advise your Excellency of their action with regard to the taking away of my guards. I, for my part, shall ask no favours. In the first audience I have, if the Queen grants me one, I only intend to speak of complaints in general, as I am told that that is her wish; but, if we come to particulars, I will give her details. I think it will be better to leave until a second audience, the subject of the queen of Scotland and the delivery to this Queen of the letter I have for her. Your Excellency will instruct me as to your opinion on this matter, and as to the commissioners.—London, 1st July 1569.

2 July. **114.** The Duke of Alba to Guerau de Spes.
[Extract.]

I am glad to see by your letter that affairs are going well, and much wish you had received the duplicates of his Majesty's letters, which I sent with the warrants for the 6,000 crowns you requested. I must again repeat to you most emphatically that you are not, on any account, to entertain approaches to you against the Queen or her councillors, or anything touching them. On the contrary, if people come to you with such talk, you must be so reticent that they shall never be able to say that any minister of the King has given ear to it. For your private information I wish to say that, knowing that Benedict Spinola was the principal cause of the money being seized, and that

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Thomas Fiesco has influence with him, I have sent the latter, who is a Genoese merchant residing in Antwerp, to negotiate with Spinola, on his own account, without its being known that he comes from me, with the object, if possible, of gaining over Cecil and Leicester in return for something to be given to them to favour the restitution. He writes telling me that he finds on his arrival many people have started negotiations without my wish or authority, and besides this, that the owners of the detained monies and goods have been offering very bad terms for its recovery. If I knew who they were I would have them punished.

I have also learnt that others, and even Spaniards, have tried to interfere in this business more then is fitting, and no doubt, as you will see, they, thinking that the property will after all remain there and be sacrificed for a low price, they will try to come to such terms as I have mentioned if the affair is not otherwise settled. I think, therefore, that you should extend no countenance to those who adopt this course, and thus interfere with my wish.

Fiesco is a sensible man with great interests in these States, so that, even if he were inclined to act wrongly, I do not think he would venture to jeopardise his stake here by going astray. I think, therefore, that you should receive him and give credit to what he says, holding your hand in the meanwhile with regard to that other business.* To tell you the truth, I suspect that the reason why Cecil has turned so smooth is that he has been already influenced by the promises made by Thomas (Fiesco) through Spinola. You gave Ridolfi a very prudent reply. In case you should see the Queen or Cecil you will be very gentle, as, only by this means, can affairs be guided as we want them to be.

I have told the Friars to go to Paris. I again press upon you that, on no account in the world are you to listen to any proposals about Ireland, or other parts, as I can assure you that such a course might ruin everything, and you also would run a personal risk, for which I should feel truly sorry. You may, however, with great caution and at unsuspicious hours, listen to the servants of the queen of Scotland.—Brussels, 2nd July 1569.

5 July. **115.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I have moved to-day into Winchester House, and by special order of the Council George Speke has accompanied me hither. He is one of the gentlemen who have guarded me, and told me on the Queen's behalf that I was not to be surprised at what she had done, because, thinking that the duke of Alba was going further, she thought it advisable to make sure of my person in that way; but since the Duke had desisted, she also had changed her mind, and restored me to liberty, begging me to forget all past offences and use my good offices in favour of peace and quietness. I thanked her Majesty for the favour she had done me, and said that although the past excesses had been unusual, I would nevertheless not fail in my endeavours to preserve peace and amity

* *i.e.*, The project he had for bribing the Councillors, Cecil and Leicester, directly.

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between the house of Burgundy and that of England. The gentleman told me that, whenever I wished, he would go to the Queen and Council for me, as they had given him instructions to do. After he had dined with me, he, with his wife and family and others, went home and left me at liberty.—London, 5th July 1569.

7 July. **116.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I send enclosed a rough draft of the statement drawn up with regard to the property detained. Lord Lumley has been to speak to me and has confirmed everything that Ridolfi and Suygo had arranged with me hitherto, and, after much discourse, we agreed that Ridolfi was to be given this draft, so that it might be communicated with the members of the Council, who are his friends, and, in the meanwhile, that I should ingratiate myself with some of them without mentioning the late annoying events. I am doing this, and am taking other means to let Cecil understand that this statement about the merchandise is a true one. The people who have the matter in hand are warned not to let it be known that they are in communication with me about it. I will send a special courier to your Majesty when any resolution is adopted. In one of the ships from Rochelle there has arrived a servant of the duchess of Vendome, who brings many jewels for the Queen. I suppose they are a recompense for the aid she has sent them. It is a sign that they (at Rochelle) are short of provisions, that 10 or 12 ships are being prepared to send thither. Winter's brother goes to Bristol to prepare the expedition of 4,000 men they are to send to Ireland. News has arrived that the Catholics there have been reinforced by 1,500 men from Scotland and the adjacent islands. A packet of letters has appeared here in the possession of one of the commissioners. They were directed to some merchants of Medina-del-Campo, and it is said in them that they were carried by the Portuguese ambassador, who left Antwerp at the end of May. I suspect that they have not captured the ship in which the ambassador sailed, as the letters are said to have come here in a Biscay ship which tried to go round Scotland and Ireland to avoid the Straits of Dover. The Regent James had arrested the earl of Huntly, although he keeps him by his side as if free. James was going to the north of Scotland gathering money from the towns, and had soldiers around Dumbarton to prevent the entrance of provisions. The captain of the castle has sent his brother to this country to report to the queen of Scotland the position. Now that this Council is somewhat more favourable to the queen of Scotland, they have sent a gentleman to tell James to treat his Queen's affairs with more moderation, and to ask him to send commissioners here, as promised, to come to an agreement. The king of France has written to this Queen, assuring her that the queen of Scotland has not made any renunciation of her rights to this kingdom in favour of the duke of Anjou.—London, 7th July 1569.

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10 July. **117.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.
[EXTRACT.]

The French ambassador has been to see the Queen, and, as on other occasions, she had refused him permission to visit me, he wished to learn from the Queen herself whether she would now allow him to do so. She answered that he was not yet to visit me himself, but that he might send some one on his behalf. I have not yet requested audience, nor will I do so until I am assured by our friends on the Council that it will be granted. They say they will advise me, and they also tell me that the four sloops originally belonging to your Majesty's subjects which were being fitted out at the instigation of Cardinal Chatillon shall not be allowed to go to sea.—London, 10th July 1569.

13 July. **118.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

I have in former letters advised your Majesty that I am now free and living in Winchester House, but, hitherto, in consequence of the hopes these people still entertain of affairs in France, and also because each member of the Council is looking for his own profit in consenting to a general restitution, no more has been done in the matter of the detained property. It is desirable not to hurry them much, or appear very anxious, as this is the course which alarms them most. I have not yet requested audience, as I have been desirous of learning first whether it would be granted, and I am expecting the decision to-day. Some of the councillors think this is the best course, in order that the Council may appoint a committee to discuss the matter with me, and thus certain of them who have been mixed up in the business may be left out. News has arrived here of the engagement in France where Philip Strozzi was taken which has made them cool somewhat in the discussion of our business. They say the first question to be decided is whether I am to have audience, so the best way will be to let them alone for a few days.—London, 13th July 1569.

14 July. **119.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

The courier having been detained I have had time to obtain a copy of the petition presented yesterday to the Council by five merchants, which petition was drawn up by them and secretary Cecil with Francisco Calvos, in accordance with Cecil's instructions that it should only be presented in the name of the merchants. Your Majesty will see by it the spirit of these people.

I have only to add to-day that Cecil has raised a question amongst them as to whether it will be advisable that I should present some fresh letter from your Majesty, however short, about these affairs. Another invention, no doubt, to delay the matter. I will try to make this understood by means of the others, and will report the decision duly to your Majesty. A rising in the north is feared as some of the heretic ministers are ariving here, having been driven out by the people. God dispose all things for your Majesty's service!—London, 14th July 1569.

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14 July. **120.** The Duke of Alba to Guerau de Spes.

By your letters of 27th ultimo and 1st and 2nd instant things appear to be taking a favourable course. I have now to reply as to what you are to do if they release you; whether you shall go to the Queen, and what you have to do, or say, to any councillors who may visit you. Having regard to the bad and insulting treatment extended to you, it would be very just that you should refuse to receive anyone or to see the Queen until entire satisfaction has been given to you; but, things being in their present condition, I think you might remain at home without going to Court, and, if the Queen sends for you, you might go graciously to her and tell her, after having heard her, that you cannot answer anything without instructions from the King or letting me know, as I am charged with these affairs. If they show any desire to deal with you on any point beyond the restitution, you may say that, if the restitution is agreed upon, it must be effected before any other business. You will deal with the councillors in the same way, kindly and gently, without mentioning past events. By this I do not mean that Fiesco's negotiation with Cecil is to be limited to this point.

You did well in ordering all merchants, subjects of his Majesty, to have nothing to do with the valuation of the goods, under pain of heavy punishment. If the English choose to do it without the intervention of any of our men it cannot be helped. Although you will have seen by my other despatches that you are not to entertain proposals from anybody, I must again press this upon you and tell you that I am informed from France to-day that the queen of Scotland is being utterly ruined by the plotting of her servants with you, as they never enter your house without being watched. This might cost the Queen her life, and I am not sure that yours would be safe. You may consider, also, what would be the effect on affairs in such case, and I beg of you most earnestly to avoid all such dealings as they are prompted by bribery in order to betray you. Any message from the queen of Scots you will endeavour to hear by means of one trustworthy person, and no more, and even then, not directly. As regards the money that has come thither concealed, I quite believe that the amount will be what you say. When we negotiate for the restitution we will consider by what means the sum can be ascertained. Your plan does not seem a bad one, and you may give an account of what they tell you to Thomas Fiesco, who is a sensible man.—Brussels, 14th July 1569.

7 July. **121.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 5th, 7th, 10th, 13th, and 14th instant, giving an account of what had happened up to that time; but as people here are so changeable and venal something new turns up every day and much patience is necessary in dealing with them. They are much disturbed about French affairs. They have fitted out ready for sailing the four sloops, three large and one small, belonging to your Majesty's subjects, and they only await the

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return of John Brug, a native of Amsterdam, who has gone in his ship to reconnoitre the coast of Holland. The Council has given me but slack replies when I have pointed out the evil which may arise from the sailing of these ships. The judge of the Admiralty, moreover, has not done his duty in refraining from forbidding it. They have now seized all the boats belonging to your Majesty's subjects which were detained in the river, taking them from their owners, whom they have turned out from their lodgings on board, which have been occupied by certain Englishmen armed with a patent from the Council. They have been valued at a quarter of their value, and even this price has not been given to the owners, but has been deposited with the Queen. The mariners appealed to me at the time when I was treating with Cecil and the Council through a third person, to bribe five of the members with good presents to get them to adopt a general restitution at once. Cecil signified that he would be satisfied with 10,000 ducats for his share, and this sum was promised him, but the affair was hindered by the commission they have given to six good-for-nothing men to appraise and sell, on certain pretexts, all the merchandise detained which is still in stock. This is a road to a host of robberies and rogueries, and has been devised by some of the Council in order to gain great riches for themselves. They have induced some poor and insignificant subjects of your Majesty here to join the commission, in the hope that they may be allowed to share in the plunder. I have ordered them all in your Majesty's name to have nothing to do with it, and many have obeyed me. I will try to stop this infamous course, if possible. If they persist, I will inform the duke of Alba, and when I told Cecil this I said that the real way to remedy the affair was for me to give an account of it to the Queen, who would not deny me audience for the purpose. The answer was given by the earl of Leicester who said that the Queen thought it desirable that I should bring a fresh letter authorising me to negotiate with her, seeing what had passed between the Duke and her. Cecil and the other members say that this reply was given without their consent, and they will have it altered, but I believe that it is only another pretext for delay to see how affairs will go in France. Your Majesty will see what is best to be done and order me accordingly. I requested a passport to send a courier to Flanders, and a servant still awaits it at the Court. If the detention is with the object of sending me a better reply I will duly advise your Majesty. The present letter is taken by a servant of the queen of Scotland, who is being sent to the duke of Alba. They are preparing to send another flotilla to Hamburg. The brigantine has brought news from there that all the goods have been sold, although with little or no profit. To get some of their goods off their hands they will again send an expedition now, and another in September. This does not look as if they were so anxious to come to terms with your Majesty. When George Speke brought me the answer about the audience, he told me that, although he had no instructions to tell me so, yet he could say that no treaty would be arranged with your Majesty without first an understanding having been come to as to the security of English subjects in your

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dominions with regard to religion, and that as to the restitution, if it be carried out, they want to bring into account certain confiscations of English property decreed by the holy office. I think, however, that if good news for us comes from France, they will deal more gently in the matter. We must also have patience, although the business is greatly hindered through Cecil's having got the upper hand in the Government, and without fear now that the other members may overturn him, knowing, as he does, that they could not agree together to oppose him.

Postscript: The servant who is being sent by the queen of Scotland to the duke of Alba is going to treat for aid to be sent to her castle of Dumbarton, which is in extreme need. As it is so important, it appears desirable, by this means and others, that we should help this poor Queen now she is so hard pressed, especially as these folks here are acting falsely with everybody as I write to the Duke.—London, 17th July 1569.

19 July. **122.** The KING to the DUKE OF ALBA.
[EXTRACT.]

Yours in French and Spanish of 1st, 3rd, 4th, and 14th have been considered by the Council of State with presidents Tisnach and Hopperus, respecting the seizures in England, and I have ordered the letters and powers you request to be sent, literally as you desire, as I am convinced that you, being on the spot, have thoroughly considered the matter. I do not, however, wish to omit to write you why the documents were sent before in the way that they were. The reasons were mainly three:—First, it was most important that the money and merchandise detained should be promptly recovered and trade re-established, in the interests of the royal revenues and of the people at large who had dealings with the States, many of whom now have been utterly ruined. Secondly, we thought that if I wrote setting forth the whole matter fully, as I did in the long letter to the Queen, she would have no excuse for delay. If her letter to me was written in good faith I gave her a good opportunity of proving it, whilst, if the contrary was the case, I justified my cause by my letter. The third reason was to come to the point, to avoid circumlocution and take away all excuses from her. As she said she would not treat with you, but only with me, she had there with my own signature clearly set forth everything which had to be asked for or proposed, and thus she would have had no pretext to fall back upon, as she would have had with a simple credence which she might always think came from you and not from me. This would enable her to temporise and delay the restitution which is the end they are aiming at.

It was also considered that, as I was asking her to restore so great a sum, I could not avoid offering to return the small amount I have sequestered. The advantage being so enormously on her side, it could not be said that it was out of fear that I had acted moderately. Rather might it be said of them for returning so large a sum for so small an equivalent.

The other arguments you use were rather belated, as my ambassador, Don Guerau de Spes, was a prisoner, and she had sent

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D'Assonleville back without receiving him. Even if she had sent my letter to other princes, we think it would only have redounded to her own confusion. But still, you can do as you like with the despatch now sent, although I must urge you again most forcibly to use every effort to recover promptly the money and property detained, as the evil is growing hourly. I have little hope of any good being done by the Florentines you mention, considering the sort of men they are, interested in France and the Queen. Fiesco perhaps, by means of money, may do better, as people there are so much influenced by it. Although you have the matter fully in view I wish to urge you again, on no account, to enter into any other question with the English beyond the seizures, as it is quite clear that they will want to bring up any, and everything to hinder the settlement of the really pressing point. Besides, the questions they raise about Spain are simply nonsense. First about my having expelled that dogmatizing scamp of an ambassador; the Queen has expressed herself satisfied with my explanations both to Guzman de Silva and to Guerau de Spes. The second point was about the "Pontifical History," which spoke of the Queen disrespectfully, and this was remedied long ago by the books being called in and reprinted without the objectionable paragraphs. The third claim is that English heretics should not be punished here by the inquisition. You will judge what sort of attention we should give to such claims as these, which, after all, are nothing but tricks and subterfuges, and as such you must brush them aside and come to the main point, which is restitution.—Madrid, 20th July 1569.

22 July. **123.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 17th that they wanted to set about selling the detained merchandise, for which purpose they had appointed as commissioners some very low people, a silversmith, a brewer, and a draper, all Englishmen, besides two Milanese, subjects of your Majesty, one of whom, in consequence of my orders, has retired, but the other persists. The sixth commissioner is a Lucchese go between. My expressions of regret about it and about the sloops they have taken at a low price from their owners, four of which are being fitted out, have resulted in their unbending somewhat; inasmuch as at first they required a new commission from your Majesty to authorise me to treat of this and other affairs, which I told them I did not think necessary; but George Speke came yesterday from the Council to tell me that if I would assure them that I had letters from your Majesty, even though I did not produce them, as they might be in cipher, they would negotiate with me if your Majesty ordered it, and that the Queen would give me audience as usual. I assured them that I had many letters from your Majesty written since my detention, and that I would listen to whatever they said, and after consulting with your Majesty would send them a decided answer. The Queen went to Richmond yesterday, and the Council will meet there with her to-morrow, when George Speke will go with my answer. I gave him a memorial for the Queen setting forth the injury which might result from the said Commission if they

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proceeded to sell the merchandise, and that I should hold her responsible for the losses incurred. What with this, and with my pressure on the earl of Arundel to get the commission revoked or altered, they have held their hands, and nothing is now being done. I will try to put it on a firmer basis if possible. The Queen is to make a short progress this year as far as Southampton. I am told, according to Arundel's statement, that the effect of what the Council will communicate to me is, that if your Majesty will appoint me, either alone or with others, to decide all pending questions between this Crown and your Majesty, including restitution of the goods now detained, the Queen will appoint similar plenipotentiaries, and all points may be settled. I have sent to say that I do not think this will be a good course, but that we should first inquire as to the restitution, and thereafter the other questions can be dealt with, as between two friendly princes. He says that the decision they have arrived at is the aforementioned, but that, perhaps, after discussion with me, they may gradually come round to my view. George Speke has told me nothing more than this, and I will punctually consult the duke of Alba.—London, 22nd July 1569.

Postscript: Arundel tells me that they are sending shortly, for the succour of Rochelle, a large quantity of victuals, and will bring back salt and other things in exchange. In addition to this, the Queen would send 1,000*l.*, part of which she has already in cash, and is pawning the Vendome jewels with various merchants to raise the rest. They are sending a credit of two thousand (?) crowns to the Queen's agent in Germany in order to help Duke Casimir to enter France. The Queen dined yesterday at Lambeth, Cardinal Chatillon being present. It was declared in letters that were then made known, that the French king's army was becoming weaker every day, and that the Protestants had taken Chatelherault, as well as raising the siege of Sanserre and Xaintes, and had gone against Poitiers. They said that Casimir would enter France and go to Normandy or Picardy. In the county of Suffolk, at the instance of certain ministers, the heretics had planned to kill all the Catholics. Many of the conspirators have been arrested, and strict orders were sent from here yesterday for their punishment. It is strange that the heretics should begin these disturbances in a part of the country where they have it all their own way. This may give rise to other movements.

Since writing the above, I learn that the Suffolk business, although they profess here that it is a religious rising, is really a revolt of the people against the royal officers, in consequence of the want of outlet for their cloths, which are made in great quantities there. In addition to this, they have not enough land for agriculture, as the royal and private parks there are very spacious. They attempted to kill the keepers of the Queen's parks and the owners of the private ones. It would appear that they must have some agreement with their neighbours in Norfolk, because some of the latter have come hither to learn whether the Duke has been arrested; he having promised them frequently to go thither this

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summer to witness the evils under which the country is suffering in consequence of the want of outlet for the cloths. His people, thinking the Duke might be detained, sent these men as a deputation to see him. I do not know whether the Duke himself arranged this. The French ambassador received an affront from the Queen at Lambeth yesterday. He had been given an appointment with her, and was awaiting her in the presence chamber; Cardinal Chatillon and the Vidame in the meanwhile going in and out of the Queen's private room, when she sent out to tell the ambassador that she was busy and that the audience would be postponed to another day. He says he was going to speak to her about the fitting out of these sloops. On the same day I gave a servant of mine a great number of petitions from the owners of the detained boats, and sent him, in company with the petitioners, to Cecil. The latter returned the petitions to my man, and told him to take them to the four commissioners who manage maritime affairs. As the number of documents was very large, and Cecil had them mixed up with other papers, the enclosed writing was found amongst them, which reveals the negotiations which this Queen has with the Count Palatine. I suppose they will not understand how they have lost it. I know Cecil's signature very well. The earl of Ormond was leaving Ireland, but the Queen has ordered him to be stopped.—London, 22nd July 1569.

25 July. **124.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

As something fresh occurs every day, I have to write constantly. The Queen is at Richmond, and they have kept George Speke there two days without letting me know if they are going to give him an answer to the message I sent by him to the Queen, setting forth the injury which these pirates may cause if they proceed to sell the detained merchandise. Everything at Court is in such confusion that I cannot hope they will come to a good decision in this or anything else.

This Queen sees that all the people in the country are turning their eyes to the queen of Scotland, and there is now no concealment about it. She is looked upon generally as the successor, and much is publicly said about her, such as, "that they want to raise Absalom against David," and other things of that sort. She has sent Captain Drury to Scotland in all haste to urge James (the earl of Murray) to send his commissioners here as promised, and to say that, if their coming is delayed, she will send the queen of Scotland thither with armed force; swearing that she will not have her here any longer or she will raise the country against her. She said yesterday publicly that she would marry at once, either to Leicester or the Archduke Charles, although I feel quite sure she will do neither.

Cardinal Chatillon was in conference with her and Leicester for over three hours, and the duke of Norfolk sends me word that they are remitting 50,000 crowns to the Duke Hans Casimir to enable him to enter France with 4,000 horse and some foot. The help for Rochelle is also being pushed forward.

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The Admiral and Vice-Chamberlain Knollys, who are the men that have stolen most, went yesterday to entreat the duke of Norfolk not to advocate a reconciliation with your Majesty. Knollys said that otherwise their religion would be ruined. A minister named Sampson,* the most pernicious heretic in existence, also went yesterday to exhort the Duke on the same subject, admonishing him as an apostle of God, as he calls himself, not to support the queen of Scotland. The general opinion is that these risings in Norfolk and Suffolk have not been undertaken without the Duke's knowledge. The latter is now somewhat suspicious, and goes about surrounded by friends, in order that he may not be easily arrested, although the Queen has no officer who would dare to do it. I believe that there will be another change soon. Both sides, each for its own interests, thus delay an agreement with your Majesty, and the Queen goes to-morrow from Richmond to Oatlands in order to avoid giving me a reply, but I expect that by waiting a few days some great event will be seen.

The bishop of Ross came to me at three o'clock this morning to assure me of the wish of the duke of Norfolk to serve your Majesty. He said he was a Catholic, and has the support, even in London, of many of the aldermen and rich merchants. I will report everything to the duke of Alba and follow his instructions.

As it is acknowledged here that the disturbances in Suffolk have arisen in consequence of the lack of outlet for the cloths and the want of materials for the industry, the Council has agreed with the Easterlings who come hither, for them to go to Spain with their ships, and bring back cargoes of oil, alum, and soap. These ships will therefore sail soon, and it is desirable that they should obtain none of these things in your Majesty's dominions, even though they profess that they are for France, unless they give full security that they shall not be brought hither.—London, 25th July 1569.

30 July. **125.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

Since my letter of 25th George Speke came to me from Richmond with a new device, namely that the Council wished me to send my secretary with the letters I might have from your Majesty, even though they were in cipher, that he might point out in what portion of them the matter of these negotiations was referred to. I told him that such a demand would better not have been made, and that I had orders from your Majesty to listen to what they said, which was sufficient. He repeated that, if I liked to go to the Council to say anything in your Majesty's name, he begged that I would let them know, to which I replied that I had no such

* This was Thomas Sampson, who had refused the bishopric of Norwich in 1560, and had officiated at the burial of the duchess of Norfolk in 1564, being then dean of Christchurch. He was deprived of his deanery for refusing to conform to the orders with regard to clerical vestments in 1566, and Grindal (in a letter to Bullinger, Zurich Archives, Parker Society) pays a high tribute to him at this time. He says that of "those who have been deprived Sampson alone can be regarded as a man whose learning "is equal to his piety." By the intercession of Archbishop Parker, Sampson was afterwards appointed a prebend of St. Paul's, Master of the hospital at Leicester, and theological lecturer at Whittington College, London. He was either chaplain or an intimate friend of the duke of Norfolk.

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order, but that, if they wanted to speak to me, I would reply with all courtesy. I then begged him to speak to the Queen respecting the four sloops which are being fitted out, and to hand to her, in person, the statement that I gave him, which he did. At this moment he has brought me the reply saying that the Queen left Richmond for Oatlands yesterday, and on her departure, he handed her my reply and statement, which she read several times and said that she would have orders sent in writing to the captains of the sloops, telling them to desist from their voyage. She also said with regard to the commission, that no injury would be done to the merchandise thereby, although, he says, she was not very positive about this. The protest which I made upon this subject I now enclose. George Speke asked leave to go into the country, and the Queen again entered into discourse with him as to whether I had fresh letters from your Majesty telling me to act in these negotiations. Speke assured her again that I had, and she then called the secretary to her. It would seem that she only mentions these matters in conformity with the secretary's intentions, as she said to him, "Look, ye! the ambassador has fresh letters from the King," and thereupon they decided that Speke should return to Oatlands. The Queen questioned him as to whether I would again ask for audience, to which he said, as I had ordered him to do, that it was (not ?) necessary to do so, but that when she summoned me I would go and kiss her hand.

I tell your Majesty this that you may decide if it is advisable to write anything to the Queen, a credence or otherwise, for me to use it only as occasion may appear to demand when it arrives, or whether it will be better to let things go their own course. French affairs make them rather hopeful, but the people are murmuring greatly for want of trade, and this may alarm them.

I have written to your Majesty about the risings in Norfolk and Suffolk, and there must have been some controversy in the Council about it yesterday, as, in presence of the whole Council, the duke of Norfolk told Speke that it had been asserted that he, the Duke, had urged me to stand firm. He told him to ascertain from me if he, the Duke, had ever sent such a message. I assured Speke emphatically that neither the Duke, nor any other member, had done so, and if he had, I should not be guided by the opinions of others, but by what I myself thought was just and right.

This is the position at the moment. The voyage they had planned to Hamburg seems to be dragging, in consequence of the merchants declining to ship goods unless the Queen's men-of-war go to convoy the cargo ships, as they did before. It would be very desirable for this voyage not to take place, and also that the ships the Easterlings are sending to Spain for oil, alum, and soap should not get their cargoes there, or, at all events that they should give security that they will not bring the goods to England. This letter is taken by Juan Perez de Torreblanca, a Biscayner, who promises to carry it in his boat to Spain, although I am anxious about another letter I sent on the 28th ultimo, by Lope de la Sierra's sailors, as the ship was detained very long on the coast and was overhau'ed several times. I am sending to the Court to ask

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for a passport for whenever I wish to send a courier.—London, 30th July 1569.

1 Aug. **126.** GUERAU DE SPES to the DUKE OF ALBA.

By my letters to his Majesty you will see that, in preventing the sailing of the sloops and deciding to restore the badly sold boats, the Government have taken favourable action. I am sending to-morrow to Court to know on what day I can go and salute the Queen. I will speak gently to her, as your Excellency orders, and will report the result. They say that orders will be given that my letters may come in safety, I believe that they will do as I ask in my memorial, namely, to bring them under cover marked O, with a certificate from Antonio or Leonardo Tasis that they are for me. All these matters are referred to Mr. March, formerly the governor of the English in Antwerp. He was at Court when my servant was there and was consulted about my request, but has not yet returned to approve of it. In the meantime please send letters by Calais or by the ordinary post.

I have disposed of the six thousand crowns in the way I wrote to your Excellency, and I see they will produce great fruit, and this much and more, which we can promise and pay, will be gained on the merchandise. Norfolk and the other adherents of the queen of Scotland are very busy trying to get her declared the Queen's successor, and this Queen is already somewhat suspicious of the Duke. There certainly will be some turmoil about it. The Duke, the earl of Arundel, and Pembroke, are pushing the business forward, with the support of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Derby, Exeter, Montague, Morley, and others, and they all assert that if they succeed, religion shall be restored. Leicester says that he will be with them in the matter of the succession, and Cecil says he will not prevent it, but these two are not trusted by the others. The earl of Huntingdon, if he were a bold man, would greatly profit by the support of the heretics in the Suffolk risings.

The Hamburg people have arrested John Brug of Amsterdam for piracy, as he had even robbed the English themselves.

The prior, Don Hernando, writes to me in favour of Hernando de Frias, asking me to try to get his merchandise away from here, in exchange for a similar service that he will do to an Englishman named Smith in Antwerp. It is not a bad idea if the matters cannot be otherwise arranged; and if a general power could be given for all merchandise to be exported under security, in case of war breaking out, it would be convenient. The Queen, however, will not trust to security at all, but insists upon ready money which is a very bad way.—London, 1st August 1569.

127. FRAGMENT of SUMMARY of LETTERS from GUERAU DE SPES to the KING and the DUKE OF ALBA of 10th, 17th, 22nd, 23rd, 25th, and 30th July, and 1st and 2nd August 1569.

Although he had ordered his servant not to discuss the question of giving him audience, but to answer, if they mentioned it to him,

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that, if the Queen ordered him to go he would go, Cecil asked him if his master had received letters from the King since his detention, and, upon his answering that he had, Cecil said that whenever he wished to see the Queen he could do so. On the following day Don Guerau decided to send and ask for an appointment. Don Guerau understands that the reason of so much gentleness is that they know that the duke of Norfolk, and the greater part of the nobles are united for the purpose of getting the queen of Scotland declared successor to the Crown, and it was said that when the reply came from the Regent they would openly tell the queen of England so. She and the duke of Norfolk have already had words about it, when he replied fittingly to her and is now suspicious and surrounded by friends.

2 Aug. **128.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

Since my last letter of the 30th ultimo, I sent to Oatlands, where the Court is, a servant of mine with George Speke, to make sure that the four sloops which have been fitted out should not be allowed to sail, and that the boats which they had taken here at so low a valuation should be returned to their owners, and also that the commissioners should not be allowed to proceed to sell anything. I also desired that passports might be given whenever I wished to send despatches, and letters to me should be properly secured against being opened. All this, with the aid of adherents of your Majesty there, with whom I had arranged, was fortunately granted as I desired. I gave orders to my servant to say nothing about asking for audience, and if they mentioned it to him he was to say that, if the Queen sent for me to kiss her hand, I was ready to go. Cecil asked him whether he was sure that I had letters from your Majesty since my detention, and when he said that I had, Cecil said in the Queen's name that it was at my own option when I came to see the Queen, and that I should be very well received. I shall ask my friends to-morrow to arrange an appointment for me. I think the hurly-burly here about the duke of Norfolk and the nobles wanting to declare the queen of Scotland heiress to the throne is at the bottom of all this gentleness. With this object the nobles have united, and have mutually given each other their signatures. When the reply comes from the Regent, they have decided to tell the Queen firmly, and to request her to summon Parliament for the purpose stated.—London, 2nd August 1569.

2 Aug. **129.** Guerau de Spes to the Duke of Alba.
[Extract.]

I will go to see the Queen, as she has sent me orders to do, but I will not enter into any details with her, and, if the Councillors say anything to me afterwards, I will at once advise your Excellency. Thomas Fiesco thought that I ought to speak to the Queen, so that her Ministers should be obliged to answer me, but I will follow your Excellency's orders. Cecil and the others seem more agreeable. I believe this arises from the fear they are in that this country will revolt on the question of the queen of Scotland.—London, 2nd August 1569.

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5 Aug. **130.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 2nd instant by the duke of Alba, and soon after the courier had left I had a letter from Spinola, who had come from the Court with secret orders to the commission here to sell merchandise belonging to your Majesty's subjects, to the value of 3,000*l.*, which I was very sorry to learn, seeing that few hours before, the Council had assured me they would act quite differently. These commissioners were so willing that they began to sell and deliver the goods to the buyers on the spot. I sent the same servant of mine to Court in all haste, where they detained him a whole day. The end of it was that the Queen sent for him to the park, and put aside the question of merchandise by saying that they would not proceed further with the sales, and that they had sold what they had merely because they were informed that the goods were being spoilt. Cecil said, by the Queen's order, that, if I liked to come to Guildford on Wednesday, I could, but that, before I spoke with her, I must confer with the Council, and prove to them that your Majesty had ordered me to treat on these affairs. My servant said that he had no instructions to reply to the proposal, whereupon Cecil detained him and came hither with him. I informed him that I had power from your Majesty to listen to whatever they liked to say, and what was necessary to be considered I would communicate with the duke of Alba, to whom your Majesty had referred all this business. As for the rest, I said, as the Secretary himself and the Lord Chamberlain had told my servant that I could go and kiss her Majesty's hand whenever I wished, I would go when her Majesty ordered me to do so, and that nothing else was necessary. Cecil returned this morning. I have not heard that he did anything else whilst here, except speak with certain aldermen; but on his way he called to see the earl of Pembroke, who is suspected of belonging to the duke of Norfolk's party. They are full of meetings and conferences. The Duke's party and those who favour the success of the queen of Scotland are incomparably the greater number. The Duke and the earl of Arundel intended, after I had seen the Queen, to take me to Nonsuch, but now that my visit has fallen through, they will take some other course; but in any case I believe there will be some great event soon, as the people are much dissatisfied and distressed by want of trade, and these gentlemen of Nonsuch have some new imaginations in their heads.

I have given leave to those who hold powers of attorney from merchants to petition the Council, and endeavour to persuade them to desist from disposing of merchandise, on condition of security being given, and to prevent, as much as possible, the injury which may be done them if these commissioners continue their proceedings. As your Majesty knows full well, affairs here are like the rising and the falling tide, fluctuating from one moment to another. This is the reason why I write so differently in my various lettters.

The Council is pressing forward the Hamburg voyage, although they have not yet begun to load the ships, which, however, they say, will be loaded on the 18th. Cardinal Chatillon is asking that

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the four sloops and three other ships which are fully armed on the coast, mostly commanded by rebels from France and Flanders, should be allowed to sail, and says that they will not do any damage to your Majesty's subjects. As he rules Leicester and Cecil, he will settle it all with them. Winter has taken the sails away, and promises to do all he can to prevent the vessels from leaving. If they sail they can only make any profit by plundering your Majesty's subjects. Three ships from St. Jean de Luz have put into Bristol loaded with Biscay iron, and are now leaving for their own country with a cargo of cloths, pewter, and other things, all of which are destined to be taken into Spain. The want of oil here is so pressing that they are getting oil from rape seed to dress their wool, and they say they can manage with it. There is little of the seed, however, yet, and no matter how active they may be in sowing it, the out-turn of cloth by means of it will be small and poor. They are trying also to utilize the oil which they obtain from boiling sheep's feet. Their great hope is to get soap and oil from Spain through France, and from the Easterlings, who, I am told, have already left for the purpose.

The Catholics in Ireland have reached the neighbourhood of Dublin, spoiling the country on their way. The heretics have caught an Irish bishop coming from Italy, and have put him in prison. They say they will put him to torture, to learn whether he has spoken to the Pope.

They have ordered Winter to cease the sales of Portuguese goods, and they want by this means to arrange their differences with the king of Portugal, in order to try to import spices into this country.—London, 5th August 1569.

8 Aug. **131.** The Duke of Alba to the King.
[Extract.]

Your Majesty will understand, by the enclosed letters from Don Guerau and Thomas Fiesco, the state of English affairs; which, in my judgment, is very unfavourable, and I have no doubt whilst they (the English) hold the booty in their hands, as they now do, they will delay matters as much as they can to avoid restitution. I have written several times to Don Guerau to suspend negotiations, as I plainly see that they are tricking him, so as to get all they can out of him, and then to say they have negotiated without authority. When I receive the letter your Majesty is to send me, I will try to settle the business in the best way in my power. Don Guerau is zealous in your Majesty's service, and wishes to end the questions at issue, but, as he is inexperienced, he allows himself to be led away, and is ruining the negotiation. I earnestly wish he had not said that there was a letter from your Majesty, or gone beyond my instructions, but he will not do as I tell him.

In the meanwhile, I beg your Majesty to order that no English goods are to be received in any port of Galicia, as I am informed that there was a ship in Vigo selling cloths and buying things which are beginning to fail in England. I wish also your Majesty would order the arrest of all ships in Spanish ports bringing English goods, as they have recently taken to shipping their cloths

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in Venetian and Ragusan bottoms, and I am told that some of the Portuguese in Antwerp are in secret league with those of their race in England, to whom they will transfer the spice trade thither, and so encourage the English in their evil intentions.

If your Majesty thinks well you might speak a word to the Portuguese ambassador, so that the King may order his subjects to desist from such negotiations. I have no doubt many of them would like to go thither (England) to live in the law of Moses.—Brussels, 8th August 1569.

8 Aug. **132.** The Duke of Alba to the King.
[Extract.]

I advised your Majesty some time ago of the coming of a gentleman sent by the queen of Scotland to discuss matters with me. He and another secretary of the Queen have returned hither, and they both beg your Majesty to help her with 30,000 or 40,000 ducats, and although I have no commission to do so from your Majesty, I have ventured to send her 10,000 ducats, seeing the great need in which her affairs are, in order that some at least of them may be attended to. I beg your Majesty to send me instructions.—Brussels, 8th August 1569.

10 Aug. **133.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 5th, and the only thing now to add is that the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Arundel have sent a gentlemen to inform me that the decision of the Queen with regard to the audience was different from what I had been told, and that she was desirous of seeing me. I have sent Luiz de Paz to them to let them know that I am still, as I have said, willing to go and kiss her Majesty's hand, whenever she commands me to do so, but that it was quite unnecessary for me to speak to the Council first or anything of the sort.—London, 10th August 1569.

3 Aug. **134.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

The day before yesterday a gentleman arrived at Court from the Regent of Scotland bringing his master's answer, saying that on no account will he or the nobles enter into any discussion for reconciliation with the queen of Scotland, and he was sure that what had been written to him had not originated with the queen of England, but had come from certain friends of the Papists in her Council. He said that the Queen and the majority of her Council had told him, when he was here, what was best to be done in the matter, and that he would follow it. He also refused to raise the siege of Dumbarton and to return the property of the bishop of Ross and other subjects who have been deprived of it in consequence of their attachment to the Queen. He has, on the contrary, sent certain important gentlemen to more strongly enforce the blockade of Dumbarton. The bishop of Ross went to Court to-day to learn the resolution that this Queen will take in the matter, and what are the intentions of his mistress's friends.

The greater part of the ships which were expected from Hamburg, together with some others belonging to the Easterlings, have arrived

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loaded with goods, on the north coast, and no sooner had they done so, than they began to ship cargo for a new voyage. All this sea is crowded with pirates. Luiz de Paz has returned with the Duke of Norfolk's gentlemen, and bringing word from Cecil, in the Queen's name, that she will be pleased for me to go and see her, but she would like me to show some of your Majesty's letters, written since my detention, to certain members of the Council whom she will appoint. I refer this question to the duke of Alba to learn his opinion upon it.—London, 13th August 1569.

13 Aug. **135.** GUERAU DE SPES to the DUKE OF ALBA.
[EXTRACT.]

Just as Fiesco was leaving, Luiz de Paz and the duke of Norfolk's gentlemen arrived, and it seems that Cecil interposed in the conversation with them. It was resolved that the Queen should say that I could go to Basing, a pleasure house of the lord treasurer, but that some of the Council thought I should show letters from the King in order that they might satisfy themselves that they were sent after my detention, but they would do this simply as a point of honour and nothing else. Luis de Paz told them that he had not come with that errand, and your Excellency will therefore do me a great favour if, as soon as you receive this and have heard a personal account from Fiesco, you will send me a courier with your opinion upon this point. If the letter, come addressed to me they will let them pass. In the meanwhile, I intend to answer the Queen thanking her for the favour done me in offering an audience, and excusing myself from going so soon on account of indisposition, and also in order that she may, if she wishes, learn anything from me in the interim, as I do not intend to discuss business with her on that occasion. In the meanwhile, your Excellency's orders may arrive. On the one hand the audience may be useful in stopping the injury they are doing, and on the other, it would be perhaps more dignified and likely to alarm them if no notice were taken of the offer. Your Excellency will decide what is best for his Majesty's service. News from Ireland is that affairs are in a very bad state, and they are raising 800 men here to go thither.—London, 13th August 1569.

27 Aug. **136.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

In my last letter of the 20th, I reported that the sloops were going down the river to join three other vessels on a piratical voyage. I have since heard that the bastard of Brederode was to join them with three other ships. By a spy I have amongst them, I learn that they were talking of doing some damage in the islands of Zealand, but I expect they will find them prepared, and that their designs will fail. The Easterlings resident here have drawn up a statement of complaint, because the people on these sloops are denouncing them and the Hamburgers for having beheaded John Brug of Amsterdam there (at Hamburg). They have petitioned the Queen to detain these sloops, but still, I expect, they will sail, because the earl of Leicester is much in favour of the expedition.

The rest of the ships from Hamburg have arrived, with others from Muscovy, bringing a quantity of whale-oil, wax, and skins. From Hamburg they bring a great stock of merchandise which was

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much needed here. Randolph, this Queen's ambassador in Muscovy, has returned, and with him comes a Muscovite ambassador. They entered London to-day and were received with great discharges of artillery. I understand their business relates to merchandise and the duties thereon. The Queen is at Basing, intending to go to the Isle of Wight, although it is believed for certain here that she will go direct to Windsor in consequence of the affairs of the queen of Scotland. She took a fortnight to consider her definite reply, and hopes in the meanwhile to receive that of the Regent.

The Council has decided, at the instance of the duke of Norfolk and his friends, that the queen of Scotland shall be set at liberty, on condition that she marries an Englishman, and the signatures of all the principal people in this country have been obtained to this effect. The matter of her marriage, also, is so far advanced that the French ambassador has been reconciled to it, and, within a day or two, I understand that the Duke himself, or some other leading personage, will come and request me to write to your Majesty to learn your wishes on the subject. The bishop of Ross, on behalf of his mistress, is to come and see me about it, and has already communicated to me by John Hamilton. The business is so forward that it will be difficult now to prevent it, but I think it will be better that it should be done with your Majesty's consent, which cannot fail to be of great advantage, as it will bind them more closely than ever to your Majesty's service.

The queen of Scotland says that, if she were at liberty or could get such help as would enable her to bring her country to submission, she would deliver herself and her son entirely into your Majesty's hands, but that now she will be obliged to sail with the wind, although she will never depart from your Majesty's wishes, either in religion or other things. I believe this, and that the affair will be conducive to the continued respect of your Majesty here, and also to the recovery of the stolen and detained property. I will advise the duke of Alba of all that happens, and will follow his instructions. They are constantly springing upon me some new plan to sell the goods belonging to your Majesty's subjects here. I put them all off as well as I can by artifice, but, as Leicester and Cecil are the only councillors now at Court, they had ordered all to be sold by the commissioners themselves, although I have been able to stop it until the Queen's return to Windsor; where the question is at issue between the two queens of England and Scotland will be considered. They have loaded 30 ships for Hamburg. They carry 30,000 or 40,000 pieces of cloth and other goods, and so much haste has been made that I believe they will sail from here to-morrow, two of the Queen's ships accompanying them. To extend their trade the more, they have arranged with the French ambassador that certain commissioners should value the (French) goods that have been stolen, and that in the meanwhile commerce should not be stopped. They are therefore loading five or six ships for Rouen with cloths, which, I understand, are promptly to be introduced into Spain by way of St. Jean de Luz, or some other route.

The 25,000 crowns received by the queen of Scotland come from certain confiscations in France, valued at 100,000 ducats.—London, **27th August 1569.**

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5th Sept. **137.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I have advised your Majesty that four sloops had been completely equipped in this river, the captains of which are M. de Dupin and Dembise, French rebels. The Queen promised George Speke and a servant of mine that they should not sail, and ordered Captain Winter to take their sails away, but, subsequently, by great pressure from Chatillon and Leicester, they have received license to leave, and are now outside. They cannot fail to do much harm, especially if they join three English ships on the coast which have been fitted out, and also with the bastard of Brederode, as they declare they will. I have informed the duke of Alba, and in order that the coast of Biscay may be prepared I have advised Juan Martinez de Recalde, to whom this letter is sent. It is carried by William Merrick, an Englishman living in London, an honest man, well known in Biscay. He goes in a tiny vessel of his, and I have authorised him to carry with him 80 or 100 pieces of coarse cloth, for sale, with your Majesty's permission. He also takes the Biscayners, who were in my house; the rest of them, who were mostly married, having gone first. He is to consign them to Recalde and to await your Majesty's orders before leaving; bringing back any despatches that may be given to him.

Your Majesty will see by my letters to the duke of Alba an account of all that is passing here. I await hourly the reply of the Duke as to the best way of dealing with these people. They are so cautious that one must needs consider very deeply how to approach them, particularly now that they are hopeful of French affairs and are consequently very far from being reasonable. Their dissensions amongst themselves may perhaps upset them, although disturbances have not yet commenced, but they can hardly be avoided, and the Queen must then come humbly to beg your Majesty's protection.

The Hamburg business is turning out well for them, and although they feel the stoppage of trade with Flanders, this outlet prevents the people from raising a disturbance.

The lack of trade with Spain they will redress with what the French bring from that country hither, and, as your Majesty's dominions are so broad, it is difficult to watch them as closely as this country, being an island, is watched. Still it seems that a somewhat stricter guard might be kept than hitherto, and, if this were done and the Hamburg trade prevented or disturbed, the English could not get on at all. If, on the contrary, it is to your Majesty's interest to treat them softy, an arrangement can easily be effected, especially with the humours now prevalent here. The less anxiety, however, we manifest for an agreement, the better terms we shall get.—London, 5th September 1569.

12 Sept. **138.** The Duke of Alba to the King.
[Extract.]

Is very ill. I will therefore only say what I have done about English affairs, in which I see the urgent need for remedy, both for the reasons your Majesty mentions and many others which are evident here, but until I receive the letters it has not been possible

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to proceed further. As soon as I received them I immediately sent a courier to Don Guerau with a letter he could show to the Queen, in which I said that I had letters from your Majesty and intended to send them by some persons who might speak with her, and desired him to ascertain whether she would receive them. I have prepared the instructions for the man who is to go and I have resolved to send Chapin Viteli* and a man of the long-robe called Junglo, a native at Utrecht, who has resided for a long time in Rome. Cardinal de Granvelle thought highly of him and I find also very good parts in him, which I think of turning to your Majesty's service, as there is a great dearth of (such) men. The councillors and myself thought it best to take this step, first as no time was lost thereby (the instructions being drafted the while), in order that the Queen might have no opportunity of offering us any insult. As soon as her reply is received, these two men will start, unless any change of view occurs between this and then. The matter has been hindered with no advantage to your Majesty's dignity by their (the English) listening to all the busybodies who have thought proper to interfere.—Brussels, 12th September 1569.

14 Sept. **139.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

At daybreak on the 9th, a courier arrived with orders from the duke of Alba for me to endeavour to have the original of the letter which he wrote to me handed to the Queen herself for her answer. I therefore sent a servant of mine in haste to Southampton, and she was pleased to give him the passport requested, copy of which I enclose, as also of the Duke's letter, and I am now despatching the same servant to the Duke with the passport.† Thinking that Merrick's ship will not have left the mouth of the river, in consequence of contrary winds, I send this despatch out there to try to catch him, so that your Majesty may learn this news without delay. The sales of merchandise are being secretly stopped, at my instance, by the Judge of the Admiralty, although the fears of these people of dissensions amongst themselves also operate in this direction. The Queen has declared her will that the duke of Norfolk should not marry the queen of Scotland, notwithstanding that the Council had decided that the interests of the country would be served thereby. As the majority of the Council is on the side of the Duke in this, I think that certainly there will be, in a short time, great turmoils here. I will give prompt intelligence thereof to your Majesty and the duke of Alba. They have

* This famous Florentine soldier, who had beaten Barbarossa from the coasts of Tuscany and had secured the duchy of Sienna to Cosmo de Medici, had been made marquis of Cetona by Cosmo, and had been requested to accompany the duke of Alba to the Netherlands as chief of the staff. He had been an unflinching lieutenant of the Duke during the years of terror which succeeded his arrival, and was extremely unpopular in consequence. His tremendous obesity attracted much satirical notice in England during this mission, and was, in 1575, indirectly the cause of his death. He was too fat to walk, and during the long siege of Zieriesee, where he commanded, had to be carried about in a chair. By accident or design (it is believed the latter), he was overturned and fell down a slope, causing injuries which proved fatal to him.

† The permission and passport for Chapin Viteli and his associates to come to England.

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sent in the Hamburg fleet a large sum of money to Germany, and a part of the duchess of Vendome's jewels. A bishop who was here with Cardinal Chatillon, whom they call M. de Lisy and M. de Cavannes, formerly president of Toulouse, both of them belonging to the faction, also went with them to Germany.

The French ambassador sends me word that he had discussed three subjects with the Queen; the marriage of the Christian king elsewhere, of which the Queen did not approve, the third matter being the release of the queen of Scotland to which she replied, that the time had not arrived for it, and that she did not much feel the want of her liberty, for she was able to find a husband even as it was.

The ten thousand crowns which the Duke sent for the queen of Scotland have just been handed by me to her representative.—London, 14th September 1569.

17 Sept. **140.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

By the duke of Alba's orders I sent a letter he had written to me on the 25th ultimo to be delivered into the Queen's own hands, and sent a copy thereof to your Majesty on the 14th by William Merrick's ship, bound for Laredo. On the same day I sent my servant in haste to the Duke with the passport granted by the Queen to insure safe conduct for the persons who were to bring your Majesty's answer, and I am now awaiting the Duke's decision as to their coming.

The four sloops equipped here by some French and Flemish rebels were still, a few days ago, at Sandwich, where they were joined by Launcelot, bastard of Brederode, with a fine well-armed ship. It seems that he had already taken some vessels and had discharged the wines he found in them. They have been reinforced by five or six hundred Englishmen and they will go now in great array on their evil voyage. It is asserted amongst them that they have some understanding in Zealand. The Queen has already returned to Hampton Court, whither she has summoned all the members of her Council for this day week; she has let the duke of Norfolk know her will that he should not marry the queen of Scotland, but I do not believe the Duke will desist from his enterprise in consequence. A stronger guard has been placed around the queen of Scotland, although I have understood that she will, nevertheless, soon find herself at liberty, and this country itself greatly disturbed. All the north is ready, and only awaits the release of the queen of Scotland. The latter is anxious to give your Majesty a very full account of everything, as events are now coming to a head, but I wait until I see the affair commenced before writing at length. Your Majesty can then decide what will be best for your service. Perhaps God is now opening a wide door which shall lead to the great good of Christendom.

I wrote to your Majesty that Cecil was arranging an agreement with the Portuguese as to commerce with that country, and now Antonio Fogaza, a Portuguese, who came from Lisbon lately, although he has resided here for a long time, is leaving. He says he will only endeavour to obtain a modification of the terms, but the

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wish of Cecil and some of the merchants who are concerned in the business is not confined to this point, but to bring the spice trade to this country, which, it is believed, the king of Portugal will not allow.

The Queen has detained all the ships that were going to Rochelle.

The plague is beginning to show itself in London. Perhaps the cold weather will stop it.—London, 17th September 1569.

18 Sept. **141.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to the DUKE OF ALBA.

I wrote to your Excellency on the 14th instant by the person sent by the ambassador, and since then a great flotilla of ships is being fitted out here, it is said for Rochelle, as munitions, ordnance, money, and other stores are going. Cardinal Chatillon and the people here have understood that affairs at Poitiers are not going to their liking, and they are trying to send secretly what succour they can. News has arrived that the French bishop who, with some Englishmen and Frenchmen, were sent by Chatillon in the Hamburg fleet from here to Germany to raise troops, had reached Embden where he was to disembark.

It is said also by Englishmen who have arrived on this coast from Spain that 18 galleys, 12 French and 6 Spanish, had arrived at Bordeaux, as your Excellency will have learnt overland.

There is much talk about the marriage of the queen of Scotland with the Duke (of Norfolk), and those who think they understand the matter best suspect that much evil may come of it, both to the parties themselves and those who are concerned in it, as neither this Queen nor those who rule are pleased with the idea, and as they have the upper hand, they can, in time, do as they please with those who are against them. I pray God to protect the queen of Scotland, and that meddling ambitious busybodies may not bring evil to her, which may be feared, as this Queen will not tolerate the suggestion. The Portuguese I wrote about has gone, and, as the matter is most important, I presume your Excellency will have given orders about it.

The Court is coming to Hampton Court in 10 days from Southampton, where it has been lately, but will not come to London where the plague is raging, and Hampton Court, whither it is to go, is, as you know, isolated. Everbody here is talking of the coming of the persons said to be sent by your Excellency, and lodgings are being prepared for them by orders of the Court. Opinion varies greatly about it, but the rumour runs that those who are coming are Señor Chapin Vitelli and the Licentiate Vargas, with a great following.

As I have said, it will be difficult to get the people here to agree, as their every action hitherto has shown a desire for discord, and, as your Excellency will see, it is very important that the gentlemen who are coming should be warned that these people are fully armed with tricks, with the object of preventing an agreement which, although they may pretend they earnestly desire, they abominate more than anything.

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The first thing they will maintain, although falsely, is that your Excellency ordered the arrests first without reason; their contention being that they were entitled to detain the money on Lope de la Sierra's ship because they falsely allege it to have belonged to private persons and was not for his Majesty's service. They say their intention never was to give rise to discord.

The second contention, more unfounded still, is that they deny having, by order of the Queen, taken away the rudders and sails from the four cutters carrying money, lying in Dartmouth and Falmouth, which they did in pursuance of their evil designs on the 15th December last. On the 19th of the same month they discharged all the money from Lope de la Sierra's ship and deprived him of the keeping of it.

In conformity with these sinister purposes of theirs they afterwards gave orders, without any provocation on our part, that all of our ships on the west coast should be deprived of their sails, and placed under the guard of Englishmen. This was done on the 29th December, which was the day they gave the ambassador the passport for the delivery of the money, and our goods, although they had previously, in pursuance of their malicious designs, ordered the seizures I have mentioned. This was done without the slightest provocation, as they could not have heard of the arrests made in Flanders on that day by your Excellency's orders, in consequence of their bad action here, which you will have learnt no doubt from the owners of the merchandise, whom I had promptly advised, as I was in charge of the interests of most of them, as well as from the ambassador. They will profess great willingness to restore what they have seized, but nothing is further from their thoughts, as they cannot do it at present, and never mean to do it, and yet your Excellency will see they will be impudent enough to say they are willing to come to a mutual agreement.

It will be found that they will afterwards claim all manner of ridiculous sets-off, such as that John Hawkins, who has been three or four times to the Indies with a great fleet, has been plundered of at least 500,000 ducats there.

They also allege that the property confiscated from Englishmen by the Holy Inquisition reaches a large amount, and they will claim that this shall be restored.

They also demand a great sum for the ships and property detained at Seville by Don Alvaro de Bazan, and very justly detained, because they resisted the officers of justice and endeavoured to cut out a French ship from one of his Majesty's ports.

All these claims will amount to more, as they themselves say, than the value of the property they have seized from me and the money of ours they have taken. The least they demand is that Englishmen abroad shall enjoy their liberties, and that we here must put up with all the insults and injustice we have suffered for years. They also demand that they shall be free to go with merchandise to the Indies, and that, neither in Flanders nor

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Spain, shall they be molested in person or property for their heresies.

When the negotiations are undertaken, it will be found that these and other absurd pretensions will be advanced, and they will insist that his Majesty shall swear to leave them in the repose they desire, and forget all about the robberies committed by their pirates, supported by the favour of those in high places.

It must first be noted that they will never discuss the restitution nor settle the questions that have arisen since January last, without first assuring themselves of being able to end all pending questions, with the intention of thus avoiding restitution and all peace and quietude unless on their own terms. Your Excellency will find that I am right, for such is the feeling here, unless, indeed, French or other affairs force them to come to reason God grant that I may be mistaken, being, as I am, an imprudent and ignorant man, and that all things may turn out well.—London, 18th September 1569.

22 Sept. **142.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

William Merrick's ship for Laredo left the river yesterday with two packets of mine for your Majesty. Afterwards, a servant of the duke of Northumberland, whom I know, came to me, and made me the sign which his master and I had agreed upon. He said that his lord and his friends in the North had agreed to liberate the queen of Scotland, as, thereby, they would assure the Catholic religion, and return to amity and alliance with your Majesty, which they so much desire. His master wished to know if your Majesty would approve of this, as he would undertake nothing that was not to your interest. I told him that these matters were so weighty that I could not reply to them. I would send an account of them to the duke of Alba, but that it was generally known that your Majesty's desire was to help religious matters.

He told me also that the Queen had sent the earl of Huntingdon with other gentlemen to guard the queen of Scotland together with the earl of Shrewsbury. She had strongly resented this, as the earl claims a right to the Crown, and the bishop of Ross is coming to this Court in her name to protest. He is expected to-night to Windsor.

The duke of Norfolk is here preparing all his friends. I will advise the duke of Alba hourly. I await a reply to the letter taken by my servant on the 16th instant, with the passport I have written about.

The armed sloops appear to have gone in the direction of Friesland. Other English pirates have brought some more captures from your Majesty's subjects to the Isle of Wight where, I am informed that the three Venetian vessels which were so anxiously looked for and desired have arrived. John Killigrew came from Germany lately; it is said that he wants more money and credits for negotiations there. When the Queen is at Windsor I will try to find out more details about it.—London, 22nd September 1569.

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25 Sept. **143.** The DUKE OF ALBA to the KING.
[EXTRACT.]

I learn from Don Guerau that he at once showed my original letter to the Queen and he has sent a servant of his to me with the passport for the persons who are to go. Chapin and Junglo are now getting ready. I am anxious about the business, because, although there are certain means which might be used, placing dignity aside, those who surround the Queen are so greedy, and they have been promised so much by those who, without authority, have meddled in the affair, that I am sure they will be very unwilling to agree to a restitution, and, if they refuse it, I do not know how we shall be able to avoid a rupture, which would be most prejudicial to your Majesty's interests at present. I am resolved to send Fiesco again, without letting anyone know his errand, to try to gain over the earl of Leicester and Cecil, who entirely govern the Queen and do and undo as they please. He is, at the cost of the interested parties, to try to dispose them towards the negotiations, urging upon them, at the same time, that, on no account in the world, should any of your Majesty's agents there know that they (the parties interested) are offering them anything, as it would ruin them (*i.e.*, the parties interested). I have no doubt that if this thing is to go on, it will be necessary to arm a fleet to protect commerce between these States and Spain; but there are so many things to be considered (besides the great danger it would run of being caught in a tempest and driven to England) that until I have consulted experienced people I cannot send your Majesty an opinion as desired.—Brussels, 25th September 1569.

? Sept. **144.** The DUKE OF ALBA to QUEEN ELIZABETH.

B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. III. Original, French.

Letter of credence for the marquis of Cetona (Chapin Viteli) who is sent to negotiate about pending questions. He is accompanied by M. de St. Severin and Secretary Jacques de la Tour.—Brussels, September 1569.

27 Sept. **145.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

Since my letter of the 22nd, through Don Francés de Alava, the duke of Norfolk, who was in London, having learnt that the Queen desired to have him arrested, suddenly departed for his country, and on the road sent a letter to the Queen, a copy of which, translated from the English, I now enclose. As soon as he arrived in his country, men flocked to him, both horse and foot. The Queen is greatly alarmed about it, and has summoned to Windsor, where she is, all the members of the Council, sending Master Garret, captain of the pensioners, with her reply to the duke. I am told that she writes gently in order to tranquillise him. The greater part of the Council favours the duke. They are meeting to-day to consider the situation, and I will try to discover the result of their meeting for the information of your Majesty and the duke of Alba. I did not like to raise any doubt as to your Majesty's favour in my conversation with the earl of Northumberland's servant, or to discourage the duke of Norfolk's party, but

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have referred the question to the duke of Alba. They were about to despatch some one to inform the duke fully, and the queen of Scotland intends to do the same, although there will be a difficulty now in getting passports. In the meanwhile, the queen of Scotland has sent me the enclosed letter for your Majesty, and another for the duke of Alba. She dwells strongly to me upon her alarm and suspicion at the earl of Huntingdon, her rival in the claim to succession, having been sent to guard her, although the earl of Shrewsbury was there. The bishop of Ross is at Windsor praying for audience, which has not been granted. He wrote to the Queen complaining that Huntingdon should have been entrusted with the care of his mistress, and Cecil replied that Her Majesty would be in no danger. They have put a double guard in the Tower here. Perhaps these things portend something favourable. I cannot think otherwise, although, on the other hand, I observe that Cecil and his fellow Protestants on the Council are still very much deceived, for, even now, with their peril before them, they will not come to reason, so firmly have they got it into their minds that their religion will prevail.

John Killigrew, the queen's agent in Germany, returned recently. With him came a gentleman from the duke, Hans Casimir, pressing for a larger sum of money than has yet been paid to him, to provide for his entry into France. But with these signs of revolt I expect that neither this nor the fleet for Rochelle will be so readily pushed forward. I desired to send a special courier to the duke of Alba to advise him of all this. I await the return of the servant I sent to him with the passport for the persons who are to bring your Majesty's reply hither. There is no great change in the health of London since I wrote.

Two out of the six Venetian ships have arrived, and the others cannot be much longer delayed. On the coast of Granada they met a band of your Majesty's galleys, which saluted them in a friendly way. They entered the Tagus, but touched in no other part of Spain. They found there the other Venetian ships which had sailed from here. The arrival of these vessels will be of great benefit here.—London, 27th September 1569.

30 Sept. **146.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I despatched a courier on the 27th with the enclosed letter, and with a passport granted by the Committee who always gives them. The courier was sent back from Dover, notwithstanding the passport, but, even thus, they paid him more respect than they did to another courier sent on the same day by the French ambassador who was assailed as he passed Rochester by masked men, and robbed of his papers. My courier returned, and I have sent to Windsor to ask for a passport signed by the Queen herself; but as they are delaying sending it, and things are of such importance, I despatch the bearer of this in a boat to inform the duke of Alba of what is going on, although I am afraid that they will discover it.

When the earls of Pembroke and Arundel and Lord Lumley arrived at Windsor, they were very warmly welcomed by the Queen, but when they got to their lodgings they were ordered not to

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leave them without the Queen's permission. This has caused great consternation in the country, and everyone casts the blame on to Secretary Cecil, who conducts these affairs with great astuteness. The duke of Norfolk would not receive the captain of the pensioners, who had been sent to him; but despatched a servant of his to excuse himself to the Queen, saying that he was indisposed, but that if some members of the Council would come and confer with him, he would meet them at a place to be mutually agreed upon. It appears the Queen, in order not to alarm him the more, has again sent the same captain and another gentleman, with 25 or 30 horse, with orders not to lose sight of the Duke. I do not know what will happen; but I understand, considering the number of the Duke's friends in England, he cannot be ruined, except by pusilanimity, and the queen of Scotland has sent to urge him to behave valiantly, and not to fear for his life which God would protect. She and the Duke wished to send a person to the duke of Alba, but it has not been possible as the ports were closed. I, in any case, refer them to the duke of Alba, as your Majesty commands. They are equipping here four-and-twenty vessels and are shipping cannon on board of them, as well as sending artillery to Windsor and Nottingham, whither they have taken the queen of Scotland, having transferred her from Wingfield to Tutbury, and thence to Nottingham. They have relieved the earl of Shrewsbury from guarding her, to her great sorrow, and she is now in the power of of the earl of Huntingdon and Viscount Hereford with 500 Englishmen. The bishop of Ross had audience without the presence of a secretary, and he was told that the Council would give him an answer. The Queen has removed the captain of Berwick because he is a friend of the duke of Norfolk, and has summoned most of the nobles to Court.

I have no news from Flanders, other than the arrival there of my servant with the passport. I will advise your Majesty of everything; but if any delay should occur, it will prove that the coast of this country is so closely guarded as to prevent intelligence leaving it. God open a road for the recovery of what has been plundered from your Majesty's servants, and punish some of these bad councillors, as otherwise they will continue their evil deeds.—London, 30th September 1569.

8 Oct. **147.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

On the 30th ultimo I sent Medina, a Spaniard, to the duke of Alba with letters for your Majesty, advising fully that Arundel, Pembroke, and Lumley were detained by the Queen at Windsor. They were judicially interrogated by Cecil and four other commissioners as to who had initiated the plan of marrying the queen of Scotland to the duke of Norfolk, and they replied jointly that it was the unanimous wish of all the Council. The interrogation was mostly directed to inculpate the queen of Scotland, but they all rightly exonerated her, although the commissioners showed great desire to blame her, and passionate words passed between the prisoners and them. In the meanwhile couriers and protests were being constantly despatched by the Queen to the duke of Norfolk

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urging him unceasingly to come into her presence. The Duke, either to avoid the first fury falling upon his own head, or with the idea that his friends were not yet ready, or else, as he himself says, to avert the evident peril of the queen of Scotland, who is in the hands of her enemies, or possibly confiding in the great promises made by Leicester, to the effect that if he would pacify the Queen by a show of obedience all his adversaries would promptly be overcome and perhaps the road to his own marriage thrown open, has abandoned, for the present, his attempts at revolt, and returned with a few horse, and the gentlemen who accompanied him, to the house of Thomas Selliger three miles from the Court, where nearly all his servants took leave of him and where he is now detained. He has been interrogated like the others. The prisoners expect to be free shortly, and to take possession of the Court, although Cecil and the Lord Keeper, his brother-in-law, do not agree with the rest and want to send them to the Tower.

The friends of the prisoners, who are the earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Derby, and many others, all Catholics, are much grieved at this cowardice, if such it can be called, of the duke of Norfolk, and they have sent Northumberland's servant, who spoke to me before on the matter, to say that they will by armed force release the Queen and take possession of all the north country, restoring the Catholic religion in this country and effecting a general restitution of the goods of your Majesty's subjects within a year. They only ask that, after they have released the Queen, they should be aided by your Majesty with a small number of harquebussiers. To all this I have answered as I did at first, without taking hope away from them, but referring them to the duke of Alba. I feel sure that they will attempt the task, and it will be better carried through by them than by the duke of Norfolk as they are more fit for it, and the queen of Scotland will have more freedom afterwards in the choice of her husband. I advised them to send a person to the duke of Alba, but I do not know whether they will soon have a chance of doing so, or if they will resolve to attempt what they say first, the only danger of which would be that those who have charge of the queen of Scotland might make an attempt against her person. I am advising the duke of Alba of this that he may instruct me about it, as it really seems that great good may come to the cause of God and your Majesty thereby. They have allowed the earl of Shrewsbury to take part in the care of the Queen, whom they have brought back to Tutbury, but by the copy of the letter from the bishop of Ross enclosed, your Majesty will see the calamity and misery in which she now is. They have granted me a passport for this courier; please God that it may not be to deceive me! I have no news about the bugler they sent to Gravelines to request the captain there to inform the duke of Alba that the persons who were to be sent hither should not come for the present, nor have my servants heard of him from the Council.

Whilst Cecil governs here no good course can be expected, and the duke of Norfolk says that he wished to get him out of the

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government and change the guard of the queen of Scotland before taking up arms. It is thought that they will not dare to take the Duke to the Tower, although in this they may be deceived, because they who now rule are all Protestants, and most of them creatures of Cecil. Notwithstanding all this, the fleet for Rochelle is still on the west coast.

Certain German gentlemen have landed in Dover coming from the castle of Chatillon, and have gone to-day to the Court.

I heard yesterday that they have ordered the commissioners to go and sell all the merchandise in the west country, which will be a great evil, and I at once sent a letter about it to Cecil by a servant of mine. I have no answer yet, but I have sent to the duke of Alba asking for instruction, and whether your Majesty's subjects are to be allowed to buy.

In a port in the north called Lynn one of the ships from the flotilla of sloops has arrived, and is selling the plunder taken by all of them. I am informed that amongst it are some silver custodes taken they say from the isle of Texel and another island near.—London, 8th October 1569.

14 Oct. **148.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

Having an opportunity by this ship to St. Jean de Luz I have despatched the present letter. They brought the duke of Norfolk to the Tower on the 11th inst. He was very foolish, they think here, to return to Court after having left it against the Queen's will. He never thought to come to his present pass, and upbraids himself for having believed the letters of Leicester and Cecil. The councillors are puzzled to know what to do with Arundel, Pembroke, and Lumley, who did no more than the rest of the Council in approving of the marriage of the queen of Scotland with an Englishman, and subsequently approving of Norfolk himself. They are afraid that if they let them go the disturbance will be all the greater.

They are trying to give the post of Lord Stewart, which Pembroke filled, to the earl of Bedford, as he is such a great heretic.

I heard yesterday that they had arrested Nicholas Throgmorton, late English ambassador in France, a heretic, but such an enemy of Cecil's that on this account he belonged to the queen of Scotland's party.

I do not know what is being done by those in the north. I have avoided encouraging them until I receive the duke of Alba's orders. I also await the arrival of the marquis Chapin Viteli, who is already at Gravelines, but I believe that in consequence of the bugler having been sent from here to the governor of that town to request that the Marquis should not come, and also of events here, the duke of Alba may wish to hear further of the state of feeling before sending him.

Antonio Fogaza, the Portuguese of whom I wrote, goes with certain treaties to Portugal, and they have let him load a ship with cloth under passport from the Queen and Cardinal Chatillon.

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These rebel sloops have captured over thirty ships belonging to your Majesty's subjects, mostly loaded with grain.—London, 14th October 1569.

23 Oct. **149.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

The marquis Chapin Viteli arrived in this island on the 15th, although captain Leighton who had been sent by the Queen made him leave all his company at Dover. He proceeded to Greenwich and I sent some people to Canterbury to conduct him, and had a servant of mine sent to Court to know what was the order to be observed with regard to him. We were told that we could come to Kingston, and there confer as to what was best to be done. The Queen would not allow me to be present at the first audience of the Marquis with her, saying that she first wished to know what your Majesty had written to her about the detention of the merchandise, and as the Marquis and I agreed that it would be best for your service, we thought we would let her have her way in this, so that we might proceed to the more important question of restitution. We also agreed that it would be best to speak to her mildly, smoothing over what she might say against the duke of Alba. Yesterday was the day of the audience, and the Marquis addressed her very prudently, diverting her as much as possible from her complaints against the Duke, and assuring her of the good wishes of your Majesty, and the confidence you had in her, that she would not allow herself to be withdrawn from your old friendship and alliance; all of which may be seen by your Majesty by the letter in French, which the Marquis sends to the Duke. The decision of the Queen is that she will appoint persons to examine the Marquis' powers, and in the meanwhile, we are not to move from this place, both in order to await her reply, and in consequence of the present unhealthiness of London. We shall soon know whether these people will come to reason. It may well be that the bad news they have from France and the fear of further revolt here may make them do better now than they have hitherto done.

The duke of Norfolk is still in the Tower. The Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, Lord Lumley, and Nicholas Throgmorton, are prisoners at the Court, or near to it, and the queen of Scotland is in the castle of Tutbury, guarded by the earls of Huntingdon and Shrewsbury.

The earl of Northumberland's servant returned last night to assure me that, whenever your Majesty wished, they would release the queen of Scotland, would marry her to your Majesty's liking, and try to restore the Catholic religion in this country. They only want to be favoured by your Majesty. Your Majesty's orders now received shall at once be carried out.—London,* 23rd October 1569.

23 Oct. **150.** CHAPIN VITELI to the DUKE OF ALBA.

By my last letters, your Excellency will have learnt of my arrival at and departure from Dover, and what happened between me and captain Leighton, a relative of lord Cobham, who was sent by the Queen to conduct me to Kingston fifteen miles from the Court. Last

* Note in the King's handwriting: "This cannot be from London, but from the place whence Chapin writes to the Duke" (*i.e.*, Colebrook).

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Monday I arrived at Rochester and at once wrote to Don Guerau de Spes saying that, as in consequence of the plague, I could not go to London to see him, I begged him to kindly meet me at Greenwich the next day, in order to discuss my mission. I found him there next morning and, after we had discussed together my instructions and documents, we decided to meet again at Kingston, and, in the meanwhile, to consider maturely the best course to take, whether to proceed gently or otherwise.

Captain Leighton received letters from the Queen at Greenwich conceding me six of my people, who had stayed behind at Dover, and to Junglo and Secretary Latorre one servant each, the rest of my people being allowed to come to Canterbury with the expectation that, when I had seen the Queen, they might all be allowed to join me.

On the following Wednesday the ambassador met us at Kingston and we came to the conclusion, unanimously, that it would be best to proceed gently. When this had been agree to, the ambassador wrote to Cecil advising him of our arrival and begged him to say when the Queen would grant us audience. On Thursday the man came back with an answer welcoming us warmly from the Queen and saying that she would willingly give us audience on the following Saturday. In the meanwhile, so as to be nearer to her and more comfortable, we could come and lodge at Colebrook, a league from the Court at Windsor, she being very sorry that owing to the smallness of her palace, she could not offer us a lodging at Windsor itself; but that, on my arrival at Colebrook, she would send me some of her gentlemen to accompany me and conduct me to her, although she did not wish the ambassador to be present at the first interview with her, as she had complained of him to his Majesty for his bad proceedings about the arrests, for which she was sure his Majesty had given her satisfaction in the letters I brought, and when she had seen them, she would decide what should be done in subsequent audiences.

I asked the ambassador's opinion on this and in order not to delay our audience, he agreed that it would be well to do as the Queen wished, and for us to go without him. He accompanied us however to this place, in order to be nearer to us and to be able to consult with us afterwards as to the best way to forward our object. We therefore arrived all together the day before yesterday here at Colebrook and the ambassador has made every effort to facilitate our audience. He has also allowed me to be accompanied by nearly all his household.

At two o'clock yesterday afternoon, captain Leighton, accompanied by some of the principal gentlemen of the household, was sent to conduct me to the Court, where we arrived at about 4 o'clock and were received at the entrance by Lord Hunsdon, governor of Berwick, a cousin of the Queen. He led us to the council chamber to unboot and refresh ourselves a little, and he and many other gentlemen then conducted us to the presence chamber, where we found the Queen accompanied by the earls of Leicester, Bedford, the Lord Chamberlain, Clinton, Admiral, the Lord Keeper, the Lord Privy Seal, Lord Strange, Secretary Cecil, and many others. After

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we had made due salutation to the Queen, I handed her in order his Majesty's letters and that of his Excellency, which she read and expressed her pleasure at receiving them, at least those from the King, although they had arrived later than she could have wished. I excused the delay and stated my errand to her in the best way I was able, in accordance with the course we had agreed upon. When she had heard me, she showed some disappointment that his Majesty had referred the negotiation to your Excellency, and had not signified his wishes in his own letters to her. She then went on to complain of your Excellency, saying that although you were a valiant captain and had prudently governed the Netherlands, as well as your own household, you had, nevertheless, failed in the respect due to her position and dignity, as you had, without provocation, arrested the persons and property of her subjects, and had thus almost brought about a quarrel between princes so friendly and closely united. She added that she cast no blame upon the King, as she was certain it had all been done without his knowledge, and that he was innocent and she trusted him as she would herself. After much of this talk, in which she showed that she took this injury much to heart, she said she was determined not to do as we asked until all the world was informed who had been the origin of these arrests and where the blame really lay. She said, for her part, she had never dreamt of touching his Majesty's money and she had not done so. On the contrary, she had promised to give all help and favour in conveying it to its destination, which she would have done with her own ships, only that the ambassador had requested her to retain it in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of the French pirates. She, however, had been informed that the money did not belong to the King but to certain Genoese merchants which statement she wished to verify, and for this reason alone had she deferred its departure for three or four days, and for no other reason, as she did not want the money.

To this and all her other objections we replied modestly, as instructed, especially as regards the complaints of your Excellency. I tried my best, by many arguments and persuasions, to banish from her mind all sinister impressions on this head.

Finally, after some little irritation on both sides; seeing that the Queen was somewhat getting over her anger, we ceased to retort, in order not to incense her again, and she then brought the audience to a close by saying that she would send some commissioners to us to learn what powers we had from his Majesty to negotiate for the restitution which we requested. We then took our leave. I have thought well to send this account at once, in order that your Excellency may see the exact state of our negotiations to date. I will duly send accounts of all that may happen.—Colebrook, 23rd October 1569.

24 Oct. **151.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to ————.*

As you will learn, the letters were detained and afterwards recovered. I received mine dated the 1st, and I will endeavour to

* This letter was probably written to Albornoz, Secretary of the duke of Alba.

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deserve by my zeal the favour done to me in ordering me to write. It is said the duke (of Norfolk) is so closely guarded that he is not allowed to leave the one room in which he is, and that he is only served by a single page in the Tower. His relatives and friends are greatly scandalised. It is believed for certain that they will take Lord Lumley to the Tower, and they have moved the earl of Arundel to another house, where he is guarded by a gentleman. Pembroke is in no more liberty than before. They have examined the queen of Scotland's ambassador, the bishop of Ross, on several points of this business, and particularly as regards certain sums of money, but he is free. They have also examined Ridolfi, although I have not been able to discover upon what points. He is still a prisoner, but I hope will soon be released. Luis de Paz and Cristobal de Amonte were at once released on bail. They have not yet been examined. There are ten or twelve rooms in the Tower prepared for prisoners, although who the prisoners are to be is not yet known. It was said lately that they would be persons of great position, but it has since been rumoured that for the present they will not be arrested. Some of the Duke's friends and his secretary are detained in the Court, and another of his secretaries has fled. Throgmorton, who was ambassador in France, is also detained. He is a great friend of the earl of Leicester, and although for several reasons Leicester is no friend of the Duke's, he has been in his favour in the matter of the marriage with the queen of Scots, and he is suspected on this account by the rest of those who govern. The total number of councillors who govern is sixteen. The Duke, the Lord Treasurer, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Arundel, and the Lord Chamberlain, uncle of the Duke, five of them, do not agree in religion or other things with the remaining eleven, who are the archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Leicester, the earl of Bedford, the earl of Sussex, the Admiral, Secretary Cecil, sir Walter Mildmay, sir Ralph Sadler, and Vice-Chamberlain Knollys, who all oppose the others, especially on sectarian points. Some months ago the Duke transferred all his estates to his son the earl of Surrey, which has made him all the more suspected, particularly as the Master of the Rolls, who is a person of great account here, advised him how he might do it in accordance with the law. The Master of the Rolls himself may be said to be under arrest, and he is being examined on the subject. It is certain that they are coining money from our treasure in the Tower lately. Four commissioners left here this week, it is said, to sell what is left of our merchandise detained here, for all the rest is stolen and sold before now. Fifty ships are being prepared to go to Rochelle for wine and salt, and will take, it is believed, artillery and stores thither and some money with three of the Queen's armed ships. The jewels sent the other day by the mother of Vendome, whom they call the queen of Navarre, were pledged for some 60,000 crowns although they say they are worth 120,000. It is said that the queen of Scotland is in good health God be thanked, and that all the armed men who were recently put to guard her have been taken away, although she is not allowed to leave her one room, and is still in the hands of the earls

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of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon. A person has come from Hamburg with letters for the English, and relates that since the flotilla arrived they have not been able to sell anything and had no hopes of doing so all the winter. They are all much dissatisfied with trading there, recollecting their former business in Flanders. Twenty German gentlemen have arrived here from the army in France, and went to Court to offer their services. They went away without arranging anything, and people at Court are now downcast. They say the news from France is disappointing to them. The Queen is tired of these changes, and the people so wonderstruck at them that no tranquillity can be expected, although it is presumed that matters will be dissembled during the winter. The summer is usually the time when these people are disturbed. Lately they have begun to equip 14 of the Queen's great ships, and it is said they will complete the armament of them unless circumstances should render it unnecessary. In the audience granted to the Marquis, the Queen expressed her dissatisfaction at the action of her ministers, to cover over her own share of faults in the business. It is quite probable that the good news from France will make them change their proceedings. The Queen said that the merchandise should not be sold. She would not allow the ambassador to be present, although since then the gentlemen who came over with the Marquis have been allowed to come to Court.

This letter is very badly arranged, but I trust it will be excused and taken in good part.

Postscript.—The letter that accompanied your worship's letter is dated the 1st. My desire is to serve well, but the danger causes me to write in this confused manner. Pray excuse it as the object is only to acknowledge receipt of the letters and cover the memorial for his Excellency.—London, 24th October 1569.

31 Oct. **152.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

Since my last letter the Marquis was given to understand that, before anything was done, Cecil wished to see the power he brought, in order to try to find some flaw in it or to allege its insufficiency, his intention being to delay matters in order that they might carry out their designs. On the 26th the Marquis went to see the Queen, when she gave him the reply which your Majesty will see by the enclosed letter in French. The Marquis met the Queen's representatives yesterday at a house near here, but they could come to no agreement and refused to allow me to be present, saying that the Queen was not yet reconciled with me, and moreover that the substitution of the duke of Alba's power was only in favour of the Marquis. They would not allow either Dr. Junglo nor Secretary Torre to take any part in the business, but made them sit apart from the Marquis. The decision arrived at was not to proceed to the question of the restitution until they brought under consideration all questions left open at Bruges and others of subsequent date. The Marquis insisted that a reply should be given to the point he had submitted to the Queen, but, as they refused him, he will take steps to get another audience. In the meanwhile I send this report to your Majesty and the Duke, in order that instructions

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may be sent. I am not sure that the councillors of this Queen are coming to reason even yet, although the king of France has gained so great a victory.* Those who usually oppose Cecil in the Council are prisoners, whilst he is free, and can, with the help of his brother in-law, the Lord Keeper, do absolutely as he pleases. They have reason to fear, but they do not understand it, or else they desire to delay this settlement with the idea that they can always come to terms by making some sort of restitution. All else is without change.—Colebrook, 31st October 1569.

31 Oct. **153.** The Duke of Alba to the King.
[Extract.]

When Chapin arrived at Calais they received information that Cobham, who is in charge at Dover, had written to the Governors of Gravelines and Dunkirk saying, that if any gentleman of these States was embarking there he was to be told that he (Cobham) had orders from his Queen that no one was to pass. I at once sent word to Chapin to stay his departure, and send over to Cobham to ask whether the Queen had revoked her safe conduct, and if the answer was yes, that he was to remain quiet and ascertain from Don Guerau the cause of the revocation. Whilst this was going on, Cobham sent over to Chapin saying that he could come and he would be welcome. He at once advised me and I told him to go. I have now just received news of his arrival at Court and of his audience with the Queen, as your Majesty will see by his letter and those of Antonio de Guaras enclosed. By one of these your Majesty will learn in detail what took place at the beginning of the arrests. Thomas Fiesco was informed by the Genoese, Benedict Spinola, by means of whom, by my orders, he was trying to gain Leicester and Cecil, that they had promoted Chapin's coming, and that he found them ready to forward the negotiation in consideration of a present. I have resolved to order Thomas to gratify them and give them a handsome present, on account of the interested parties, in order to get them (Leicester and Cecil) to consent to the restoration of what is left of the property seized, and that some earnest may be given on account of the rest. He will also try to get the English whose goods are seized here to pay some of these expenses, without their knowing that it is done with my cognizance. Thus the matters remain and every effort will be made to settle the differences.—Brussels, 31st October 1569.

4 Nov. **154.** The Bishop of Ross to the King.

French. I doubt not your Majesty will have received from Don Guerau de Spes the letters dated 13th September written by the queen of Scotland, my mistress, in humble gratitude for your sympathy for her affairs. The jealousy against my mistress conceived by the queen of England, in consequence of the attachment to her of many English nobles and a great part of the people, has caused her to be transported from the castle of Wingfield, where she passed all last summer, to a strong castle called Tutbury, where she is not treated as a free princess, but simply as a prisoner, and kept so

* The battle of Moncontour, 3rd October 1569.

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straitly and with so strong a guard that she can neither write nor send any of her gentlemen to your Majesty, as she wished to do. Since my mistress has been at Tutbury she wrote me an open letter enclosed in one for the queen of England, in which I am ordered to ask in all humility her good sister the Queen for aid and support in her release and restoration to her Crown and authority in Scotland; which the accursed rebels in their godless ambition have usurped, or else that she shall be allowed to go over to her good brother, the king of France, or to your Majesty's Flemish dominions with the Queen's permission, there to remain until God shall dispose of her. If this were not granted I was to appeal to all the Catholic princes, her friends and allies, for help and succour, and especially to your Majesty and the christian King, who she doubts not will come to her aid. Notwithstanding all my prayers and entreaties to the queen of England for help, I have not been able to obtain even a reply, but have been put off from day to day, so that it is evident no help may be hoped for from her, and I therefore humbly beg your Majesty to cast your eyes mercifully on this noble princess, sovereign of Scotland and my mistress, who for so many years has suffered such constant persecutions for the sake of the Catholic faith, in which she was born and bred, and which she will hold through life in spite of all tribulation and persecution which may befall her, from which resolve no mundane honours shall move her. She hopes for your aid, countenance, and support, which I supplicate that you will not refuse her, and with the help of God she will soon be free and out of this trouble.—London, 4th November 1569.

8 Nov. **155.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

The courier that the Marquis Chapin Viteli and I despatched on the 31st ultimo was stopped at Dover, and three of the packets of letters he carried were taken away from him. He was allowed to embark with one packet only, and the other ones therefore go by the present bearer. I came from Colebrook to my house in order to send off, secretly, a gentleman who had to go to the duke of of Alba, taking ship from a Northern port, and also in secret to see the bishop of Ross. I left the Marquis at Colebrook troubled with the gout, after which, he being somewhat better, he went to learn the Queen's answer, intending to come thence to London. The answer was, as the Marquis writes to me, different from what he expected. It was to the effect that the substitution of power in the Marquis's favour was insufficient for the general negotiation which these English desire, but that it covered the point of the restitution of what had been stolen and detained. They have therefore taken another day to consider, and I will go at once to Colebrook the better to learn what is passing. I see that these Englishmen have no good intention, and that they have not been so alarmed as they ought to have been, at the result of French affairs. Such is the ignorance caused by this heresy which they have so deeply implanted in their hearts. They have just sent John Killigrew to Germany again, and three vessels left the river two days ago, equipped by Flemish and French Protestants against

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the Catholics. It appears that they wish to detain the Venetian ships and are making plans to fortify Margate and the banks of the river. As those who are now in the Council are all of one way of thinking there is no one to oppose them in anything.

The duke of Norfolk is in the Tower but the earl of Pembroke is allowed to remain in his house, near here, but only permitted to communicate with his servants. Arundel is in the College near Windsor under guard, and the rest of them are similarly disposed of.

The Queen has ordered the earl of Northumberland and others from the north country to come to Court, they however, have no intention of doing so, as they are suspicious that they might be detained like the rest. They say they will release the queen of Scotland and take possession of this country if your Majesty only will favour them. They are sending a person to the duke of Alba about it, and I have given him a short letter in cipher. I think this will be the safest way, but your Majesty will decide for the best.

The discourse of what has passed in the queen of Scotland's affairs, which has been given to me by the bishop of Ross, is enclosed.* The Queen is now very closely kept, and desires to send a servant of hers to the Duke in order that he may be present when the gentlemen sent by the Catholic Lords, arrives there, but she has no means of writing, excepting with great delay and in cipher. She will do all she can to assure your Majesty that, both with regard to her marriage and all else, she will follow your wishes.—London, 8th November 1569.

13 Nov. **156.** Secretary Albornoz to Guerau de Spes.

Very illustrious sir. I have received to-day two letters from you for which I thank you. You are right in having the confidence you express in my great desire to serve you, and I can assure you of the esteem and goodwill of the Duke towards you. I will at once endeavour to do as you request. What I now have to urge upon you is that you should dissemble on all those points which seem to touch your dignity, for, even though it should be touched, it will certainly not be with any desire to offend you, but in the interests of the business itself. The most important point is that you should be convinced that there is no desire to do anything to your prejudice, which really would be an attack upon your dignity. Matters being as they are, you must firmly insist upon smoothing them over. I beg you will take what I say in good part, as I am only moved by my desire to serve you.

If anything untoward were to happen at this juncture it would be attributed to you, and as your servant I again supplicate you to put up with things, according to the times.—Brussels, 13th November 1569.

18 Nov. **157.** The King to Guerau de Spes.

I have received many letters from you by land and sea, the last, being dated 25th September, arriving here on the 5th instant. I

* Original note, "It is very long, in French and badly written. It is being translated."

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thank you for the diligence you show in reporting to me all that happens there, but I have nothing particular to say until I know what arrangements have been effected by Chapin Viteli and Junglo with the Queen respecting the restitution of money and property detained. As she gave the passport for them so willingly, it seems that there may be some hope that she will have been brought to do what is right, that being the course which at present will suit us; but if she still desires to stray from it as she has hitherto done, I shall have to consider for my part what steps should be taken. You will in any case follow the orders that the duke of Alba will send you in my name from time to time.

If the marriage of the duke of Norfolk with the queen of Scotland is effected in the way, and with the objects of which you are informed there is no doubt that it would be of great moment and importance for the restoration of our true and ancient religion in England, and would console the good Catholics who are at present so oppressed. I desire these objects very warmly as you know, but they must be very careful how they undertake the business, for if they make a mistake they will all be ruined. You did very well in referring them to the duke of Alba, who will know how to advise them for the best. You will also confine yourself to this, according to your orders, which you will not exceed.

If the matter which John Killigrew is planning in Germany for the Queen is a question of alliances, I feel sure you will have taken measures to find out the whole particulars, and will advise me. I hope so, because it is a matter which may very deeply concern my interests and those of my dominions, both spiritually and temporally.

I also desire to have full information with regard to the state of things in Ireland, and what forces the Catholics of the country have against the heretic English. I also wish to know if they would be parties to expelling them, and what leaders the Catholics have who could be made much of. Make every effort to investigate this thoroughly, and report to me by first opportunity.—Madrid, 18th November 1569.

18 Nov. **158.** The KING to the DUKE OF ALBA.
[EXTRACT.]

Your choice of Chapin Viteli and Junglo to go and treat with the queen of England about the restitution is a good one, and it was well to send also Thomas Fiesco to gain over the earl of Leicester and Cecil, as these two are doubtless the principal leaders of the dance. I have only to say that I am most anxious for the success of the negotiation, as the matter is holding in suspense all the trade between Spain and the Netherlands, to the great loss of my revenue and grave damage to my subjects. It is most important that the matter should be speedily settled. If it be not done in that way it is most necessary that measures should be taken that flotillas should come and go in safety, in accordance with the note I sent you before. Until this is done the 30 or 40 ships that the merchants of Antwerp told you they would send will be very useful, and it was well to give them the license they

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requested when you were there, although, of course, the proper and best way will be to settle with England both for the present and the future.

Don Guerau has written me some letters *viâ* France and by sea, but I cannot give him precise orders from here, and as you have the whole matter in hand, you will give him instructions from time to time as to what he is to do. As you will see by my letter to him, I merely tell him to carry out your orders as if they were mine.

He has given me a very long account of the plots there to marry the duke of Norfolk with the queen of Scotland, and, if what he says be true, that it would have the effect of raising the Catholics and restoring our ancient and true religion, it will be of great moment. In any case the 10,000 crowns you sent to the queen of Scotland were well spent, and any other favour you can fittingly send her from there also will be very appropriate in comforting and consoling that poor princess, who so firmly and sincerely expresses her wish to live and die in the Catholic faith.*

The other day the archbishop of Cashel in Ireland came here with a letter from the earl of Desmond, written to me in his own name and that of other principal Catholics there. Two other messengers came afterwards to him, and the substance of their demand is that I shall help them to expel the heretic English who wish to force their new religion upon them, and they offer to accept as leader any person I may name; in short, that they will recognize me as sovereign. Although, on religious grounds, I should like openly to embrace the business and help these good men effectually, the noise the thing would create, and the jealousy it would arouse in France, as well as the obstacle it would present to the carrying through of the present negotiations with the Queen, has made me decide to entertain this Archbishop here with fair words and money for his expenses, until I see the outcome of the negotiations. If she (the Queen) acts as she should do about the restitution, and will return to our old friendship and alliance, it is evident that it will not be desirable for me to help the Irish against her, but I might intercede for them to prevail upon her to treat them well and let them live in the liberty they have hitherto enjoyed to practice the tenets of the holy Catholic faith. I will try by these means to send the Archbishop back as well satisfied as possible. If, however, the Queen should be shameless enough to force us to break with her, I think it would be well to seize Ireland, as they are constantly begging me to do, and it could be done easily with troops sent from Spain. If once she saw me in

* The King was apparently dissatisfied with this paragraph in the draft and wrote the following in the margin against it:—"If what Don Guerau writes about the marriage of "the duke of Norfolk and the queen of Scotland has any serious foundation, it would "be very appropriate and for them to have the kingdom, as I believe this would mean "the re-establishment of religion and the overthrow of the Queen. It will also prevent "a marriage in France, as they would not then be able to make the offer. It would be "necessary, however, to make sure about religion with Norfolk. You will do your "best to promote it with this object." At the bottom of this paragraph there is a note from the King to Secretary Zayas, telling him that the above is, in substance, what he wishes to say, but that it is to be put into better form.

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possession of that island it would give her something to think about. I wish you to consider this well, and if a settlement with the Queen is not arrived at you will send me your opinion to help me in my decision.—Madrid, 18th November 1569.

20 Nov. **159.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

The Queen has given her decision to the Marquis Chapin Viteli, as your Majesty will see at length by the letter in French written by him to the Duke. Although she says that she will send her ambassador to your Majesty in two days, it is not believed that she will do so, so soon. It is understood that her object is to complain of the Duke and of myself, and to await the answers from Spain, in which much time will be consumed, and, in the meanwhile, she can declare her will with regard to the money, which she insists upon treating as the property of merchants. The money is now being coined, and more than half of it, as the people in the Tower themselves say, has been spent. The Queen herself told the Marquis that she wished the merchandise to be sold, and dismissed him after the audience of the 17th, although he asked for time to advise the duke of Alba, as he does by this post.

These heretics in the Council are corrupting the Queen's mind; and as all of them, without exception, have stolen vast sums and will rather risk any uncertain danger than restore their booty, which they have already converted into flesh and blood, I am sure that softness and mildness are thrown away upon them, and will result in nothing. It makes them, on the contrary, more boastful than ever. They think that the affair of the Moriscos is a much greater matter than it is, and no doubt they have some hopes from the Germans, although nothing will be done in that quarter without plenty of money. I have advised your Majesty that John Killigrew had been sent back, but he has stayed here for some days seeking credits from Easterlings and others. He will now leave in three or four days unless they detain him in consequence of this new rising in the north. The earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, with 5,000 men and 400 horses entered the city of Durham, where, after having pulled down the wooden table used by the heretics in the cathedral, they had mass performed with great ceremony, and now intend to go to York with a similar object. The earl of Sussex, the Queen's governor in that province, has been a friend and follower of the duke of Norfolk, but, as he is a Protestant, they had their doubts of him. I will advise your Majesty of what may happen, but I am afraid the ports will soon be closed.

I have on several occasions written to your Majesty as to the goodwill of these noblemen, and I gave a letter in cipher to a gentleman whom they were sending to the duke of Alba to ask for aid. They would be very glad to have a reply to their requests, as communication will soon be stopped, but I am sure the Duke will consider the matter with his accustomed prudence, and will decide for the best. It is certain that there never has been so good an opportunity, either of punishing those who have so gravely and unreasonably opposed your Majesty's interests, or of restoring the

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Catholic religion, in which consists the maintenance of our old alliance and friendship with this country. Your Majesty will please instruct me what I should do if the kingdom should be plunged into civil war, and, as it is in your service, I will not flinch from incurring dangers as great, or greater, than the past. In the meanwhile, I will follow the orders of the duke of Alba as your Majesty commands.

They have relieved the earl of Huntingdon from guarding the queen of Scotland, which is a great thing gained. The letter enclosed for your Majesty was given to me by the bishop of Ross, but I dared not finish the superscripture. There is a gentleman here from the queen of Scotland making ready to go to the duke of Alba as soon as he hears that the other man, who is being sent from those in the north, has left. Now that Huntingdon has been relieved from his guard, the earl of Shrewsbury is not so rigorous, and there is a better chance of releasing the Queen, and even of much greater things being done. It is advisable that whatever is undertaken should be with your Majesty's consent and favour, especially the raising of the queen of Scotland, upon which the tranquillity of these parts entirely depends. All the Catholics seem determined to serve your Majesty, and the earl of Northumberland says that the queen will not fail to follow your Majesty's wishes with regard to her marriage, the Queen herself, by her letters and the statements of the bishop of Ross, says the same. Your Majesty will see what is most desirable for your service, zeal for which alone moves me to write this whilst I see such marvellous facility. I will go through any danger to serve your Majesty in this without thinking of myself, so long as I live.

Sores, a French pirate, captured a week ago four valuable sloops belonging to your Majesty's subjects on their way to Spain. He hails from and resides usually at Portsmouth, and took his booty into that port for sale.

Winter and Cook (?) are equipping five very fine ships in this river. It is said they are to go to the Indies. They will join three more which are being fitted out in the north, and will all sail next month.

The Easterlings have letters saying that the new king of Sweden has restored the Catholic religion in his country, which will be very good news if true.

The cause of the hurried rising in the north was the enclosed proclamation of the Queen, and also because all the Catholics were forced to go to their (Protestant) services.

Most of the pensioners left the palace to-night, and it is believed that they are going to join the revolted Catholics. The duke of Norfolk is guarded closely. The earl of Pembroke has given a thousand pounds to a favourite of the Queen, and left his two sons as hostages, and has therefore been set at liberty. He is now at his house, on the road to Wales, but Arundel and Lumley are guarded as before.

We have agreed that the Marquis Chapin Viteli shall come here, and he writes to say that we shall be safer together.

The sloops captured by captain Sores and other French and

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English pirates are four, loaded with grain. The pirates carry thirteen sail, and when they unite with M. de Dupin, they will have a fleet strong enough for greater things.—London, 20th November 1569.

1 Dec. **160.** GUERAU DE SPES to the DUKE OF ALBA.

I have not been able yet to get a passport for a courier to your Excellency, so that the Marquis and I have thought well to send Rafael Barberino, in whom he has confidence. He will only take a line of credence and can give a verbal report to your Excellency of all that has happened since the 20th ultimo, when the last courier left.

The people in the north are strong and have 12,000 infantry and 3,000 horse together. They intended to go towards Tutbury to release the queen of Scotland, but as they hear she has been conveyed to Coventry they have stopped with the intention of giving battle to the Queen's forces, for which purpose the northern people will gather 30,000 men.

No movement has been made by any of their confederates, as they are scattered, but they are consulting as to means for a rising.

The Queen has appointed as her general the earl of Warwick, brother of Leicester, and they say they intend to raise 15,000 men and 5,000 horse, although few horses can be got.

This city contributes, by its wards, a thousand men of a mean sort, who will leave in two days to join the general muster in the county of Leicester. Great efforts are being made on behalf of the Queen to borrow money from all the merchants, particularly foreigners. They ask Spinola for 5,000*l.*, Velutelli for 3,000*l.*, and Donato for the same. All of them will have to lend something, on the security of the city and of Thomas Gresham, who says that he can raise five and twenty thousand pounds in this way.

The French ambassador has been here to say that if I could help these people (*i.e.*, the Catholics) in their just cause he would be a faithful comrade to me on his King's behalf without jealousy or suspicion. I excused myself by saying that I had no orders from his Majesty on the subject.

The Marquis thinks that, if these people in the north were to march straight here there would be nothing to withstand them, seeing the confusion of the Court, whilst their other friends would have greater chance than at present of moving. I will do nothing without orders from your Excellency.

The earl of Leicester sent Velutelli to tell the Marquis that the Queen and Council considered his stay here very suspicious, and that he ought to leave without further delay. The Marquis sent a reply by his nephew, Juan Bautista de Monte, giving as his reason for staying that he had to await a reply from your Excellency. She seemed to be tranquillised by this, but when we asked for a passport for Barberino, the Council sent Henry Cobham to tell the Marquis to leave the island immediately, to which the Marquis gave the same reply. At last with a bad grace they have consented to await the arrival of the courier. They have said nothing to me yet.

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Not a word is said now about sending anyone to Spain. It was nothing but a fiction from the first, and the Council only wishes to see the Marquis gone in order that no one shall stand in the way of the Queen's purpose. She is now so completely in accord with them for the defence of their sect that she seems to have lost sight of the danger of ruin, both for her and them. I expect, as soon as the Marquis has gone, they will give me but little chance of taking part in any affairs.

Lord Montague and the earl of Southampton have sent to ask me for advice as to whether they should take up arms or go over to your Excellency.

I told them I could not advise them until I had due instructions to do so. I said my letters had been seized because there were rumours about them lately, and I therefore did not know what they ought to do.—London, 1st December 1569.

3 Dec. **161.** GUERAU DE SPÈS to the KING.

By the duplicates enclosed, your Majesty will see all that is happening, both in the unfavourable way in which they have dismissed the Marquis Chapin Viteli as also in the matter of the Catholic rising in the north. I enclose a copy of their (*i.e.*, the Catholic) proclamation, and of that of the Queen. The Catholics in Wales and the west have not yet followed the example of those of the north, although it is said they are about to do so. I received letters to-day from the duke of Alba dated the 23rd ulto., and although he did not know at the time what had happened here, he must have learned a few hours afterwards, and in view of the present opportunity and the small hopes of restitution he will provide what he thinks most desirable in your Majesty's interests, and will decide whether the Marquis should stay here or leave.

The thousand men from this city are beginning to leave, and the muster in the county of Leicester will gradually be got together. The Catholics appear to be waiting in their own country, where they have fortified themselves on the banks of the Trent, to be attacked by the troops from here. In the meanwhile they will see what their friends do and what aid can be sent them.

The Queen is making some preparations in Windsor, and has ordered some infantry to go there. They say that they are going to convey the queen of Scotland to Kenilworth, a fortress belonging to the earl of Leicester. They have again sent the earl of Huntingdon and Viscount Hereford to guard her with the earl of Shrewsbury.

The ambassador who was said to be sent to your Majesty in two days is quite forgotten at Court, and there are no signs of softening in regard to the restitution.

These French and English pirates who infest the ports, since they plundered the four sloops full of grain belonging to your Majesty's Flemish subjects, have captured another ship, which, I believe, came from Spain loaded with alum and spices. They have her now in the Downs, but will not allow a man on board of her to go ashore. They are selling the booty in the river. M. de Dupin is ravaging the coast of Friesland. Six or seven private

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ships have left for the coast of Guinea, and thence will go to the islands as Hawkins did. They are neither large nor well armed. I have sent this letter by St. Jean de Luz in hopes that your Majesty may receive it, as they would not allow another courier to go by way of France. Henceforward I shall only be able to send with great difficulty. Our Lord send redress for all this. It seems now there will be the best chance of it since the apostacy of Henry VIII.—London, 3rd December 1569.

6 Dec. **162.** Guerau de Spes to the Duke of Alba.
[Extract.]

I have had great difficulty in sending information to your Excellency of occurrences here. They have sent back the courier who was going to Calais for me and the French ambassador, although he bore a passport. A copy of the despatch sent by him is enclosed, which, with this letter, your Excellency may be pleased to send to his Majesty in order that the bearer Rafael Barberino should have fewer papers to carry, according to his passport. The Marquis, who has every confidence in him, has had him informed of the contents of the letters in case his packets should be taken away from him. He can therefore inform your Excellency of the people in the north, and assure you of the goodwill of the rest of the Catholics and the opportunity which now presents itself to serve God and his Majesty. He will say how desirable it is that they should be helped, and, if the people in the north have not already sent to your Excellency, how beneficial it will be if you would send them some person experienced in warfare. The port of Hartlepool is in their favour, and others nearer Scotland.—London, 6th December 1569.

11 Dec. **163.** The Duke of Alba to the King.

On the 1st and 23rd ultimo I gave your Majesty an account of the state of affairs in England, and send enclosed a duplicate of my letter of 18th. Since then I have received the letters from Chapin, in Italian and French, of which I now send copies with my despatches in French. From the first hour that the Queen made these seizures the unwillingness of herself and her councillors to consent to a restitution has been evident. The tendency to oppose your Majesty's interests had been clearly shown, even before then, by her reception into her country of the bandits from these States, allowing the French and English pirates to enter her ports and sell the plunder taken from your Majesty's subjects, and by the extraordinary pretensions and claims put forward to D'Assonleville and now to Chapin, she having gone so far as to throw doubt upon your Majesty's own signature. Having in view the result of Chapin's last interview with her, I have decided, after consultation with the councillors here, to instruct him to take leave, in the form your Majesty will see by the enclosed copy of my letter to him. I will then have your Majesty fully informed by him of what has passed and of such intelligence as I can gain of the Queen's intentions, together with my opinion and that of the Council on the whole matter, in order that your Majesty may

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the better decide whether to break or dissemble. The Queen, being a greedy woman, thinks that the property and money she holds will place her in a strong position and enable her to extort her own terms, demanding conditions so extravagant that your Majesty's dignity (or even that of an inferior sovereign to the Queen) would not admit of their being accepted. This shows a design to drag the matter out, as she says she is going to send a person to treat with your Majesty, and that the discussion must be commenced from the old questions pending from the conference of Bruges which, as your Majesty will see by the enclosed despatch in French, are nearly all in favour of the States, unless they (the English) intend to bring forward the capitulation forced by King Henry on to Don Philip in the year 1506, when the latter put into an English port by reason of stress of weather.* I send enclosed a copy of this treaty which is called here the "bad treaty," as its observance would mean the total ruin of these States.

If the Queen sends a man, I think your Majesty should on no account allow old differences to be opened up; as you will see more fully by the French despatch, I having rejected all attempts to re-open them in accordance with your Majesty's instructions. Whilst the question is pending it would be well for the ports and navigation to be open to your Majesty's subjects, and I have written to Chapin directing him to use his efforts to attain this by any means he thinks best, without its appearing to be done by my orders. Your Majesty's present urgent need is better known to you than to anyone, and here the pressure is very great. The past wars, the moving about of the people, the cessation of trade for the last year, the suspense of affairs in anticipation of the general amnesty, the absence of many men and the retirement from business of others, owing to the general want of confidence; all these facts convince me that a rupture with England would be very inappropriate at present, but, if the English force it upon us, we cannot avoid it. In view of the evil intentions of the Queen and the demonstration they have made on several occasions of their intention to sell the property still in existence (which, in fact, consists of wools and other things for which there is no demand there, all the rest having been sold and consumed), I have given permission, accompanied by an instruction as to their method of proceeding, to the merchants to go and make the best arrangements they can to obtain their goods, without its being known that they do so by my leave. This particularly refers to the wools, which are much wanted in these States for manufacturing. I have also told the persons interested in the money that they are to make arrangements for the shortest periods they can for its repayment. When this is done and navigation is reopened, your Majesty will be in a better position to await a favourable oppor-

* This refers to Philip the Handsome, who in January 1506 was on his way from Flanders to Spain with his wife Dona Juana (Crazy Jane), and was driven by tempest into an English port. He had an interview with Henry VII., who extorted from him the treaty in question.

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tunity to avenge the slights put upon you by the Queen. If, however, she will not even agree to this, her hostility will be openly shown and your Majesty will by no means be able to avoid seeking redress, because if she refuses to open her ports even for refuge, it will be quite impossible for things to remain as they are. The idea of a fleet coming and going between the States and Spain with merchandise would be feasible enough for two or three voyages, especially going from here, as they would start with a favourable wind that would allow them to stand off from the island and, if it failed, they could return hither; but it would be different on the return voyage from Spain, the voyage being a long one they might be driven into an English port as an alternative to being wrecked.—Brussels, 11th December 1569.

11 Dec. **164.** The Duke of Alba to the King.
[Extract.]

Since writing the enclosed I have had letters from Don Guerau of 1st and 6th, together with a letter from Chapin in French, all of which I send to your Majesty. The letters were brought by a gentleman of Chapin's, who verbally confirms the contents of the letters, that the rising in the north of England is increasing. I have answered the queen of Scotland's servant as your Majesty will see by the despatch in French enclosed, and although I expect the business will all end in smoke, I have thought best to send the present courier in great haste, going and returning, so that your Majesty may know what is going on and send me instructions, as, without knowing your wishes, I will not act, even though your Majesty refers the decision to me. I therefore beg your Majesty to let me know speedily what I am to do.—Brussels, 11th December 1569.

16 Dec. **165.** The King to the Duke of Alba.
[Extract.]

English affairs are going in a way that will make it necessary, after all, to bring that Queen to do by force what she refuses to reason. Her duty is so clear that no doubt God causes her to ignore it in order that, by these means, His holy religion may be restored in that country, and the Catholics and good Christians thus be rescued from the oppression in which they live. In case her obstinacy and hardness of heart may continue, therefore, you will take into your consideration the best direction to be given to this. We think here that the best course will be to encourage with money and secret favour the Catholics of the north, and to help those in Ireland to take up arms against the heretics and deliver the crown to the Queen of Scotland, to whom it belongs by succession. This course, it is presumed, would be very agreeable to the Pope and all Christendom, and would encounter no opposition from anyone. This is only mentioned now in order that you may know what is passing in our minds here, and that, with your great prudence and a full consideration of the state of affairs in general, you may ponder what is best to be done. What you say is very

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true, that we are beginning to lose reputation by deferring so long to provide a remedy for the great grievance done by this woman to my subjects, friends, and allies.—Madrid, 16th December 1569.

18 Dec. **166.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

Although despatches sent by sea usually arrive late, yet sometimes they meet with fair weather. I therefore write on every occasion.

The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland tarry in their own country in the north, preferring to await there the arrival of the Queen's troops under the earl of Warwick and the Admiral. They keep the port of Hartlepool. Their Catholic friends, from all of whom they hold signed pledges, have made no movement yet. It is true that they are much disturbed, and it seems that, if they can count upon some foreign aid, they, too, will rise.

Lord Montague, and his son-in-law, the earl of Southampton, had embarked for Flanders, but contrary winds drove them back and they had to land. An order thereupon arrived from the Queen and they did not refuse to go to Court in order to clear themselves, which Montague having done, he received the governorship of the county of Sussex, but he was able to send George Hamberton, a kinsman of the duchess of Feria, to the duke of Alba to assure him of his good intentions and of the sympathy of many nobles and others here.

The troops collected by this Queen amount to some 7,000 men and 2,000 horses, miserable fellows, and the contingent from this city, 2,000 men, has nearly all returned, slashing and cudgelling Captain Leighton, one of the leaders, who has come back to Court badly wounded to complain of his own soldiers. He was the man that was sent to receive the Marquis Chapin Viteli at Dover.

On the 9th instant, the duke of Alba's despatch of the 3rd was received, and in accordance with his orders, measures will be taken for the interested parties themselves to arrange with the Queen as best they can about the money and goods detained. She has been approached also by the Marquis to know what course will be pursued towards your Majesty's ships, and those of your subjects, with regard to trade in her ports. She promised a reply on the point, and the Marquis is staying for it, although, seeing the composition of the Council, it is not expected to be a good one.

Nothing is said about the ambassador who was to be sent to your Majesty. The Councillors think only of afflicting the Catholics, who are being taken to prison in great troops, where they are made to take part in the heretical suppers, to the great sorrow of beholders. The French and English pirates have taken the Venetian ship "Justiniana" on her way from Spain, which, with her cargo, is valued at 130,000 crowns. The pirates hoisted the Queen's standard and pretended to be her officers. The Italian merchants here have begged for the restoration of the vessel, but, up to the present, they get nothing but fair words.

The count of Mansfeldt has arrived here, brother of Count Volrad, who is in France. He comes from there on his way to

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Germany, and has been well received. He is accompanied by M. de Lumbres, a native of Artois, one of the Flemish exiles, who comes nominally as an ambassador from the duchess of Vendome. They request more money to bring further German aid into France.

The Marquis and I sent a man to the duke of Alba lately to represent to him the opportunity now presented here for serving God and your Majesty, and we await his reply. They are very anxious here for the success of the Moriscos, and of any other sect, so that it be not Catholic.—London, 18th December 1569.

19 Dec. **167.** CHAPIN VITELI to the DUKE OF ALBA.

I had decided to despatch the present courier with an account of what passed at the audience granted to me by the Queen on Thursday last, but as on the following day Her Majesty requested that I should again see her on the 18th, yesterday, I thought best to detain the bearer until to-day, in order to give your Excellency a full and later report. When I arrived at the Court I was received by the Lord Keeper, Chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Leicester, and Secretary Cecil on behalf of the Queen. They, having seated themselves on one side, and we on the other, the Secretary began briefly to sum up in artfully chosen words what had passed in my last discussion with the Queen, and concluded by signifying that he had her orders to ascertain more clearly what my intentions were before I again had audience of Her Majesty. When I understood the course he wished to take I decided to state in detail what my intentions were, and told him that, when I was taking leave of the Queen, in my last audience, I spoke, amongst other things, of the Corsairs and their robberies, as I thought on my return home, I might be asked what was going to be done in the matter for the future. I had, therefore, out of curiosity and of my own motion, broached the subject, and the Queen had listened to me and admitted that it was a reasonable thing that navigation, which had so long been interrupted, should be reinstated into its former condition, signifying her intention to reinstate it, if the King would do the same for her subjects. The Queen having entered upon the subject of the security to be given to her subjects I almost casually, and in the way of conversation suggested means by which this might be done, and Her Majesty decided to take a few days to consider the matter, after which she promised to let me know her decision. As she had yesterday requested me to come there, I had nothing to say or do but to present myself before the Queen, and hear what her decision was, in order that, on my return home, I might know what to say if I were asked about the matter.

After the Secretary had communicated my answer in English to the other councillors, he said that the Queen was determined to accept no assurance but that which came direct from the King, and that the welfare of her subjects absolutely forbade her to be content with any other. He said that a power necessary for the purpose and for the settlement of old pending questions as well, might be obtained by way of France in a month, and repeated that

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the Queen desired nothing more than that some such arrangement might be come to, and her friendship with the King perpetuated. I replied emphatically setting forth the fulness of the powers granted to me by your Excellency, and pointed out how great had been the injury to subjects caused by the cessation of commerce for so many months and assured him (Cecil) that a new general power could not arrive from Spain in less than two months, and even after that, some months must necessarily pass before all the old pending questions could be settled. Notwithstanding this and many other reasons which I adduced, the Councillors remained firm in their decision that no arrangement could be made until a new general power arrived from Spain when, they said, the Queen would be glad to give all possible satisfaction. They said, moreover, that if the goods and merchandise detained were deteriorated, or any were missing, it was entirely the fault of the resident ambassador, who had always refused to allow anything to be done, and they protested that, in case any further deterioration should occur, the Queen and Council would be free from blame, by which I conclude that Thomas Fiesco's business is ended.

The councillors thereupon went to give an account of the conference to the Queen, who shortly afterwards summoned me to her presence and repeated briefly the substance of the previous conversation. I then asked for her decision, which she prefaced by a declaration of the reasons that had moved her to send her Councillors to me before she gave me audience; saying that, as her answer was to be a negative one, she thought it had better come from the mouths of others than from her own. She expressed great sorrow that I should have such insufficient powers, as it would have been a great consolation for her to have settled the matter with me, but the only thing to be done was to await the arrival of more ample powers from Spain. I took the opportunity of replying on various points, and, amongst others, on the sufficiency of my powers, which I said were founded on letters written by her to the King, as I said she would see by the copies of the letters themselves which I thus forced her to read in open audience. I saw, however, that she was only dwelling on subsiduary points, and it was a waste of time to proceed any further, and therefore, to avoid any loss of dignity, dexterously brought her back again to the *nerve* of the business, getting her to promise publicly that when the general power arrived from Spain, she would re-instate navigation before she began the discussion of other matters.

When I took leave, she again repeated the answer clearly, and, in accordance with your Excellency's instruction, I, as if of my own accord, gave her some hints which I do not think she will forget very easily. I said that as, on my departure, no one else would be here to represent the King she should be good enough to receive the ordinary ambassador, and that, even if she thought she had reason to be offended with him, she ought not to be so ready to listen to his detractors, but should at least hear him in his own justification. She replied that she was determined not to receive him on his own account or on the matter of the merchants, but if he brought letters from the King, she would not fail to listen to

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him. This brought the audience to a close, and I have tried to strictly follow your Excellency's instructions in my proceedings. M. Junglo will also give an account.

I am now leaving this Colebrook Tower and shall arrive in London to-morrow morning. I shall then start on my return, in order to give your Excellency a verbal account of my mission. A Queen's ship will escort me across.—Colebrook, 19th December 1569.

20 Dec. **168.** QUEEN ELIZABETH to PHILIP II.

Latin. Your Serenity's letter of 20th July by the Marquis de Cetona (Chapin Viteli) came to hand in October, and we learn by it that our letter of January last, with the statement of what had passed between us and the duke of Alba, had been received by you. Your Serenity writes that you are much surprised that, notwithstanding your always having shown yourself so good a brother to us, I should have allowed myself to be persuaded by my ministers to take a course so much opposed to our reciprocal friendship. You say you are even more astonished that, against the custom of friendly princes which we have always scrupulously observed, we should have refused to receive the person sent to us by the duke of Alba, under the pretext that we would only treat with one who brought a letter from your Serenity, and that, moreover, we had excluded from our presence the ordinary ambassador from your Serenity. To this letter I wish to reply that there is nothing in the world we have desired more than to preserve our friendship in every way, both personally with you and with your subjects. This having been always my firm desire and intention, such was the inconsiderate inhumanity, or rather temerity, of your ambassador here and the cruel vexation that the duke of Alba, without any just cause, inflicted on our subjects in the Netherlands, and so great the injuries done to them in the other dominions of your Serenity, that we feel sure, knowing your natural goodness and justice, if you had well understood the whole business, as you might have done by our statement of January last, and by the account of the discussion between our councillors and the duke of Alba, that you would not only have absolved us from doing anything against our friendship, but would have praised our constancy in maintaining it, after having been provoked by so many injuries, although we refrained from exercising any cruelty towards your subjects. We should certainly have been much pleased if you had sent a man more fitting for the maintenance of peace and amity than the ambassador who has succeeded Diego Guzman de Silva, who was always a good minister desirous of preserving harmony between us, which was proved by the calm and quiet which reigned whilst he was here. When the illustrious Marquis de Cetona arrived, sent by the duke of Alba in virtue of powers conceded by your Serenity, we were in hope that you would have recognised our causes of complaint and that the Marquis would have brought full and ample powers to settle all questions and put an end to our differences, which would have been the means of restoring our old friendship and the reciprocal commerce carried on by our subjects,

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With this hope, strengthened by the good accounts we had received of the Marquis' prudence and high standing, we admitted him willingly to our presence, but the result was a disappointment to us, as we believe it was to him. We instructed certain of our principal councillors to verify his powers and discuss the business, and they found that the only power he brought from your Serenity was to demand a certain sum of money and certain merchandise which were being detained in our realm; the reason of the detention being, first to protect the property from being plundered by certain foreigners, and secondly for other good and sufficient reasons. Our councillors represented this fact to the Marquis and pointed out to him how limited his powers were, asking him whether he understood that they went beyond the demand for such monies and merchandise, seeing that I had made so many grave complaints and claims, and demanded redress on behalf of my subjects, whereupon he replied frequently (in accord with the two persons who were associated with him by the duke of Alba) that he had no other power and did not understand that his mission extended beyond treating of the detention of the money and goods. Seeing, therefore, that the hope we had entertained from his coming was frustrated, and being grieved that more care and foresight had not been employed in drawing up the power sent to the duke of Alba and transferred by him to the Marquis, contrary to custom, we have been forced to defer the agreement upon the point, as there are many complaints outstanding on the part of ourselves and our subjects which could not be resolved, owing to the insufficiency of the Marquis' powers. We requested the Marquis to advise the duke of Alba of this as soon as possible in the hope that he would endeavour to obtain fresh powers in more ample form. We gave this reply in the middle of last November, less than a week after we first saw the Marquis, and it appears that he sent a messenger to the duke of Alba, as, in the middle of December, he told us that the Duke had replied that, at the present time, a more ample power could not be sent; whereupon the Marquis requested leave to return home, which we gave him. When he was leaving, he spoke to us privately as to whether we would give licence for all ships belonging to your Serenity to enter and leave our ports without hindrance. We would very willingly give this licence if we could be convinced by your Serenity's powers that the same course would be pursued towards us in your dominions. But, as we learnt that the Marquis had no power to assure us on this point we told him to despatch a courier to your Serenity (which courier could be back again here in about thirty days, by way of France) in order that he might bring him full powers from you, not only to settle the arrangement about the ships, but all other questions and grievances between us. We think well also to say in writing what we have said to him verbally, namely, that he appears to be a person of so much talent, nobleness, and prudence, to judge by the manner in which he commenced the discussion of the affair, that we have every hope that, if sufficient powers are granted him, he will soon settle the differences now existing between us and our subjects on both sides; which I greatly desire, as I see how advantageous it

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will be to us and to our subjects' welfare. Although you have been told differently, we can assure you that none of our ministers have endeavoured to dissuade us from this course, but that they, on the contrary, are as anxious to do right as any minister of your own can be, however intimate he may be with you personally. But we are extending this letter to an unusual length and beg you to excuse us for this, as we, having no ambassador near you, are desirous of declaring the matter clearly to you which can only be done in detail.—Windsor Castle, 20th December 1569.

20 Dec. **169.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

The day before yesterday the Marquis Chapin Viteli had his last audience without any successful result, either as regards the former proposals or as to the security of the ships, which he dealt with on present occasion. All points were left open until your Majesty should send another fuller power, or the Queen should write to your Majesty as she had promised to do in previous audiences. She said that, when the full power came from your Majesty, the first point she would deal with would be regarding this security of the ships, and it appears that Cecil indicated, as the Marquis understood, that the Queen would send to the Marquis the letter for your Majesty, in answer to the one brought by him from you. The Marquis comes to-day to my house, and will leave at once, as it is important that he should inform the Duke of the hopes of these people, of the malignity of the councillors, of the particulars of the present movements, and of what may be looked forward to for the future. The Queen said that before I could negotiate with her she would await a letter from your Majesty to that effect, as she had said before.—London, 20th December 1569.

24 Dec. **170.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

Since writing on the 20th instant, through the duke of Alba, I have received to-day letters from him of the 13th, setting forth certain reasons to induce the Queen to restore what has been taken, and to prove to her how unreasonable it is to request a general treaty; but as she has given already a definite reply upon this point, the Marquis and I await the Duke's reply to our last letters.

The rising in the north is growing, and Lord Hunsdon, who went to York, has returned, as the whole country is up as far south as Doncaster. This Queen has sent the Admiral to Lincoln, and Ralph Sadler of the Council goes with him to offer pardon to the people who have risen.

The Queen is making ready some infantry, and is equipping three ships, as well as having given orders for the fitting out of seven more. It is feared that Wales will also rise, but the roads are so strictly guarded that trustworthy news of what is happening is difficult to get.

The gentleman that the queen of Scotland is sending to the duke of Alba has left in the disguise of a servant to an Englishman.

Killigrew, who was prepared to leave for Germany, and had already many letters of credit, has been ordered to stay. I send this by

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way of France so that your Majesty may receive news by various roads.—London, 24th December 1569.

26 Dec. **171.** The KING to GUERAU DE SPES.

On the 21st ultimo, your letters of 27th and 30th September, 8th, 14th, and 24th October, and 11th instant were received together. By them I see, and also by Chapin Viteli's letter to the Duke, what had passed with the Queen and her ministers, and as it is clear that their object has only been to gain time by vain generalities, and to avoid coming to the point, I have no more at present to say on the subject, excepting that I am sure that you will have done what you could towards the settlement of these questions. You will in all things, and at all times, follow the instructions of the duke of Alba, as you have been told before.

I am much annoyed at the imprisonment of the duke of Norfolk, the earls of Arundel and Pembroke, and Lord Lumley, because as there are several of them and they will certainly be closely pressed, they will be sure to reveal the object which they had in view as to the marriage of the Queen of Scotland, and the whole business will fail, and even probably, their own safety be endangered. As to the offer made to you by the other earls, their friends, to set them at liberty, and release the queen of Scotland, restoring what has been stolen and re-establishing the Catholic religion in the country; however good their intention may be, we doubt their daring to undertake the enterprise, or that they can succeed in it if they do. It was, therefore, well for you not to open out with them or make them any promises, but to refer them to the Duke, who will have thoroughly examined the matter and sent a fit reply. You will proceed in future in the same way, as this is a matter that requires great consideration and foresight, particularly as you have to deal with Englishmen, who are naturally suspicious, and especially at such a time as this.

Antonio Fogaza has arrived in Portugal, and has commenced negotiations with Don Fernando Carrilo, my ambassador, on the matter entrusted to him by the Catholics of the north, but he has not yet openly declared himself yet as to their objects. If these turn out to be well founded and with any hopes of success, I will not fail to help them as much as I can, and in due time information will be given to you as to my decision.

I have decided to go to Cordoba, to hold a Cortes of Castile, and also to push on matters in the kingdom of Granada, so as to end, as promptly as possible, the rising of the Moriscos. I have never yet been in that province, which is another reason for my going.

You will watch closely the doings of John Killigrew, as it is important to know the result of his journeys to Germany. You will advise me and the Duke of the same with your wonted care and diligence.

News has arrived in Seville of Hawkins having passed Cape St. Vincent with twenty-two vessels, although there is no certainty about it. It will be well for you to discover what truth there is in this, and in all similar cases to advise me so that redress may be provided.—Madrid, 26th December 1569.

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9 Jan. **172.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

On the 4th instant I received your Majesty's letter of the 18th November, written in answer to mine up to the 21st of September. Shortly afterwards your Majesty will have received many of my letters reporting the imprisonment of the duke of Norfolk, and the unfavourable issue of affairs, resulting in much injury to many persons. His great friends, the Catholic earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, had been conspicuous in encouraging him not to return to Court, but to take up arms, and, as the Queen already bore them no great good will, they were summoned on many occasions to appear before her. They excused themselves and delayed in various ways, and, in the meanwhile, raised the Catholics with the help of their friends, intending to restore the Catholic religion and reform the Government. The Queen lost no time in ordering their arrest, and Westmoreland, being surrounded in a castle by the royal officers, Northumberland went with a larger force to relieve him. Thereupon all the people of the northern province began to rise, and they published their intention by the proclamation which I sent your Majesty, thinking by this means to raise the other Catholics, many of whom had already pledged their words. No movement, however, was made to aid them, and less still when their second proclamation was published announcing their intention to free the duke of Norfolk and the other imprisoned lords. The Queen mustered her army promptly, and, on their approach, although Westmoreland wished to fight, the other earl and many gentlemen, seeing their troops were few and badly armed, and that they were without artillery, decided to take refuge in Scotland. Northumberland went to the house of Lord Hume, and the other to that of the earl of Argyle. It is thought that, as these noblemen are powerful and friendly to the earls, they will not deliver them up to the Queen, who is pressing the Regent with great urgency to capture them, and hand them over, offering him, it is said, in return, his sister the Queen. The Regent, by order of this Queen, came to the border of Scotland with three thousand men and six hundred horse, to forward matters, but as he is a Scotsman, they are not without fear of him, and have reinforced the castle of Berwick and other border fortresses. The Catholics are somewhat ashamed that their enterprises should have turned out so vain. The earl of Warwick is ordered to return, and Sussex remains there in command.

If the duke of Norfolk had been kept informed, or these earls could have stood firmly, it would have gone badly with the Queen, as the people of Norfolk and Suffolk were preparing to rise and come in force to London to liberate the Duke, having made an uncle of his their captain, though against his will. But the conspiracy was revealed by two of them, and many there are now being arrested. If they had been able to join with the northern people they might have succeeded. All these enterprises are lost by bad guidance, and although they are undertaken with impetus, they are not carried through with constancy.

Irish affairs have been going badly for the Queen this summer,

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The brothers of the earl of Ormond, a son of John O'Neil, and many others, had disturbed the greater part of the island and taken many places which were under the Queen's rule. The pretended cause of the rising was the bad government of the country, in which they include the question of religion. On the arrival of the earl of Ormond there, who had been sent by this Queen, his brothers decided to submit to the Viceroy on certain conditions, and one of them remained a prisoner, with the expectation of a prompt release. As soon as he obtained more freedom the other Catholic brother went forth again with his followers and is now rai-ing his friends in revolt. Thomas Stukeley, of whom I have written to your Majesty, had sent word to me that he wished to serve your Majesty, and would be a party to delivering the island to you, but he was arrested with many others by the Viceroy on suspicion, and was subsequently liberated. He served in the German wars under the Emperor, and, I believe, under your Majesty afterwards. He is a Catholic of high position in the island, and sent a Venetian merchant resident there to me in order to arrange, through a nephew of his, to whom he gave a cipher, to learn whether your Majesty would accept his services in such an enterprise. This is also pressed upon me by letters from the archbishop of Armagh in prison, who knows nothing of Stukeley. He considers it a very easy thing, but as the duke of Alba prudently gave me orders to leave all such negotiations for the present, I have not proceeded further in it, and as the arrival of the earl of Ormond caused a suspension of the disturbances, there has been nothing fresh to report upon the subject. The said Earl is expected here, it is said, to complain of the Viceroy. The Catholics are very numerous there, and heresy is weak except in Dublin and the fortified places.

They have returned the queen of Scotland to Tutbury under the guard of the earl of Shrewsbury, and some Englishmen say that the duke of Anjou wanted to marry her, which your Majesty knows better than anyone might be inconvenient.

The French ambassador has promised to favour the earls of the north, and tells me that the King will shortly send a special ambassador to demand the release of the queen of Scotland, and who will then proceed to Scotland to try to arrange favourable terms for her with the Regent.

A French ship recently arrived at Colchester, and her crew have been arrested on the charge that they were sounding the port and reconnoitring the coast by order of the king of France and the duke of Alba. It was said by a sailor in joke, but the greater part of the crew have been brought to London for it.

The queen of Scotland has written me a letter asking me to try to carry into effect your Majesty's instructions to me of the 12th of January last year, and deliver to the queen of England the letter which your Majesty wrote regarding her release. I replied that I would willingly do it when I could.

John Killigrew has been twice to Germany since I have been here. His principal negotiations are with the elector Count Palatine, although he has seen all of the other electors. He is

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accompanied by Dr. Christopher Mundt, an Englishman resident in Germany, of whom I wrote to your Majesty on the 24th August. He is a medical man, and lives in Strasburg. Out of the money obtained for the goods in Hamburg, the portion which the Queen desired for the purpose of aiding the Duke de Deuxponts to enter France was paid there. It is understood that Killigrew's last return was in consequence of an offer made by the Duke Hans Casimir that, if this Queen would give him a large sum of money paid in cash down, he would enter France, which offer they decided here to accept; but when Killigrew was ready to go, he was ordered to remain, in consequence of the rising of the north.

A Secretary of the Council informs me that they have engaged in Germany 6,000 foot and 10,000 (?) horse in case they should be required here. The Secretary says that this league of Princes is, up to the present, only defensive, and there is no talk in the Council of openly offending the Netherlands States, but only to harass them with the pirates. It was certainly very extraordinary for the Queen, after she had promised so decidedly not to allow M. De Dupin to leave, to subsequently give him liberty to do so with full warlike equipment for land and sea, with the apparent intention of fortifying himself in the isle of Texel, or in the gulf of Embden, as he attempted to do. The said Secretary also assures me that there is no agreement with their friends in Germany to invade your Majesty's dominions.

They have given the post of Controller to James Crofts, a very honourable Welsh gentlemen, who received a pension from your Majesty, and is believed to be a Catholic. He will be a member of the Council in virtue of his office. He sends to say that in whatever thing he can honestly serve your Majesty he will do so. They have chosen him for the office because he understands more than the others of warlike affairs, and because the earl of Pembroke urged it greatly, not much to Cecil's satisfaction.

The bishop of Ross has just sent me copy of a letter from the queen (of Scotland) advising him that the earl of Westmorland had arrived at her castle of Dumbarton, in Scotland, where he will be safe, and that the earl of Northumberland is a prisoner of the Regent on parole, but will not be given up to this Queen.

She also says that the earl of Huntingdon has informed her that, if she will marry the earl of Leicester, arrangements shall be made for her release, to which she has replied that she will not have anything to say about her marriage with anyone until she is free.

She affirms that Huntingdon assures her that this Queen has offers from many people in the Netherlands to the effect that, if she will send 10,000 men, they will all rise and murder the Spaniards. It may be brag and yet be true.

The Corsairs have left this coast, taking with them the Venetian ship. They have also captured three Easterling sloops on their voyage from Flanders to Spain.

The negotiations being carried on by Thomas Fiesco and the parties interested, as regards the rescue of the merchandize here

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that remains, which is a very small portion, have not yet resulted in any decision, and the same may be said with regard to the money and the attempt to settle some form of carrying on trade; but as it is a matter of great profit to the English, I think they will come to some agreement, at all events partially.—London, 9th January 1570.

14 Jan. **173.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

Since my long letter of the 9th, news has arrived that the pirates have captured another Venetian ship called the "Vergi," of a thousand tons burden, which left here with a cargo of kerseys worth a hundred thousand crowns, as well as much lead, tin, or pewter, and I have taken this opportunity of reporting it to your Majesty by a ship leaving for St. Jean de Luz. It is feared that they will capture the other two Venetian vessels, which are valuable and ready to sail, although they are trying to get an escort of two of the Queen's ships for them.

Nothing more is known of the Earls and gentlemen who escaped to Scotland. Leicester has received 15 days leave to go to his estates, and it is suspected that he wishes to make some arrangement with the queen of Scotland, who is there. I believe I shall know what is done and will immediately report to your Majesty.

A secretary of the Count Palatine has arrived here, and has had secret audience of the Queen, it is believed for the purpose of seeking aid for the Duke Hans Casimir to enter France, but they have not yet decided to give it him. Count Charles Mansfeldt, brother of Volrad is here, and presumes to say that as soon as the western sea is navigable he will go home that way, and will, with the prince of Orange, again enter France to aid Admiral Chatillon. It seems, however, that they are not vapouring against the States of Flanders, but only against the Christian King.

According to the duke of Alba's orders I am dissembling about the rescue of the merchandise, and Cecil and Leicester are both favourably inclined by reason of the presents they hope to get for it, although the English merchants somewhat hinder the matter by their complaints that the cloths siezed in Antwerp have been sold and delivered by order of the duke of Alba.—London, 14th January 1570.

18 Jan. **174.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

I wrote at length in previous letters, and am now hourly awaiting the return of the courier sent on the 9th, bringing me the duke of Alba's instructions. Diego Pardo, one of the merchants here who are dealing for the ransom of the merchandise, leaves with this letter to consult with the Duke on certain difficulties that have arisen in the exchange or ransom, in consequence of their having heard here that the cloths belonging to the English have been sold or consigned to certain merchants in Antwerp. Pardo will return when he learns what truth there is in this, and obtains the Duke's instructions.

As the Queen is about to leave for Hampton Court, and Leicester

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has not returned from his journey, there is little to add in this letter.

The Queen has sent urging the Regent to make great efforts to capture the earl of Westmoreland and the other gentlemen who escaped with him, offering very good rewards for them. It is understood that all the Scotch nobles are determined that Northumberland shall not be delivered, and that the rest of the fugitives shall not be pursued.

Henry, the brother of the earl of Northumberland, who, with the son of Secretary Cecil, married two sisters, daughters of Lord Latimer, has been strongly opposed to his brother in this business. He has come to Court and has been very well received. He begs the favour of being allowed to take charge of the two sons of his brother, which has been granted, and it is believed that he will be well rewarded.

The bishop of Ross informs me that most of the principal Catholics in this country have sent him word not to desist from his first intention, for that as soon as they learn that they will have the help of foreign princes, and a good arrangement is made for help to reach them, they will all rise in a day and persevere until this country is again Catholic, and the succession is assured to the queen of Scotland.

The Bishop also tells me that the Catholics here wish that his Holiness would publish a Bull in some place whence its purport would reach here, absolving them from the oath of allegiance they have taken to this Queen, as she is not a Catholic and calls herself head of this Church. This, they think, would be desirable, and would add prestige to their claims.

It would have the same effect in Ireland, where, I am informed by the archbishop of Armagh, the English entered by virtue of a grant given by a Pope to Henry II. of England, and that the conditions of this grant instead of being fulfilled are entirely violated.

The queen of England, although she will not declare a successor, is bringing up with much more state than formerly the two children of Hertford and Catharine. Cecil even proposed lately to call the eldest the duke of Somerset, which has not yet been decided upon.

The earl of Huntingdon is greatly damaged by having no children, and but little following, whilst Lady Margaret, who deserves every good thing, has less still. Lord Strange is another claimant for the succession. He is the heir to the earl of Derby, and his claim is founded on that of his wife, from whom he is separated, although he has children. He is therefore a Protestant against the wish of his father and brothers, and is a man of small personal worth.

The nephews of Cardinal Pole are thought very little of, and the rest of the people turn their eyes to the queen of Scotland, although the heretics fear from her a change of religion, which makes many of them her opponents, or at least very lukewarm friends.

A captain has arrived from Ireland, bringing news that the

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Viceroy had subjugated all that part of the island towards the south, and had sentenced to death three or four gentlemen, many more being kept prisoners, although they were persons of small account. He requests more troops and money to go against the west and south, which are both in revolt. The brother of the earl of Ormond is still in prison, and the other brother is with the enemy.

I advised your Majesty of the arrival here of a secretary of the Palatine in search of money. The Queen would only give him 30,000 crowns, which he thinks very little, although many of the Council advocate his having more, and even the Vidame de Chartres, who is here, produced recent letters from the Palatine, asking him to solicit a large sum of money, as he could not hope to enter France with a small amount.

A servant of the duchess of Vendôme arrived here two days ago, it is thought on the same errand.

It is true that the capture of the two Venetian ships may be of great advantage to the Protestants, the vessels having already arrived in Rochelle. The Venetian consul here has a letter from this Queen to the duchess of Vendôme, pressing her very urgently to get these ships returned, but I expect it is all double dealing. Great fear is entertained for the other three ships. The pirates carried into Rochelle with the two Venetians four Easterling sloops.

The Council have not yet given any reply to Thomas Fiesco about the re-opening of trade, nor is there much hope that they will give a favourable one.

Two ships have arrived from Cape Arguim in the kingdom of Fez, loaded with sugar, and the King of the country writes to the Queen that he had arranged the dispute that he had with some English merchants, and had assured them of safety for their dealings. English ships will, therefore, shortly sail thither. They usually carry large quantities of arms in exchange for merchandise.—London, 18th January 1570.

22 Jan. **175.** The KING to GUERAU DE SPES.

Your various letters have been received by which, and by Chapin Viteli's letter to the Duke, I have been informed of the progress of events and negotiations up to the 6th of December last. As I am sending my will and determination on all points to the Duke, it will not be necessary for me to give you any particulars here, excepting to enjoin you to scrupulously follow the Duke's instructions. It will hardly be necessary to urge upon you to give us the most detailed account of what happens as often as possible, as you already do so to our satisfaction.

A letter from the bishop of Ross accompanies yours of 4th November. I was glad to learn that the queen of Scotland was firm and in good heart. The answer to the letter is not sent as it could not go in cipher, but you may tell him, if he be still there, to assure the Queen that I desire, and will try, to secure her release and happiness as much as if she were my own sister, as she will already have been assured from the duke of Alba and yourself.—Talavera, 22nd January 1570.

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23 Jan. **176.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

M. de Monluc sent by the King of France, as the ambassador had already told me, arrived here to-day. He comes to beg the Queen not to favour the French rebels as he did not help the English ones; and also to request the release of the queen of Scotland. I am to see the two ambassadors to-morrow, and I will report to your Majesty what I hear. With the same object the bishop of Ross has seen me with a letter of credence from his mistress to ask me to write to your Majesty begging you to send a gentleman to this Queen to intercede for the queen of Scotland, since I had no authority to explain yet your Majesty's wishes nor to give a letter on the subject. He also requested troops from your Majesty to deprive the Regent of the Government, in which the king of France would help. In answer to both of these requests I told him that there would be difficulties in the way, seeing the present state of affairs, but that I would write. It certainly appears a most desirable thing to depose the Regent, but it would be better that it should be done by native enemies, and the Bishop thinks there are good means of effecting it. Your Majesty will order what is best for your service.

The Council is determined not to let the queen of Scotland go for any exchange, and I do not believe they will do so at the intercession of anybody. They offer money to the Regent for the earl of Northumberland, and the former, finding the nobles of the province opposed to the delivery of him, is taking measures to capture him by force, by means of some armed ships which will approach the castle. Westmoreland and the others are free.

Cardinal Chatillon went to Hampton Court two days ago. He is very pressing that the Queen should give a sum of money to Hans Casimir and the prince of Orange to enter France, but she, on the plea that she is short of money, does not yet offer more than fifty thousand crowns.

It is said here that Orange went to Heidelburg to forward this project, and thence went post to negotiate on the subject with duke August. On the other hand, there are hopes that an agreement may be come to in France, of which their ambassador is very sanguine.

They have commenced the sale in Rochelle of the Venetian property, so I suppose the letter from this Queen to the duchess of Vendome asking for the return of the ships, arrived there too late. The third ship escaped the Corsairs, thanks to its cannon.—London, 23rd January 1570.

30 Jan. **177.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

On the 23rd instant, Hamilton, a kinsman of the duke of Chatelherault, who is a prisoner in Scotland, knowing that the Regent was leaving Edinburgh with one hundred and fifty horse and that he had to go through a narrow pass, stationed himself in a house convenient for the purpose and fired upon him with a harquebuss, loaded with several balls, and wounded him in the stomach. It was at first thought that the wound might not be mortal, but

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according to the news this Queen has received, the Regent has since died. Hamilton escaped by a back door of the house, where he had horses in waiting. This Queen was much grieved, and yesterday broke forth in great exclamations, saying that this would be the beginning of her ruin. She has sent a gentleman thither to endeavour to get the Protestants and other enemies of the queen of Scotland to select persons of their own faction as governors, and offers to provide a sum of money, if it be necessary, for them to defend themselves. Westmoreland, Markinfield and other Englishmen to the number of 600 horse are free in Scotland, only Northumberland having been taken, in consequence of his having returned to fetch his wife who had entered Scotland after him. He is now in the castle of Lochleven, as I have already written.

As this news is of the greatest importance, and may turn out for the good of Christendom, knowing that I should not be able to obtain a passport as soon as I wished, I send this despatch by a boat to the duke of Alba, that he may give me instructions.

They have sentenced a hundred and fifty persons to death in the north, but none of them persons of any account; they are pursuing Leonard Dacre who is a powerful person there, although he did not take up arms against the Queen. He is guarded by a troop of horse, and it is believed will pass over the border. There are means by which the queen of Scotland may be released, and her wish has always been to take refuge in your Majesty's dominions. If Scotland is not pacified with this last event, I expect she will persevere in that intention which it appears might be fertile of good results for your Majesty's interests.

This Queen has offered Hans Casimir and the prince of Orange fifty thousand crowns for troops with which to enter France, and the Council is trying to devise means to get her to give more without prejudicing herself. Cardinal Chatillon himself has been round the French Protestant churches lately to ask for aid, and has received promises of so much from each. I also understand that certain Flemings allege that large sums for the purpose will be secretly sent from Flanders. The Cardinal took with him when he went on his errand, a letter, which he said was from the prince of Orange himself, assuring the return of what they now gave, as well as their former contributions as soon as he had received two payments in the Netherlands. I am trying to discover who are those in Flanders that will give such help as they say.

The Cardinal is well guarded here, the Corsairs being sixteen sail strong and well equipped, divided into two equal squadrons, one on one side and one on the other. Orders have been given here that no goods, excepting those which were usually shipped thither before these detentions should be despatched now through any of the custom houses.

They have also ordered by letter to the Flemish and other foreign churches that no bills of exchange shall be given for your Majesty's dominions. The merchants are told to have the cargo ready for Hamburg during next month, so that they are in full preparation, and seeing the lack of zeal to prevent them, they will doubtless sail this year as they say.

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The going of Leicester to his country was with the object of fortifying a place of his called Kenilworth, for which purpose he has taken with him a certain Julio Spinelli an Italian who was recently in the castle of Antwerp. Leicester told him that he greatly feared civil wars in this country.

A week ago there entered into this river six Breton ships loaded with oil, coming from Andalucia. They arrived very opportunely, and, by interesting the commissioners, they have obtained license to sell. I am told that similar cargoes have arrived at Bristol.—London, 30th January 1570.

9 Feb. **178.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I send your Majesty enclosed a copy of the Queen's answer to M. de Monluc and the French ambassador. The former returns with the answer.

Cardinal Chatillon continues his great efforts to obtain the subscriptions for the expense of the Germans who are to be raised, and the Flemish rebels living here promise him that if the army is to be against their country they will at once give thirty thousand crowns, and eight thousand crowns a month for eight months. If it is against France they offer twenty thousand crowns, and the Frenchmen here a similar amount. All this is being discussed with great warmth and impudence, and I believe it has been settled. In the meanwhile the Queen has arrested the bishop of Ross, and he is well guarded in the bishop of London's house.

They talk of a Parliament here with the object of legally confiscating the possessions of the northern people, and in order to get the usual grants voted, although the Queen is much afraid of having members sent from all parts of the country. In the meanwhile the people are being hanged in the north daily, and the number will certainly exceed seven hundred. Four brothers, gentlemen named Norton, who are strong Catholics, are believed to be in danger.

As they have captured the man that the bishop of Ross despatched, I have not been able to learn what has happened in Scotland since the death of the Regent, although I understand from the Court here that they have released Lord Herries and Lethington, but that the duke of Chatelherault is not yet free because of his relationship to Robert Hamilton who killed the Regent.

This Queen would like the earl of Morton to be Governor, as he is a great heretic and an enemy of the queen of Scotland. Neither side trusts the other bastard brother of the dead man. I am without letters from Flanders for the last six weeks, although I send hourly reports of what happens here.—London, 9th February 1570.

13 Feb. **179.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I have given your Majesty in previous letters full information of events here, but as I have received no letters from Flanders for some time and the couriers have not returned, I have been uncertain as to whether my letters had been received there. I

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have, with your Majesty's permission, given license for some merchandise belonging to Dr. Nuñez, a Portuguese resident here, to be conveyed to Biscay, so that this despatch with duplicates of former letters may be freely left in one of the ports there, and your Majesty may thus have news.

The principal point is that the Regent of Scotland has been killed by a musket shot, fired by Robert Hamilton two days previously, the murderer escaping.

This Queen has many envoys there trying to retain the government in the hands of the Protestants, and in those of the greatest enemies to the restoration of the Queen. I have given full information to the duke of Alba, knowing how important it is that the government should be in your Majesty's interests. The bishop of Ross has sent to exhort the friends of his mistress with this end, and although the bishop is now detained closely in the house of the bishop of London, which hinders affairs greatly, they may, perhaps, after this affair blows over, relax his guard somewhat.

I am informed to-day that the Queen has ordered the earl of Sussex to return to the north with three hundred horse and five hundred foot, with twelve captains, to raise the troops necessary to encourage the Scotch Protestants.

These Englishmen think that the Duke Hans Casimir and the prince of Orange will be able to enter Flanders by aid of the money which M. de Dupin took from the ships stolen from your Majesty's Flemish subjects, from the proceeds of the goods sold from the Venetian ships at Rochelle, the fifty thousand crowns which the Queen contributes, and the sums subscribed by the Flemish rebels, the churches, the English and other aids from England and Germany. The Cardinal is energetically at work about it. When the forces are ready, and they find there is little chance of doing harm in Flanders, they may fall upon France, especially if the Queen helps them with the money detained here, for which they are pressing much and perhaps will succeed in obtaining.

They are putting off Thomas Fiesco with empty words about the safety of this money as they are doing with the merchants about their goods, so that those who were here with the Duke's leave to deal in the matter have gone back to give an account to him. English goods in Flanders and Spain at present are of more value than what is left of the goods here, apart from the cash. The plague looks as if it were breaking out again here, but nothing will persuade them to restore what they have stolen.—London, 13th February 1570.

25 Feb. **180.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

On the 21st instant I received your Majesty's letter of the 26th December, to which this is a reply. The earl of Morton, the earl of Mar, the earl Marshal, and others are in Edinburgh contriving to settle the Government to their liking. They are on the side of this Queen, and are working in accord with Mr. Randolph and other envoys who have gone from here to Scotland. The

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duke of Chatelherault and the earl of Northumberland are still prisoners.

The earl of Huntly and others are at Dumbarton opposite Ireland with many troops, and the earl of Westmoreland and other English exiles are with them. These men wish the Government to be in the name of the queen of Scotland. It had been suggested that all should agree to the appointment of the earl of Lennox who is now here, father of the late King, for Governor, but the queen of England does not like him.

The earl of Sussex, who has to go to the north with troops, has not left yet, as the Queen is always slow in giving money; but he will go soon. In the meanwhile Leonard Dacre has occupied a castle almost on the border line inland, and although Lord Hunsdon from Berwick, and Lord Scrope from the other side came to besiege him, they found him so well placed that they returned. Sussex has orders to try to drive him out, and afterwards to enter Scotland to favour the friends of this Queen.

Some troops are being raised for this purpose here, and I am advised by my friends in the Council that the Queen has news from her ambassador in France that a fleet is being equipped there to aid the Scots, as she also has been advised by the men she has sent thither. They therefore wish to prepare here all their sea forces, particularly now they have learnt that the duke (of Alba) is equipping fifteen vessels in Holland.

They sent a courier yesterday telling Count Charles Mansfeldt to make ready six thousand foot and five hundred horse, and decided with Cardinal Chatillon that the Queen would give a hundred thousand crowns within three months, and security in Germany to pay another hundred thousand in two years, on condition that Admiral Chatillon should not accept the treaty of peace and should persevere in his enterprise. The Cardinal is therefore sending to his brother about it, and is writing to him the list of contributions promised here. He exaggerates it a great deal, because he adds the money obtained from the sale of the stolen goods.

My friend on the Council tells me that if the Queen's fleet could take some places in Scotland they would do so, and that negotiations were being carried on with the Regent James before his death for him to give up the province, on payment to him of an income of fifty thousand crowns from England. Although his death stopped the matter Cecil is still much set upon it.

They are greatly in want of money, and will not restore what they have detained except by force. They hold up their hands to heaven at the offers made by the Genoese through Thomas Fiesco, and with regard to the merchandise no good will be done.

The Cardinal is very proud of the plan he proposed to the Council, by which, without cost to themselves but to their profit, they might become masters of the Channel. The privateers land unmolested every day, and have recently captured a Flemish sloop with a cargo of fruit from Portugal.

The sentences against persons and property in the North are being carried out with great rigour, which will again force them

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into revolt. All the other Catholics are on the watch for help from abroad, but so much alarmed that they dare not trust one another.

What would probably be a very successful enterprise is to capture the queen of Scotland, and take her to your Majesty's dominions, as she herself suggests. I am sending the man who wishes to undertake it to the duke of Alba shortly, in order that the Duke may, if he thinks well of it, take such measures as may be desirable.

The depositions and interrogatories administered to the duke of Norfolk, the earls of Arundel and Pembroke and Lumley will, I am informed by their agents, give but little proof of their intentions to the Council, as they were extremely cautious in the answers they gave. Hitherto the bishop of Ross alone has inculpated one of those in the north, and on this ground, or rather because of his cleverness and diligence, they keep him prisoner.

Five days ago a servant of the prince of Orange arrived, and is lodged in Cecil's house. I should not have known who he was but for my friend, who tells me that he is pressing urgently for large help to be given to his master against Flanders. The forces here are not sufficient for this purpose, particularly with these Scotch troubles, and they are therefore keeping him while they discuss ways and means, announcing that he is a servant of the Count Palatine.

John Hawkins is here, and came to see me the other day, to seek my intercession for the liberation of his hostages and the rest of his company left in Florida.

No fleet has left this country for the Indies, except three medium sized ships which sailed for the Guinea coast, where they always go on their way to the Indies. Two others have gone to Cape Arguim so that the 22 sail which were sighted at Cape St. Vincent were not from here. I will always advise your Majesty as fully as I can on this point.

Antonio Fogaza has returned from Portugal with the three ships he took with him, bringing spices and other goods. Although he concealed from the ambassador Don Fernando Carillo the object of his voyage, I knew it well, and for that reason, refused to give him letters in favour of the treaty of commerce between England and Portugal. He brings with him certain clauses, and the members of the Council await him with impatience. They have sent him instructions that he is not to speak to me whilst his illness confines him to his bed, and prevents him from seeing them. I will report all I can learn. He had but little acquaintance with those in the north and only knew some private Catholics.

The brother of the earl of Ormond has been set free in Ireland, and, with the other two, is now routing and robbing on the roads without being able to get a body of troops together. The Queen has imposed a heavy fine or tribute on the place, but this may turn out to be an advantage as the road to greater things. The island lacks husbandmen, and is short of food.—London, 25th February 1570.

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27 Feb. **181.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

By an English ship bound for St. Jean de Luz, I write this letter to your Majesty, consigned to Juan Martinez de Recalde. Leonard Dacre has fought with Lord Hunsdon; the killed on both sides being 400 men, most of them, say this Queen's friends, being their opponents. After the encounter, Dacre passed over the border to Scotland with 300 horse, and there are now there 2,000 English horsemen and many footmen against the queen of England. Orders to equip have been given here and sailors are being got together, but I am informed from Rochester that nothing fresh is being done with the ships. They are, however, making ready at their own homes large numbers, both of cavalry and infantry.

They cannot persuade the Queen to call Parliament together, as she fears they will compel her to appoint her successor. They are seeking money.

I reported in previous letters the arrival here of seven French ships loaded in Cadiz and its neighbourhood with oil and soap which were very welcome. As I understand that the English have arranged with the masters to make another similar voyage, I send the names of ships and masters in order that your Majesty may take such measures as you think desirable.

The "Phœnix," of Havre de Grace, Master Andreu Henchare.
The "Ventura," of Havre de Grace, Master Jaques Lucas.
The "Charité," of Havre de Grace, Master Jean Lie.
The "Esperance," of Quilvit, Master Roger Pautoe.
The "Robert," of Havre de Grace, Master Pierre Godin.
The "Geneta," of Havre de Grace, Master Nulet Martelet.

Orders have been given to the merchants who are to ship goods for Hamburg to have all their cargo loaded before Easter. The corsairs have captured and plundered a great Dantzig ship of 1,300 or 1,400 tons on her voyage from here to Portugal.—London, 27tlr February 1570.

11 March. **182.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

By my previous letters I have given information of events here, and the present is being taken by Pedro Spinelli, with the letters from the queen of Scotland and the bishop of Ross, respecting the means which have been devised here for her release, so that the Duke may, at his discretion, choose that which will be best for your Majesty's service. The Queen wants the earl of Sussex to enter Scotland with the troops which are now being raised, but he finds good excuses for not doing so, and the gathering of his forces and the equipment of the fleet go on but slowly. I think they are probably waiting to see whether the French go to Scotland, as report says they will. The ships which Vandenberg saved from the wreck are seven, five large and two small, and they are now in the Downs and at Sandwich in very bad case. The other ships belonging to Sores have plundered a very valuable Dutch sloop, loaded with woad, and a small fruit ship. A few days before, they took a sloop with a cargo belonging to Germans. They would not let the crew go ashore, and it is believed they were thrown over-

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board in the hope that the robbery would thus not be heard of. An English ship has come from Cadiz which was ransomed by Frenchmen for her owners. She is loaded with fruit, and left there on the 5th ultimo. The contributions for the prince of Orange are now being collected here, although most of the exiles either absent themselves or appeal to the Court, saying that there is no news yet that the Prince is raising troops, and that their subscriptions will be useless. But, at all events, Cardinal Chatillon will get as much as he can out of them.

I send enclosed two little books which are being scattered here, one being against the Catholic faith, and the other against the queen of Scotland, which I understand has been answered in another book by the French. I believe it all comes from Cecil. Lord Lumley sends to say that if the English in Scotland can re-form the army they had and push on, friends will not be lacking here.—London, 11th March 1570.

20 March. **183.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

In my previous letters I have informed your Majesty of what had happened here since the death of the regent of Scotland, and this Queen is now persevering in her attempts to keep the government of that country in her hands. Besides the money she has provided, she is mustering 4,000 foot and 1,200 horse, which are to be in York on the 1st proximo. The earl of Sussex left Court for that place on the 16th by post, on the understanding that they will send him a thousand foot within a week. They gave him 20,000*l.*, and promised him as much more for the entry into Scotland, for which purpose he will require to raise there 5,000 more infantry, so that, altogether, he will have 10,000 foot and 3,000 horse.

The earl of Westmoreland and others recently crossed the border and came 30 miles into England, burning nearly 40 villages, and after stealing great quantities of cattle, returned to Scotland.

The government of Scotland is still in the same discord; the party opposed to the Queen having selected eight persons with the title of councillors, in order to govern through them the part of the country obedient to them, and thus to keep them more securely in hand. This Queen promises to divide 1,500*l.* a year amongst them. She has also made a present to the Earl,* who has possession of the prince of Scotland, as it was thought that he was likely to go over to the other side, that party being powerful round Dumbarton and the western provinces.

My acquaintance, the secretary, has been to the Tower to witness the taking out of the money which had to be given to the Earl of Sussex. He assures me that the whole of the treasure which still remains in the Queen's hands does not exceed 16,000*l.* He says that they have already taken more than a third of the money they have seized, and their only resource now will be to borrow.

In consequence of this shortness of money and the news that there are no facilities in France for the succour of Scotland, they

* The earl of Mar.

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are delaying the equipment of the fleet, especially now that they think the corsairs could provide them with a considerable number of vessels.

Vandenberg returned to his ships in order to continue his business, which he does by robbing everybody, and afterwards, investigations are made before the Cardinal as to who are Catholics and who are not.

It is said that the other captain, Sores, went in pursuit of the Venetian vessel and a sloop, and it is not known whether he captured them, although heavy firing was heard in Portsmouth, and it is feared that he will have done so.

The negotiations here about the earl of Lennox have been quite forgotten.

The queen of Scotland received the letter from his Holiness, copy of which I enclose, as also copy of the letter she writes to me.* She remains always with the same intentions as before.

The bishop of Ross was summoned to Court, and the burden of all the interrogations was whether his mistress had a cipher and any dealings with your Majesty or the duke of Alba, and to impress upon him that little advantage could be gained by foreign aid, as they could act with such rapidity here. In this way, more by threats than questions, they sent him back to London, promising that they would consider shortly the question of his release.

They have conferences every day with the Cardinal, and the Queen went yesterday to visit his wife at Ham. It is thought here that no agreement will be effected in France. The ambassador went yesterday to Court to give explanations and excuses to this Queen from his master about the little book published in France about the risings here and their objects, and at the same time he complained of the books published here, copies of which I have sent to your Majesty.

They are negotiating, by means of commissioners appointed by the Council, with Antonio Fogaza respecting the abolition of the marques, so far as Portugal is concerned, and the restoration of trade with that country.

A Portuguese vessel loaded with salt and sugar has arrived here from Vigo under a safe conduct. In her comes Bartolomé Bayon, a Portuguese pilot, who was arrested in Porto Rico, and taken to Seville, where he escaped from prison two months ago. He has been received by the English merchants with great rejoicing, and I believe that, trusting in him, they will again fit out ships for the Indies, although he says he wishes to serve your Majesty. I will keep an eye on what he does.

The earl of Pembroke is dead, and leaves the property, of which I enclose a note,† and two sons, of whom I hear the younger is a Catholic, and the elder doubtful.

It is thought here that if the Queen do not assure the post of Lord Steward to the earl of Sussex, which it is not expected she

* The original note says: "These did not come."
† An original note in the margin says: "This did not come."

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will do, he will be lukewarm about the war and will return to his old friends, the outlaws, which would end the war on the spot.

The countess of Westmoreland is here for the purpose of begging for a maintenance. She is the sister of the duke of Norfolk.—London, 20th March 1570.

25 March. **184.** The KING to GUERAU DE SPES.

Your various letters, sent direct to me and through the duke of Alba, have informed me of the state of things in England and Scotland. It was well to give me detailed reports, although I am deeply grieved to learn that the Catholics in the north have failed in their honourable enterprise, which I have no doubt, if it had been carried forward, would have had most important results in redressing religious evils. As regards what you should do in these matters, I cannot give you more precise instructions than those which I have already given, namely, to refer you in all things to the duke of Alba, and order you to proceed entirely by his advice and instruction. You will also act in the same way with regard to the negotiations with the Queen about the restitution of the property detained, and the release of the persons and vessels of my subjects, as also respecting the freedom of navigation and restoration of trade on both sides. New powers and letters are sent to the Duke on these subjects, and he will inform you as to what you should do. You will continue to report to me by every possible opportunity what results are attained, and all that happens both in England and in Ireland, as I wish to be thoroughly well posted in it.—San Geronimo, near Cordoba, 25th March 1570.

27 March. **185.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

I write the present letter through Don Francés de Alava, to be taken by Pesaro, who goes to Rochelle with letters from the Queen to investigate about the two Venetian vessels which have gone thither.

On Holy Thursday they brought out from the Tower 12 field-pieces and 19 wagons of stores, which went towards the North, whither also is going the cavalry, which has been got together with great trouble, accompanied by a captain of pioneers. The Admiral has gone to Lincoln in order to be near, if anything should befall the earl of Sussex.

The letters from Lord Privy Seal are being delivered through the country requesting loans of money. This is a great annoyance to the people, and truly, if this heavy expense continues, the Queen will become very poor, and her subjects also.

The fear of some trouble here has caused the Queen to send for the earl of Arundel to Hampton Court, when, with many excuses and bland words, she told him that she would restore to him his liberty, and hoped to make use of his services, leaving subsequent discussion for this week. The Earl has sent me word that he will not be tricked, and he believes that, as they are growing more alarmed, they wish to find some means of making sure of the duke

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of Norfolk, and release him, because both in Norfolk and in Suffolk the people are much incensed and disturbed, and if the Northern people could join them in force, they would all rise together.

Letters have been received from the commissioners in Antwerp, saying with what kindness they have been treated in those parts, and how ruined they consider the country to be, and how great is the need in it of trade with England. People here are anxious to know what they have been able to arrange with the Duke.

In the meanwhile, they are very busy with Antonio Fogaza and other Portuguese, trying to mutually balance the seizures of property, and the Controller and Knollys have been appointed commissioners to settle the business. They are very anxious, at all events, to re-open trade with Portugal, if they cannot settle with your Majesty's dominions. I will do what I can to hinder a settlement by the means of the Controller,* who is my friend, or in any case, to delay it until I have the Duke's instructions or your Majesty's orders. They would be able if it were settled to get what Spanish goods they wanted and send through Portugal thither what was profitable to them.

Although the coming of Bartolomé Bayon made them think of fitting out ships for India, there have been no signs of their doing so, excepting that Hawkins has been buying much rice and other things, which might be stores for such a voyage.

Great suspicions are entertained here of the peace in France, especially now that the Queen has received a letter from there saying that the duke of Anjou privately told the envoys of Admiral Chatillon to have no misgivings about the securities promised to them, which would be faithfully fulfilled, and that they would all join together to go to England and release this captive princess. The French ambassador here is now smoothing this over.

The French Court awaits Chatillon's reply by Biron, La Chapelle, and another man who was sent subsequently; and this Queen, who would not promise the French ambassador here to be neutral in case Chatillon refused to accept the terms granted by the King, wanted to intervene in the agreement, either the better to hinder it, or else to watch her own interests, but the ambassador would not admit her intervention.

They have delayed the release of the bishop of Ross for this week, and, in order to have some persons in York who will urge the Catholics to heresy, the Queen has appointed the bishop of London to be the Archbishop there.†

The archbishop of Armagh has been released on bail, and has gone to Ireland.

Eight ships have arrived from Hamburg, with large quantities of merchandise, mostly Flemish, and the cargo is now being prepared to send back thither.

* Sir James Crofts. † Archbishop Grindal.

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The warrants for the 50,000 crowns to induce the Admiral* not to accept the King's terms have been handed to the Cardinal.†

At this moment I have received news from Rochester that orders have been received for two of the Queen's ships which were ready to sail, as they will do to-morrow, and 12 more are to be made ready.—London, 27th March 1570.

19 April. **186.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

As I have informed your Majesty, the army of this Queen now amounts to 5,000 infantry and 1,500 horse, without counting the garrisons in the castles. The army is now at Newcastle, and all the stores have been sent thither by sea. The earl of Sussex has dismissed some cavalry in which he had no confidence, and he has consulted the Queen with regard to certain difficulties concerning his proposed entry into Scotland. One of these is that the arrival of the French envoy here had excited somewhat the friends of the Queen (of Scotland), and he therefore thought it would be dangerous to enter with so small a force, and to take a very much larger one he would need great stores of provision. He also says that he had received news, although not through the English ambassador, that four French vessels with infantry and stores had arrived at Dumbarton.

Orders have been sent to him from here to raise the troops he thought necessary, and to ascertain the truth of the news about the French troops, as, in case of its being true, it would have great influence on the decision to enter Scotland. It appears that the earl of Sussex has some hope that they will deliver the earl of Northumberland to him. He writes that Westmoreland had wounded himself in the hand carelessly with a pistol.

The excitement and annoyance caused to the gentlemen of the country by Privy Seal's letters of demand are remarkable, but still, most of them find the money, and it is thought that more than four hundred thousand crowns will be collected, notwithstanding that less than a year ago sixty thousand pounds were obtained.

The nobles are also dissatisfied, and the people, for other reasons, are the same, as they will prove on the first opportunity. But Cecil goes his way, and it is even feared that he will have Lord Montague arrested. The latter has been advised of this by some of the members of the Council.

The departure of the Hamburg fleet is being pushed forward. Cardinal Chatillon complained that the 50,000 crowns had not yet been paid in Germany, and the Queen said, "If there be no "peace in France I will give that and much more, so that want of "money shall not stand in the way of the cause; but if an agreement "is come to, I shall have need of my money."

I have been informed that the Council was discussing the selection from amongst the corsairs' ships of some to go out and

* Coligny, leader of the Huguenot party in France. † Chatillon, his brother.

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meet the fleet from the Indies,* and although no decision has been come to, it is possible that Captain Sores may do this on his own account, as he is not now in the Channel, although some of his followers are, and bring prizes every day into the Isle of Wight. They took another cargo of salt from the sloops which came into Falmouth.*

I have reported the arrival here of Bartolomé Bayon, a Portuguese,† who has been made much of by the merchants and some of the Councillors, as no one could have come more apt for their designs. They invite him to return with a good number of ships to Guinea, and some of the Council have communicated with him about the project which was discussed here before, to occupy and colonize one or two ports in the kingdom of Magallanes, in order to have in their hands the commerce of the southern sea, and that of Guinea and the coast of Africa, as well as getting as near as they wish to Peru. It is a matter of much importance, and as this Portuguese is friendly with a doctor who comes to my house, I have consented to see him, and now recognize that he is a good cosmographer with regard to those parts. He is a man of good judgment, who might either do good or evil, and I do not think it would be bad to attach him to your Majesty's service, unless there be some reason to the contrary of which I am ignorant. If nothing else was done by this it would take him away from here, which would be something gained. He is in debt and asks for aid to carry negroes to the Indies, as your Majesty may see by the copy of his letter to me enclosed, some portions of which letter, however, might have been expressed more moderately. Your Majesty will order me what is fitting to do. I also send copy of a proclamation of this Queen respecting the present war against Scotland, in English and French.—London, 19th April 1570.

25 April. **187.** ·Guerau de Spes to the King.

In my previous letters I have reported the arrival of a French ambassador in Scotland who is called M. de Seurres, a knight of the order of St. John, who was formerly ambassador here. By means of promises of companies-of-horse, pensions, and the order of St. Michael, he has won over many of those who were opposed to the queen of Scotland, so that, by common consent, the earl of Westmoreland and other English of the same party were welcomed in Edinburgh, and the English ambassador was obliged to return at once, he having been placed in safety at Berwick by the earl of Morton, or otherwise they would have captured or killed him. Discussions are now going on in Edinburgh with regard to the Government, and it is believed that in future it will be carried on in the name of the Queen. In the meanwhile the earl of Sussex penetrated a few miles into Scotland to see whether adherents would join him, but as he saw no one, he retired to Berwick, and

* In the King's handwriting, "Let Vasquez have a copy of this and all similar references."

† In the King's handwriting, "And of this also, and the Portuguese ambassador may be given a copy of what concerns him."

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awaits instructions from here. The members of the Council here are much confused to see how badly their undertaking has commenced.

The considerations which occur in connection with this is that the queen of Scotland might be liberated by the French, and upon her marriage subsequently would very greatly depend the evil or good of the Catholic faith, the security of the Netherlands, and the trade of the Indies. Your Majesty will consider and give such orders as may be best for your service.

The duke of Norfolk has all the Tower for a prison, and four of his servants have access to him, so that, with little difficulty, he could be liberated. If he wishes to raise the country it would be in his power to do it, seeing the discontent alike of nobles and people, both on account of the forced loans and for other reasons.

I have pointed out to Cecil, Leicester, and the Controller, in accordance with the Duke's orders, how bad it appeared for them persistently to welcome here the piratical rebels against your Majesty, and allow them to sally forth from these ports and return hither with their plunder. I will report their reply duly to your Majesty. They have letters from the English ambassador in France saying that the hopes of peace have now disappeared, whereat these people are very glad.

Postscript.—I have received a letter from the queen of Scotland, copy of which I enclose. I will reply in general terms as your Majesty orders. All the printed copies of the proclamation respecting the troops for Scotland have been taken from the bookseller by Cecil's orders. The Hamburg fleet is going down the river.—London, 25th April 1570.

13 May. **188.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I learn by a letter from the duke of Alba, dated 3rd instant, that he had just received a packet from your Majesty for me, which he could not trust to the courier who brought his own letters. I have therefore nothing to answer, and limit myself to giving an account of what is happening here. The Council is puzzled by the duke of Alba's answer to the English commissioners, to the effect that when the demands of your Majesty's subjects here were entirely satisfied, the English there should be met in the same way, and that if they would not do this they should declare what property is detained here in order to see whether it is an equivalent exchange for what is detained on the other side. The Council thought that, by making this small restitution and receiving in exchange property of larger amount, they would not be called upon to restore any more. I will advise your Majesty what is decided.

Cardinal Chatillon is still keeping this Queen in play. He assures her that no agreement will be made in France, in which case they will have to hand him 250,000 ducats in Hamburg from the proceeds of the goods now being sent. Seventy-two sail have gone, although with hopes of but small profit, so that, even without this drain of money, the English would not have been too well off.

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The Portuguese trade will be very welcome to them, and I am hindering the business in accordance with the Duke's instructions.

This Queen's party is still the stronger in Scotland, thanks to her army which is in Berwick. They have taken some castles, and it is believed will enter Edinburgh to join their friends there, although the duke of Chatelherault, who is now at liberty, will be able to help the queen of Scotland greatly.

His Holiness truly seems to offer succour like a good shepherd. Roberto Ridolfi tells me he has already a commission to pay twelve thousand crowns, and, if these English Earls behave properly, his Holiness will give a hundred thousand crowns. Although not a breath of either this or the Bull is whispered here yet, they are speaking more mildly of the duke of Norfolk's release. They do not, however, seem to hit upon a plan for making sure of him, and yet they fear some great disturbance if they keep him as he is. It is known that there are two thousand soldiers ready in France to go to Scotland, if the troubles in Scotland give them a chance of doing so.

Ireland is quiet, although I am told that a bishop from there and an abbot were recently in Calais on their way from Rome, and, according to what they told a Catholic of my acquaintance, they were the bearers of the Bull from his Holiness against the Queen, although they did not speak very clearly about it. If this be published, it will cause great excitement both here and in Ireland. In the meanwhile the Catholics are much oppressed, and the heretics here cannot hide their disappointment at the good news from Granada.—London, 13th May 1570.

12 June **189.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I wrote previously that they were preparing to send ships to meet the fleet from Spain, and I thought well to send Bautista de San Vitores to the Isle of Wight to see what was going on there. There are sixteen ships at the island, not very good but well manned with English and Frenchmen, who, however, are for the most part low scamps. In a town on the island called Medol (?)* there is a great fair of spices, wines, wool, saffron, oil, soap, woad, and a great number of other goods stolen from your Majesty's subjects and some from French and Portuguese. The other pirates were absent, except Sores who is going on this enterprise with four vessels which were still there. It was said that Hawkins was preparing the bread for the voyage at Plymouth, and that many English seafarers were arriving at that place. The total number of pirate ships is understood to be about forty-five, ten of which are of importance.

The Protestants here are providing arms against their enemies and books against the Pope's Bull, whilst the Catholics are biding their time to do their duty, and, in the meantime, suffering bitter servitude. As things are going here and in Ireland, it looks as if the enterprise might be effected in both islands at the same time, as in Ireland most of the nation will rise as soon as they see your

* The town may probably be Yarmouth and the name given to it a perversion of the "Needles" which are near that town.

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Majesty's standard borne by ships on their coast, and no resistance would be made excepting in Dublin and some other fortresses. With the advice of Stukeley and others, who are now with your Majesty, and of Selliger if your Majesty will accept his services, a commencement might be made where success would be easiest, and at the same time fifteen or twenty thousand infantry, and the necessary cavalry, might enter this country with the English outlaws, and raise all the Catholics. If the person of the Queen were assured the business would be practically ended, and even the immediate capture of Cecil, Leicester, and Bedford, would be very advisable, as also would it be to take the fleet at Rochester, all of which would be very easy to do. The only thing wanted is some leading person to direct the enterprise, although there will be Catholic gentlemen ready, better than any of the lords, as time will prove, it being difficult to speak clearly to them as to what can be done before the hour strikes. It is most important that the name of the Queen of Scotland should be kept in the forefront, as being that which commands least opposition in the country, and arouses least suspicion in the neighbouring countries. I am sure that unless by this means, the Protestant Queen of England will never cease to trouble Flanders. The passage of the Queen, our Lady,* comes at a happy moment for this business.

Postscript.—Bartolomé Bayon, the Portuguese of whom I have written, has been talking to me about the continued trade carried on by the French and others with the island of Hispanola and other neighbouring islands, to the injury of your Majesty's subjects, and assures me that he would take measures to stop it, binding himself thereto by security, with eight armed ships, four of them to cruise on that coast whilst the other four return with their cargoes. For this purpose he begs authority to bring some negroes, all of which he would do at his own cost, even to supplying the ships themselves. Your Majesty will order what is best for your interests.—London, 12th June 1570.

18 June **190.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I send your Majesty herewith copy of the proclamation made on the 13th instant against the pirates. The Queen afterwards wrote four letters to her officers, ordering, in conformity with her previous decree, that all property that had been stolen from your Majesty's subjects should be detained; but as the pirates are forbidden entrance into the ports and all connection with the shore, it is nothing but a trick, especially as they will not acknowledge as pirates the English and French who are authorised by the Duke of Vendome and Admiral Chatillon, nor those who take the name of the Prince of Orange. They only regard these as people engaged in a just war, and yet they have all been armed here. I expect this has only been published to throw dust in the eyes of the people, who were murmuring greatly at such practices being allowed.

* This was the fourth wife of Philip, his niece the Archduchess Anne of Austria, who, in the autumn of this year 1570, was to sail from Flanders to Spain.

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On the 15th ultimo, the last day of term, the Lord Keeper made an artful speech to the judges and people in Westminster Hall, enlarging upon the sorrow caused to the Queen at the unrest of the people he called Papists, as her wish was only to maintain the law with regard to them. He said that they (the Judges) were to publish this in their several circuits and, for the present, not to force the oath on anybody pending further orders from the Queen. He exhorted them all to unity of opinion, and dismissed the congregation without giving them any further assurance. This speech was delivered by the wish of the Queen, and the Council had resolved upon it at the instance of the Lord Keeper himself.

News has arrived here of the going over (to Flanders) of Lord Morley and of the earl of Westmoreland; and that many others are on the point of going. The Queen has also received a letter from Stukeley who was sailing for Spain. All these events, together with the passage of our Queen and the Pope's Bull have greatly alarmed this Queen, which alarm is much increased by what is written to her by Robert Huggins,† an English gentlemen living in your Majesty's Court as her spy. Huggins sent a servant of his, an Englishman named Matthew, who was captured in St. Sebastian but was released, as they did not understand the messages he brought, which were falsely interpreted by John Burton, an Englishman living in Bilbca.* This man, Matthew, brought news that the affairs in Granada were going very badly for the Christians at the end of March last, and that your Majesty was in want of money, of which you had borrowed much at heavy interest. He said that on the advice of the achbishop of Cashel and other Irishmen you were about to arrange to seize the island of Ireland and had sent certain persons thither to reconnoitre the land, guided by a Irish page of the marquis of Cerralvo. He also asserted that the ships which came from the Indies were old, ill-found and rotten, and could easily be taken, whilst the English might do damage on the coasts of Galicia where there was not a single strong place. All this and other things, I am assured by Matthew himself, were contained in the statement that he brought, and as they have not, as he thinks, fittingly rewarded him, he came to make a clean breast of it to me, saying that, if it were necessary for the punishment of Robert Huggins, that he should return to Spain he would do so, and if he was sent back by the people at Court here he would give me an account of everything and follow your Majesty's orders when he gets there, although he thinks that Huggins writes by other ways as well. He is a short young fellow, who was in the butlery of his late Royal Highness, and afterwards in the pantry of the Prince of Eboli, where he picked up what news he could. He thinks that Huggins is most probably already a prisoner, as he heard in St. Jean de Luz that a courier had come after him (Matthew) to capture his despatches.

In order that your Majesty may know the aims of these people, and so the better deal with them, I will write what I have heard from my

* In the King's handwriting: "See whether it will be well to catch and punish them."
† This man appears to have been called indifferently Hogan and Huggins.

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friend,* whom I have always found true, and who has undertaken to make a note of all that passed in the Council for me, keeping himself as free as possible from other things in order the better to remember. He said that they had intended to send help to the Moriscos by means of the king of Fez, whom they would supply with arms, ships, and stores, carrying his Moors over to Spain, and paying them. If they had not had some hope that the commissioners would have arranged for the Turkish fleet to do this they would certainly have carried out the intention, and they are very sorry now they did not do it, as they have decided that it will be necessary to give your Majesty something to do, as they are in great fear of you when you are unoccupied.

They are carrying on some negotiations with M. de Serran,† the equerry of the prince of Orange, who has come here and with the resident agent, but they have no great opinion of the Prince seeing how vilely he has behaved. These agents are asking for money from the exiles here, for the new enterprise, and to enable their master to go to the Diet, where they say he can do much through his friends in the Empire. They have had no favourable answer hitherto.

They have brought Hawkins from Plymouth to consult him about the voyage to the Indies, and there is news of the illness of Sores in Rochelle. Many of the members of the Council are opposed to the ships leaving the Channel. They have approached Antonio Santa Cilia, a Majorcan, to ask whether he would accept the captaincy of some unpaid troops who would go to damage your Majesty's dominions. This has been done through Baptista de la Camara, an Italian ex-friar, who is now in the service of this Queen, and has done many knavish things. Santa Cilia refused, and consequently they did not open out more to him, but I have told him to endeavour to discover in what parts they mean to do the damage.

The Queen's only thought for the present is to raise money, and it is said that, what with her loans and other sources, she will have, in the month of September, 300,000*l.*, which sum is being now gradually taken to the Tower, and this is the most she can hope to do. In order to economise she has ordered all the ships to be dismantled, and will content herself with the protection given by the pirates.

In the meanwhile, I await the intelligence of what the bishop of Ross has arranged with his mistress, of whom nothing here has been heard, except that the earl of Shrewsbury writes to this Queen that the queen of Scotland has sent to her country, and that passports will be requested here shortly for certain Scotsmen who will come to treat about hostages.

The French ambassador went to Court lately to beg the resti-

* This was probably Sir James Crofts, although the Secretary, Bernard Hampton, also gave information.

† This was Jerome Tseraets, who was a member of the Prince's household, and was in England at the time on such a mission as that indicated.

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tution of the castle of Hume, and the other one taken by the earl of Sussex, but the Queen deferred the consideration of this until the other matters were discussed.

The earl of Arundel thinks he has won over the earl of Worcester, who is now a knight of the Garter.

They have given the duke of Norfolk the run of the Tower, and the earl of Southampton is a prisoner at Kingston, only because he was seen speaking in the country to the bishop of Ross.

They have willingly concluded the agreement with Portugal, and have ordered Winter to be satisfied with 8,000 crowns for his marque, one half in merchandise, and the other half to be paid in money by the English merchants who are anxious for the trade, but the capture of this sloop containing much Portuguese property, of which I give an account on the enclosed statement, will prove some obstacle.* If it be insured by subjects of your Majesty the matter will be more easily arranged.

The plunder lately taken from ships belonging to your Majesty's subjects has been carried to the island, and some taken to Hamburg. The cochineal and other merchandise forming part of the goods that have been detained were found in Hawkins' own flagship when he went to Hamburg, and the English commissioners were bold enough to take an account of it. The rest was taken by his brother, James Hawkins, to Rochelle.

Baptista San Vitores was badly wounded with a dagger yesterday at the Admiralty Court, because he was proceeding in the cause against M. de Schonvall. I have sent to let Cecil know about it. This will make it a bad business for those who have to claim the goods that the pirates have stolen.—London, 18th June 1570.

June. **191.** MEMORANDUM of CONTENTS of LETTERS from ANTONIO DE GUARAS, dated respectively, 11th, 17th, and 22nd of June.

The English demand of the queen of Scotland that she should deliver her son and four Scotch noblemen, to be chosen by the Queen of England, to her.

That no French troops be received in Scotland. That the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland shall be expelled, with the rest of the English outlaws. That the position of religion shall remain as at present. On these conditions the Queen of England will restore the Queen of Scotland to liberty, and withdraw her troops from the country. The queen of Scotland and her people will not agree to these terms, which would be their ruin, as the object of the queen of England, it is suspected, is to at once kill the Prince, and place on the throne the eldest son of Catherine, sister of Jane, who was beheaded, he being a heretic. She would at once do this if the queen of Scotland were to die.

They much fear an agreement in France, and Councils are held every day in order to provide funds for the Admiral, whom they urge not to come to terms. M. de Lumay, a Flemish

* In the original: "This did not come."

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outlaw, and an equerry of Orange, had arrived there (in England), and since his arrival the English were threatening the States, and it is believed that there is a close understanding between them and the Flemish rebels.

The object of the queen of England in sending the fleet with merchandise to the value of a million to Hamburg, is mainly to place funds there, in order to raise troops whenever they may be wanted by her, or whenever she may decide to help Orange, under the conviction that in due time through him something may be attempted in the States.

If the Hamburg voyage had been prevented, as it might have been by his (Guaras') timely advice, England would have been in great confusion and begging mercy of his Majesty, whilst they would have been more moderate respecting religion, and the Catholics would have been less oppressed.

That two gentlemen named Norton had been drawn and quartered in consequence of their steadfastness in the Catholic faith. This has greatly scandalised and alarmed the people.

That the treaty which Antonio Fogaza is arranging between the king of Portugal and England would be very undesirable for us as the English intend through Portugal to provide themselves with what they need from Spain, and would therefore be indifferent as to whether they were at peace with us or not. They would consequently continue to rob Spanish subjects and ill-treat Catholics.

The proclamation made by the queen of England is simply a trick with the object of satisfying her people and entertaining his Majesty and the Duke, since under the flags of the Admiral, Vendome, and the prince of Orange, the whole channel, from Falmouth to the Downs, is infested by ships to the number of forty, and twelve frigates, each one of which contains a dozen or fifteen Englishmen. They assail every ship that passes, of whatever nation, and after capturing them equip them for their own purposes, by this means continually increasing their fleet, with the intention, on the part of the Queen, thus to make war on his Majesty through these pirates, without its costing her anything, and under the specious pretence that she is not responsible, since the pirates carry authority from Chatillon, Vendome, and Orange. He (Guaras) asserts that the damage they do is very great, and if these robberies are not stopped the fleet will grow to such an extent that it will be impossible to deal with it.

Those who are anxious for his Majesty's advantage can think of no better remedy than that his Majesty should order ships to be fitted out in Flanders, Biscay, and Galicia, and that they should join in a large fleet with the sole purpose of destroying these pirates and stopping the robberies, or at all events making them difficult. This fleet might also prevent trade with Hamburg, Portugal, or other places, so that, if both robbery and trade were prevented, the English would soon be killing each other, or coming to beg mercy of his Majesty.

The English commissioners have returned from Flanders. Although they pretended to wish for a settlement, such was never

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their real intention, as he (Guaras) has always informed the Duke. They did not steal the property for the purpose of returning it, but for their own bad ends, thinking that the Moors in Granada and the Grand Turk would place Spain in such a position that they (the English) might do the same in Flanders. The few remaining goods are diminished every day, and the commissioners have therefore rejected the Duke's terms, to the effect that all that had been detained on both sides should be restored. They claim that, whilst they should receive back all that belongs to them, they should restore only what they have still on hand, which is much less than half of what has been stolen. He is certain that the value of the English goods arrested in Spain and Flanders is much greater than what remains in stock in England belonging to subjects of his Majesty.

It is useless, therefore, to treat for a settlement with the English since, however just may be our demands, they will claim absurd terms. They demand that his Majesty should again assure them the following conditions, namely:—That they may have freedom to trade in the Indies; that the English property confiscated for years past by the Holy Office should be restored; that the English pirate Hawkins should have returned to him the property taken from him by the Viceroy a year and a half since, and that which was captured from him in the Indies, valued at a great sum, which they wish to put against the account of what they have to restore; that the English should have security for person and property on account of their religion whilst trading or living in his Majesty's dominions. They demand that his Majesty should guarantee them all these absurdities, because they know very well that such terms will not be even listened to. The councillors, indeed, do not wish that they should be conceded, and only profess to desire peace in order to appear well before the people, their real object being war and disturbance for their own personal profit.

That which has most encouraged the Queen and the Council in their insolence has been their firm conviction that his Majesty will pass over all the offences committed without seeking vengeance in the fear that the king of France might intervene to prevent him: whereas the latter is so exhausted and short of money that he could hardly do so, and an opportunity is thus given to his Majesty, especially now that the Christian King is offended with the queen of England.

The declaration of the Pope against the Queen has been posted on the bishop of London's gate,* which has caused great sorrow to the bad people and much delight to the godly, who are convinced that, as a consequence of it, a redress for their evils will follow by the arms of Christian Princes, since this declaration can only have been made by the consent of such Princes, and especially of his Majesty. The first result of the declaration had been the per-

* This daring deed had been done by John Felton, who was subsequently executed for it, and canonised by the Romish Church. A copy of the Bull is given at length in Camden's Elizabeth.

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secution and imprisonment of Catholics; but the Council finding them constant, and that some people of position were passing over to Spain and Flanders to escape the ban of his Holiness, the Queen had ordered that the Catholics should not be persecuted for their religion. This, however, was only the result of fear, as her heart is much corrupted, and she herself had answered the Pope's declaration in Latin verse, scoffing at the apostolic authority, saying that the boat of St. Peter should never enter a port of hers, and other heresies of a like nature.

The Queen, finding herself surrounded by so many enemies, all her thoughts are directed to the raising of funds. She had demanded loans from the country to the amount of six hundred thousand crowns, besides two hundred thousand crowns from private persons, who are obliged to give it, so as not to appear disloyal. These loans had greatly diminished the Queen's popularity amongst all classes, who are indignant against her and her government. He (Guarás) then gives his opinion, supported by that of other experienced persons, that if his Majesty would now attack England he could conquer it without drawing the sword if the force sent were of sufficient extent, because in such case all the Catholics would at once join him, whereas if the forces were not equal to that of the English it is feared they (the Catholics) would join their fellow-countrymen on the defensive.

The Queen is also in trouble in Ireland, as few people there obey her. Two brothers of the earl of Ormond, both valiant gentlemen, have recently risen against her, and are determined to resist her power.

The Queen and Council have been thrown into alarm by hearing that an English gentleman named Thomas Stukeley had gone to Spain, carrying with him much information about Ireland. Guaras says he knows him for an excellent Christian, much attached to his Majesty's service, and as the Irish are nearly all Catholics, and attached to the King, being the natural enemies of the English, his Majesty might more easily begin war there than elsewhere.

The passage of our Queen through Flanders so well equipped, also arouses fear and suspicion, as does the knowledge that the French were sending 2,000 harquebussiers to Scotland. They have therefore sent the earl of Sussex to Berwick, but this trouble is nothing in comparison to what they expect may come at the hands of our King. This greatly disturbs them, and it is said that the Queen will at once order the equipment of twenty of her own ships and as many private ones, to be prepared to resist his Majesty's fleet.

Experience shows that the Queen becomes more proud, cruel, and insolent when she is treated mildly, whilst strength and boldness bring her to her knees, as she is naturally extremely timid. She has thus issued the proclamation against the pirates, and has softened towards the Catholics, as well as done other things against the opinion of the Council since the Pope's declaration was

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published and she heard of his Majesty's fleet* being prepared in Flanders.

22 June. **192.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

The bishop of Ross arrived here on the 18th at night, and has sent me a letter from his mistress, copy of which I enclose, together with copy of the instructions which he bears, by which the Scotch Queen's demands may be seen.† The Bishop went to Court at once, and they told him that the Queen was rather unwell. The Council questioned him about his conversation with the earl of Southampton, and they seem to have been satisfied. They deferred their reply to his last errand by saying that the Queen would give it to him personally. He is therefore at Kingston, awaiting audience, which he will soon get.

In my recent letters I wrote that the French ambassador insisted upon the surrender of the castles the English had taken in Scotland, but as he could not obtain this, he claimed that her troops should not enter Scotland, on condition that the king of France should not send soldiers thither. They agreed to this; but two days since, the Queen sent word to him, withdrawing from the arrangement, assuring him that she was informed of the embarkation of two thousand harquebussiers in Brittany, for Scotland. The ambassador thereupon requested audience, but it has not been granted, on the pretence that the Queen is ill.

Perhaps this negotiation has been upset by a letter written by the Admiral Chatillon, to the Queen, saying that he had arrived at Rouenville on the Loire, where the river becomes navigable, which place he intends to fortify and victual for a year. He has received from Xaintes and Sanserre, twelve hundred horse, and the Prince de la Rochefoucauld, with eight hundred more was coming from Rochelle to join him. He was gathering the flower of the soldiery in Languedoc, and all those from Dauphiné had flocked to him. He had with him the Gascon Viscounts,‡ and all the Reiters, so that he had now a finer force of cavalry and infantry than ever, and Marshal de Cossé would not dare to attack him, even though M. d'Aumale were to join him. The Admiral said that, if the promised aid from Germany came, he would guarantee that throughout France there should be no other religion than theirs. This letter on the one hand encourages them, and on the other annoys them, as they know that it means a payment of money from them.

Hawkins has been sent post haste to Plymouth to finish the equipment of his three ships, with a like number of others, which, it is believed, will go to towards the Indies.

The servant of the prince of Orange, who came lately, has gone to Rye to hasten the despatch of two fine ships, which are being fitted as corsairs, and supplied with guns and stores from here. Some parcels of woad, taken from Frenchmen, and other goods

* *i.e.*, The fleet to escort the new Queen consort to Spain.

† Original note "None of this came enclosed."

‡ This was a Huguenot force so called because it had been commanded by the four viscounts of Montclair, Bruniquel, Caumont, and Rapin.

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belonging to your Majesty's subjects, have been sold for cash very cheaply, Cobham's brother having a hand in it, to his great profit. They have released M. de Schonvall on the bail of a poor Flemish exile, and Schonvall is now in his ship again.

One of Winter's ships which went to Guinea has returned, and the other two, if they can escape from the Portuguese fleet, will go to the isle of Hispaniola.

This friend of mine tells me of two letters written by this Queen to your Majesty, one in April and one this month, without the Council's knowledge, complaining greatly of me. He says that Cecil and the Chancellor say frequently that I am a greater papist than the bishop of Aquila. The said letters were to be delivered to Don Francés de Alava, if he would receive them, in order to serve as a feeler as to your Majesty's intentions. The Queen thinks that, by expressing her approval of the agreement discussed by her commissioners in Flanders, without declaring herself as regards the restitution of the remainder of the stolen property, she will fulfil her duty, and will see by your Majesty's answer whether there is any artifice in those who are negotiating on the other side. —London, 22nd June 1570.

30 June. **193.** The KING to GUERAU DE SPES.

I have not written to you for some time, because I have been continually on the road, and answers are due to many letters from you. Although the latter contain much information which it was well to send me, there is little to answer in them, because, as I have said previously, English affairs depend so entirely on those of Flanders, and the duke of Alba is managing them with so much prudence and consideration, to the benefit of my interests, that you will continue to follow the instructions he may give you. What I have to say now is, that the copies I received from you of the two briefs (bulls) despatched by his Holiness, one declaring the Queen schismatic, and depriving her of the throne, and the other written to the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, were the first information I had received upon the subject. His Holiness has taken this step without communicating with me in any way, which certainly has greatly surprised me, because my knowledge of English affairs is such that I believe I could give a better opinion upon them and the course that ought to have been adopted under the circumstances than any one else. Since, however, his Holiness allowed himself to be carried away by his zeal, he no doubt thought that what he did was the only thing requisite for all to turn out as he wished, and if such were the case, I, of all the faithful sons of the Holy See, would rejoice the most. But I fear that, not only will this not be the case, but that this sudden and unexpected step will exacerbate feeling there, and drive the Queen and her friends the more to oppress and persecute the few good Catholics still remaining in England. You will advise me, with your usual diligence, of everything that passes in this matter, as I am very anxious about it. You will, for this purpose, keep in communication with Ridolfi, in order to discover from him what his Holiness's instructions are,

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since he has been the channel through which the money was sent to the Earls.

I have seen the copies of the two letters from the Queen of Scotland to you, and am glad to see her firm resolve to live and die in the Catholic faith. This obliges me to desire her freedom and happiness as if she were my own sister, and I thus write anew to the duke of Alba to bear this in mind, and help her by word and deed when possible, and forward her marriage with the duke of Norfolk, or some other English Catholic, which, in my opinion, will be the best way by which redress may be found for England and Scotland. You will proceed in this as the Duke may instruct you, and assure the queen of Scotland that I will never fail to do all I can for her as a good brother should.

As regards the negotiation for the restitution of property belonging to my subjects, I have nothing more to say until I see how the discussions in Antwerp will end. The Duke advises me fully with regard to it and you will follow his instructions.

The king of Portugal has been informed of the treaty under discussion there touching English trade with his country, and in view of his answer orders shall be sent to you what to do in the matter. Respecting what you say of Bartolomé Bayon's offer to enter my service, contained in a letter which he wrote to you (which, however, you did not send to me), you will on the first opportunity report the contents of the letter for my consideration and reply.

You will use every effort to discover the names of the Englishmen living here, who you say are spies, because, although we suspect some persons, we have not enough proof to make an example of them until we get further information.

When Guzman de Silva was there, he told me that Luis de Paz was so forward in my service as to merit some reward being granted to him. Although I have long had intelligence of his services, I should like you to report to me again how he is behaving, and what sort of reward could be given to him. You can inform the duke of Alba of this that I may the better decide, but you need not say anything to Luis de Paz about it.—The Escorial, 30th June 1570.

30 June. **194.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

On the 22nd I wrote to your worship last. Since then we learn that Northumberland is a prisoner in Scotland, and that Westmoreland, Dacre, and the other Englishmen who were on the point of leaving for Flanders as I wrote, have been detained in consequence of the want of certain things which were not ready. It is thought that Dacre left subsequently, and that the rest will contrive to go. They are not at present in arms, but both sides have taken refuge in their respective countries, although at open enmity.

It was arranged that two thousand men should be sent from France, but it has since been agreed between the Christian King and this Queen that she would withdraw her forces if he would refrain from sending his troops. The Queen has fulfilled her promise, and the ambassador here promises that the French shall therefore not go. The Queen has dismissed the troops she had

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raised on the border, except 3,000 men who are in garrison at Berwick and elsewhere. She had also ordered the preparation of six ships to resist the coming of the French, but on the strength of the French ambassador's promise this order has been countermanded.

Since the bishop of Ross came back from his mistress, this Queen has refused him audience, in consequence of his affair with the earl of Southampton, who is still detained.

Norfolk is still a prisoner, and his guard has been closer since the attempt of the people of his county to rise again. The Queen was angry at this, and has had four or five people of high position arrested, which has greatly disturbed the public mind.

I have reported that the Queen and Council are in great alarm for fear of some trouble in the State, and the Queen has been three days without leaving her room, exclaiming publicly against secretary Cecil and others, who, she declared, were bringing her into great trouble which would end in the ruin both of her and them, since it was proved now that nothing turned out as they anticipated either in France, Scotland, Granada, the coming of the Turk to Spain, or anything else. They cannot persuade themselves that the great fleet being fitted out in Flanders is only for the passage of our Queen, and publicly say in the Court and in London and all over the country that the transports of the fleet were being fitted with mangers for over 2,000 horses, and that 6,000 Walloons, and a body of Spaniards were ready, which facts were not a proof of good neighbourship. They are so much alarmed here that they fear the very shadows, and as they have learnt of the success which God sent to us in Granada, and that the Turk is not coming to Spain, as they hoped, they are quite beside themselves, seeing the many enemies they have of their own nation here and abroad. They clearly understand that, if we were to declare ourselves openly, the majority of the English themselves would come over to us. Although they find themselves in this danger, they are not arming the Queen's ships or others, in the hope that perhaps the preparations in Flanders are really only for the passage of our Queen, and it is understood that they will not take to arms except under extreme necessity, in order not to spend money, and because they are satisfied for the moment by having in the channel a fleet of over forty sail under the flags of Orange, the duchess of Vendome, and Chatillon, which are going in and out all the ports and carry many Englishmen. They are therefore the declared friends of our enemies the pirates, whom they help, welcome, and regale; robbing our ships daily on their way through the channel which ships, to make matters worse, they then proceed to arm and add to their own fleet.

They are in great fear also that some trouble will come to them through Ireland, for it is certain that the whole of that island is deeply attached to our King, all the people being Catholics excepting the English whom the Queen has there, who do not amount to 1,500 men, scattered in various places, few of whom have any experience in defence. In all Ireland there is no force of importance. It is the best soil in the world, with excellent ports, and if the people were only in subjection, it would be a very rich and flourishing country.

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The whole of it could be overrun and subdued, especially by the great help that our people would receive, as your worship will be better informed by Thomas Stukeley, an English gentleman who is going to Spain from Ireland, and by many well-informed Englishmen.

The man who is acting here for the king of Portugal has tried several times to come to terms with the English for mutual freedom to trade for both countries, and as the people here fear they will not be friendly with us, they have made up their differences respecting the (Portuguese) merchandise, and they are expecting the authority from Portugal, in accordance with the agreement, by which they may come and go to trade as formerly. As this would be so prejudicial to his Majesty, it is to be supposed that the arrangement will be hindered or nullified. Trustworthy news has come from Rochelle that ten very powerful ships well armed and found have sailed from that and other ports. The commander of this fleet for M. de Vendome, to whom it belongs, is M. d'Iprés, and on its departure the object of the voyage was announced to be the meeting of our fleet coming from the Indies, but if they did not meet it they would land in Florida or some other place near. This news may be depended upon, as a person who was an eye-witness says he saw 2,000 well armed men embarked on the ships. These heretic traitors are ready for anything, but it is to be hoped that Melendez will keep his eyes open and give them no rest. Captain John Hawkins is also fitting out in Plymouth. This is the man who has so often been to the Indies, and he has now four or five ships which are certainly bound on a similar voyage. As he has so much experience of this navigation he might cause us some extraordinary injury if he joined the Frenchmen, although it is to be hoped that measures will be taken to prevent his succeeding. The commissioners appointed by the duke of Alba to inspect the (detained) merchandise are expected here. Those who judge simply by what they hear, think that something is being done, but those who understand the drift of affairs feel that it is all deception.

In consequence of the fears entertained by the Queen and her Council, they are beginning to show some outward favour to the Catholics, some of whom have been released from prison, where they were for conscience sake, whilst others in the Tower have been given more freedom. The Queen even went so far as to say publicly that she thinks, if need should arise, she will adhere to the Catholics and abandon the heretics. They are in so much confusion that there is a constant appearance of great fickleness in these rulers.

Many persons are being prosecuted on account of the excommunication (*i.e.*, the Pope's bull), and, as passion is principally directed against his Majesty, it is openly declared that the brief came to this country by our hands, which people have the impudence to say they can prove. They are treating with great severity those who have been apprehended on suspicion of being concerned in this.

Postscript: 1st July. I have just heard that Hawkins is to be accompanied by the Portuguese pilot, who I think was arrested in Porto Rico and brought to Seville, whence he escaped and came hither. They leave in August.—London, 30th June.

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1 July. **195.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I have reported in former letters respecting the ships that were leaving Rochelle to meet the Indian fleet and do other damage. This Queen has received news of the expedition, although they speak of only ten ships from England. Persons who saw them, however, affirm that there were fifteen, and Hawkins is being hurried in his preparations for a similar voyage. He will have six fine ships ready in a fortnight, and asserts that he will be revenged for the injury the Spaniards have done him. The other pirates, to the number of forty sail, are round about the Isle of Wight, and mostly before Dover. They stop in port for days together, sallying forth whenever they see a sail. Their fleet is largely reinforced by English harquebussiers, so that the Queen depends upon them to defend her coasts, and told the Council that she had no need of other defence.

The illness of the Queen is caused by an open wound above the ankle, which prevents her from walking. She has received the present sent to her by the queen of Scotland, of two little caskets, and told the Scotch and French ambassadors that when she was assured of the wishes of the Scotch people she would arrange about the Queen's release. To persuade her to this M. de Rambouillet is coming from the Christian king, and will go on to Scotland. I expect this Queen wants an excuse, in case the settlement should fall through, to throw the blame on the Scots themselves. She has withdrawn her troops, and dismissed the northern men, putting the rest in garrison. This has been done on the promise of the French ambassador that his King will not send soldiers. There seems now a better chance of the peace in France being effected, as Cardinal Chatillon complains that, in consequence of the necessary money not having been provided in Germany for the Reiters to go, his brother will be obliged to make peace, though Cecil says it will only be for six months. They are pressing on the settlement with Portugal, and seem to be agreed about the marques. Forgaza claimed that they should abandon the Guinea trade, which they refused, and I understand that he is sending to Portugal to consult on the matter. It is most important that this settlement should be impeded.

It seems that it had been arranged in Norfolk that at a certain fair on St. John's day, the people should meet in great numbers and take up arms. Three gentlemen, servants of the duke, have been arrested. They say their rising was to have been against the Flemings, who live there, and who deprive them of all their gains. It is thought they will bring them here. John Wyatt, an English pirate, has arrived here, who, having had some of his people killed on the coast of Hispaniola, and seeing that he could not trade there, came hitherward, and on his way back captured a ship which had belonged to Hawkins, with a cargo of wine from Jerez. He says that three other English ships were trying to trade in those parts.

I have craftily obtained a copy of the treaty made by Antonio Fogaza, and will send it in Spanish if possible by this courier. My friend warns me to be very circumspect, as Cecil and the

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Chancellor are dealing very treacherously with me. I shall not be able to find out very well to what he refers, as they are very close there (*i.e.*, at Court), and vigilant.—London, 1st July 1570.

3 July. **196.** Guerau de Spes to the Duke of Alba.

The queen of England told the French ambassador that she had a letter from the Emperor informing her of the marriage of our Queen, and saying that he was still in hopes of seeing her (Elizabeth) married to the Archduke Charles. He said also that 13,000 horse were in Casimir's country, which he would try to prevent entering France. I have endeavoured to discover whether there is any truth in this letter, but can find no signs of it. I believe the Queen invented it all to frighten the French. Your Excellency will learn of it through other channels.

People here will not believe in events at Granada, nor anything else that is favourable to us, because they think that everything must necessarily go according to their wishes. They are saying now that the foundations of the fortress at Antwerp are wrong (mined ?), and are talking of the murder of one of the gentlemen of your Excellency's chamber. It is necessary to observe the greatest caution in living here, and I have ordered all my servants to refrain from walking in the streets. My house is surrounded with spies, and they are even turning me out of it because it has too many doors.—London, 3rd July 1570.

26 July. **197.** The King to Guerau de Spes.

I have been informed of events in England by your letters to me, and others sent through Don Francés de Alava and Zayas. I thank you and am satisfied with your diligence in this respect, particularly as to the pirate ships which were to go to the Indies, this being one of the things of which you must be most careful. If Bartolomé Bayon fulfils his promise, he shall be willingly supplied with what he asks; but as matters of this sort are generally very easy to say and more difficult to do, they usually turn out vain, and it will be well for you to come to closer quarters with him, and find out the exact way in which he thinks to do what he promises. You will send full particulars of this for my decision.

Although you do well in trying to discover the state of things in Ireland, and in sending your views with regard to what might be undertaken in that place, which is important, yet nothing must be said about it until we see what will be the result of the negotiations for the restitution of the property seized. If they do not act properly in this, other steps must be taken, and it is consequently very desirable that you should continue to advise me minutely of events in England, Ireland, and Scotland. You will urge the queen of Scotland, on no account, to allow herself to be deceived by the queen of England, or to agree to the terms which you say they propose, which are of such a nature that, if she accepts them she will lose much of the esteem with which, hitherto, Christian princes have regarded her, whilst, if she perseveres in her

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noble and holy determination, God will extricate her from all trouble, and turn it into great happiness.

When you speak of Ireland, you say that Thomas Stukeley had written a letter to the Queen, but you do not tell me what it contains. It will be well to find out and let me know, and also whether they have taken his property or made any declaration against him. Also, what they think there of his coming to Galicia, where he is now. You will also advise the duke of Alba of all this.

What your friend tells you of the two letters written recently by the Queen to me is probably a fiction, as I have received no such letters, and you can say as much to your friend, if you think it necessary, to get more out of him.

You did well in reporting what the man Matthew told you about his master Robert Huggins, as we have had a very poor opinion of the latter for some time. Steps shall be taken in the matter, but do not trust Matthew with this or anything else of importance, but humour him with generalities in order to get from him what he may know.

I cannot well understand from your letters what negotiation it is that is being arranged by the English with the Portuguese regarding trade. The statement which you mention did not come with your letter, and it would be well to find out the whole particulars, with terms and conditions, as it is important that I should have full information.—Madrid, 26th July 1570.

28 July. **198.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to ZAYAS.

The ambassador who has come hither from France is called M. de Poigny, and comes to beg this Queen to release the queen of Scotland, in which it is understood he will be unsuccessful. He has been at Court, but they have delayed his reply, and it is considered certain that he will shortly leave without having effected anything. This arises from the fact that the Queen has been able so to influence the Scots, that those of her way of thinking will shortly meet in Parliament and appoint the earl of Lennox, grandfather of the Prince, as Governor. Lennox is now in Scotland, and the meeting will take place at once.

The Earl is, as you know, a Catholic, and if at any future time we have any claims, we could not wish for a governor more suitable for us, because, although this Queen wishes to make him and his wife, Lady Margaret, her creatures by the appointment, she has kept them always imprisoned and in disgrace for the cause of religion and other reasons. She can do no more against them, and is forwarding his appointment as governor to disarm any future enmity from him. She thinks that because he has his wife, son, and estate in this country, she can be assured that he will govern as her instrument.

The queen of Scotland is well, but with only liberty to go beyond one doorway, and even then must be well accompanied.

These French, Flemish, and English pirates unite to capture their prizes, and have recently taken three very valuable sloops going from Spain to Flanders, which, having stood upon the

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defensive, have in consequence lost all their crews, and their cargoes are now being sold in these ports. They have armed these sloops, together with two other prizes, captured since, so that if they be not hindered they will soon have a powerful fleet, which will not only make them masters of the Channel, but will enable them to molest us elsewhere.

At least 50 sail are now anchored in these ports as friends and helpers of the English, and to give a further confirmation of the bad intentions of these people, I may say that Hawkins is pushing forward the arming of more ships in which he will embark over 800 men. His object is to join the French fleet which has gone to Florida. He takes with him the Portuguese pilot Bayon, and will leave next month. He carries no cargo, but victuals, guns, and stores.

The man who represents the king of Portugal here has agreed about the conditions for trade with his country, subject to the King's approval. The English demand liberty to go to the king of Portugal's Indies to trade, but he told them that it was simply waste of time to discuss it.

As they have been greatly disturbed here by the excommunication they continue to cast into prison with great severity all persons who they think were concerned in it, and have even put some to the torture who have declared certain things which are not easily understandable. The Catholics are being greatly persecuted. God comfort them.

Persons of weight and authority here were formerly much concerned at the possibility of the country being troubled by foreign powers, but lately all classes of people, and in every part of the country, are expressing the same fear, and publicly at the Court itself, nothing else is spoken of. They say that his Majesty is going to revenge himself upon them in such a way that they will be utterly undone, and they speak as confidently about it as if they already saw a great fleet of armed ships on their coast and foreign squadrons on land. Their fear is such that they do not even discuss their means of defence, although in order to do what they can, six of the Queen's ships are being fitted out, and 500 men-at-arms are being raised in this town to put on board of them. A great muster of 2,000 mariners is being made here for these and other ships, and fearing trouble, as people should who know how they have offended his Majesty, they have sent to Ireland 2,000 harquebusses, and much ammunition, all of which have gone to Chester and Beaumaris for shipment to Ireland. Such is their alarm that the first defence they think of is to wreak their vengeance on the ambassador and us few subjects of His Majesty here, but God will be pleased in due time to give us the satisfaction of avenging ourselves on these wicked enemies of ours.

These people thought to receive the help of the king of Denmark, but despatches have come from him saying that he would never take up arms against the King, or break his alliance with him. We since learn that this Queen who thought to collect

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300,000*l.* by loan and revenue before Michaelmas has not received 200,000*l.*

The fleet being prepared in Flanders for the passage of our Queen greatly alarms them, as they fear the fate which, please God, will come to them.

The duke of Norfolk is still imprisoned, and, since the attempted rising in his county, they keep him more closely guarded. They have arrested about 20 of the principal people of the county, whom they are examining. They are still in Norfolk.

The Cardinal is still at Court, persuading them that his brother will prevail, and urging them to find money for him, whilst he, the Cardinal, encourages the soldiers to rob with the same object.

They gave a reply to Poigny, saying that there was no reason either for them to release the Queen or for him to go to Scotland, but that they would give him a safe conduct to visit the Queen and return to France by way of London.*

They have arrested the Scotch ships, which they found here, although the cause is not known.

In future we shall know little in London of what goes on at Court, because, in consequence of the plague, they have given an order forbidding, under pain of death, any one going from London thither.—London, 28th July 1570.

Aug. 1. **199.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to ZAYAS.

Since my letter of the 28th, great haste has been made in completing the equipment of the Queen's ships, and many sailors are passing through here from the south coast to man them. Some of the ships are already going down the river. There are seventeen in all, and, although the Queen has five others armed in various ports, there is a great lack of seamen, and they will consequently be badly manned with extra hands instead of seamen.

The Admiral is in Kent, raising men for the ships, and it is said that he himself will go on board of them.

They have placed two hundred soldiers in Dover Castle in addition to the ordinary garrison.

They have brought twelve gentlemen here prisoners from Norfolk, who are again being examined.

There is a rumour here to-day that the duke of Alba was embarking soldiers on his fleet. They are spreading this news in order to incense the people against us as much as they can.

M. de Poigny who went to the queen of Scotland has returned here and we shall soon learn something about her affairs.

The adoption of the earl of Lennox as governor of Scotland is now fully confirmed.

The plague is increasing here, and last week 96 deaths occurred from it besides two in the Tower. The duke of Norfolk has,

* Mary wrote a letter in October to the Duke de Nemours saying that the letter she had written to him with the intention of sending it by Poigny had not been sent as she could get no means of conveying it to him whilst he, Poigny, was in London.—See *Lettres inedites de Marie Stuart*, Labanoff.

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therefore, petitioned that they will either release him or change his prison, but it is understood that the afore-mentioned arrests will prevent his being released at present.

The alarm publicly expressed by the people here, and their fears of being ruined, are perfectly incredible, and the whole talk at Court consists in discussions as to how they will defend themselves or how they will perish.

It is certain that Secretary Cecil, on returning from the Queen's rooms to his own a fortnight since, said, in great distress, to his wife, "Oh, wife, if God do not help us we shall all be lost and "undone. Get together all the jewels and the money you can, so "that you may follow me when the time comes, for surely trouble is "in store for us." Although this seems improbable, yet it is certain that it took place. It is thought that at the last extremity they will abandon the whole business and escape to Italy, Vienna, or some other place, as both they and the bishops have placed for years past great sums of money in Germany, as they did when the late Queen Mary came to the throne. This suspicion also has caused most of them to sign deeds of gift of all their property to their heirs.

A gentleman from the duke of Saxony and another from duke of Olff (Holstein?) have arrived here, it is believed to offer their services to the Queen.

It is reported that John Hawkins has increased his fleet to twelve ships for a voyage to our Indies, taking no cargo but stores, lime, stone, and wood, and it is to be presumed that the intention is to land at some place where they may cause us trouble, building forts for the purpose. He will unite with Captain Sores, a Frenchman, who has 800 men with him, Hawkins having 1,600. It is to be hoped that some measures will be taken to prevent this.

The pirates are gathering at the Isle of Wight, and it appears that the pirate who was arrested will be released.

The earl of Lennox, the new governor of Scotland, has sent a gentleman to this Queen, asking for help in money and men. It appears he is going against Westmoreland and the Scotch friends of that Queen.

Postscript: The Portuguese pilot Bayon has left for Plymouth to go with Hawkins, who will sail some time this month. They have been entrusted with large sums of money by people here. This bad pilot, who knows much and has great experience, will certainly do us some grave injury if means are not quickly devised to prevent it.

The gentleman I said had come from the Duke of Olff (Holstein?) really comes from the Count Palatine, but the other man comes as I said, from the duke of Saxony.—London, 1st August.

Aug. 5. **200.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

I have reported in previous letters the preparations being made here, and, although I have a person of my own on the watch at Plymouth to inspect their ships, I have learned from my friend at Court that the earl of Bedford was recently in that port for the

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purpose of arranging for the despatch of this expedition, in which will sail 1,500 Englishmen with all requisites for colonisation. They will first try to meet our Indian fleet, and Bartolomé Bayon, the Portuguese pilot, will go with them. They have provided him with money for an outfit, and he has left here taking with him two Spanish rogues, who were astray in London. The first idea was to colonise some place near the Straits of Magellan, but they now tell me that the intention is to go to the Rio del Oro, near New Spain. They take with them pinnaces to enter the river, at the mouth of which there is a good port which they intend to colonise, after having stolen all the gold they can lay their hands on in the interior, which they think will be a large amount. The second ship that Winter sent to this place has returned hither, and they have bartered their goods there, at Cape de la Vela and Jamaica, for hides and silver of which they bring large quantities. Since the arrival of Fitzwilliams, the English commissioner, the Queen expresses dissatisfaction at the result of his negotiation with the duke of Alba, and is now hastening the equipment of all her ships, 23 of which are large. They are being provisioned for three months, and will be ready in a fortnight with five thousand five hundred mariners and soldiers, with instructions to sail for Scotland, even though the duke of Alba should disarm. The principal object will be to take possession of the castle of Dumbarton, and Sussex has been ordered to re-assemble his army to the number of 4,500 men and the cavalry which he now has, for the purpose of crossing over the border to help the earl of Lennox. In these two enterprises, I am assured that the Queen is spending all the cash she possesses, and, in order to calm the minds of people, she has ordered the duke of Norfolk to be sent to his own house under arrest, on the pretext that people are dying of the plague in the Tower. The Queen has promised the gentlemen from the king of France who came about the queen of Scotland's affairs that she will send in all haste a messenger to ascertain the reason why Livingstone had been detained on the frontier. This man had been sent by the queen of Scotland to endeavour to reconcile the Scotch nobles to receive her as Queen when she was set at liberty, so that when this was arranged in Scotland, the negotiations for her release here might have been undertaken.

All these things are simply tricks of Cecil's, who thinks thereby to cheat everybody, in which, to a certain extent, he succeeds. I have news from the Isle of Wight that the pirates are there in great numbers.

The servant of the Count Palatine, who is here trying to arrange an alliance with his master and other princes of the Empire, is being put off, because the Queen is afraid of incurring further expense.—London, 5th August 1570.

5 Aug. **201.** Guerau de Spes to Zayas.

As I know that Cecil instructed Fitzwilliams to complain of me to the duke of Alba, saying that the (northern) rebels had escaped by means of a passport from me, and that I was a party to their rising, it is well that his Majesty should know with what intention this

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complaint is made. The object is to expel me, now that they think I understand better than before the affairs of this country, and Cecil thinks that I, in unison with others, might make such representations to the Queen as would diminish his great authority. There is no need for me to specially write to his Majesty to this effect, but I wish to point out to your worship that Cecil is a crafty fox, a mortal enemy to the Catholics and to our lord the King, and that it is necessary to watch his designs very closely, because he proceeds with the greatest caution and dissimulation. There is nothing in his power that he does not attempt in order to injure us. The Queen's own opinion is of little importance, and that of Leicester still less, so that Cecil unrestrainedly and arrogantly governs all. So far as expelling me from this country goes, that, indeed, would not distress me, because it is necessary one way or another that these affairs should be settled, and my wish is that they should be settled in a way which will increase the power of our King, so that the English in future may pay him more respect. Your worship may be certain that, if Cecil is allowed to have his own way, he will disturb the Netherlands.—London, 5th August 1570.

7 Aug. **202.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

Since my letter to your worship of the 1st instant, the news is that the new governor of Scotland, the earl of Lennox, has taken up arms against the good Scotsmen who are faithful subjects of their Queen, and against the Englishmen who are with them. Lennox has sent here for help in money, but there is no news yet of its having been granted, although posts are despatched to him every day. It is said that the earl of Northumberland is still a prisoner, and that the queen of Scotland, although well in health, is being guarded more closely than hitherto.

As I wrote in my last, the earl of Bedford went to the west country, Plymouth and Falmouth, and six thousand crowns have recently been sent him for the despatch with all speed of Captain Hawkins and his fleet of 12 ships for the purpose of meeting our Indian flotilla. The wicked Portuguese pilot, Bayon, is in Plymouth, and he has contrived to seduce and take with him some of your Majesty's Spanish subjects. We suspect that he has tricked Damian Dela, who was a servant of mine, and one Barrientos, and others. I was shocked to hear about Damian,* and, if it be true, I hope he will be the first to suffer. Their object is to unite with Captain Sores, and land in some part of our Indies.

They will together form a great fleet, and it really is to be hoped that some measures will be promptly taken that the Indian fleet may come safely, and that these knaves may not succeed in their evil designs.

All the Queen's ships, to the number of 22, are being equipped here, and the pirates are collecting at the Isle of Wight by orders of the Council; but, although the Queen's ships have gone to the

* Damian de Dela was a Valencian tailor, who had lived in London for many years.

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mouth of the river to make an appearance of being ready, it is certain that they will not be so for some time. It is understood that they will be sent off, as they are equipped, to Scotland, and the Admiral will go in the last detachment. Their object is to seize the port of Dumbarton, which they think will ensure them against the possibility of either the French or Spanish setting foot in England or Scotland. From the Thames to Berwick the coast is guarded on land as if an enemy were in sight, and for defence on the Scotch side they have three thousand soldiers in Berwick. It is reported that six thousand men, soldiers and sailors, will go in the Queen's fleet, which is provisioned for three months. They have sent twenty thousand crowns to the governor of Berwick in order that he may be ready with his three thousand men.

The duke of Norfolk has been brought out of the Tower and confined in his own house under guard. There is much discourse on the matter, and it is believed that they have done this for fear of the people of his county. If he were at liberty, much harm might come to them thereby. The prisoners from Norfolk have been lodged in the Tower, and seven or eight of them were summarily condemned to death.

The man who fixed the Pope's ban upon the bishop of London's door was condemned to death two days ago. He has made many statements, which are related diversely, but with great firmness he publicly repeated all the contents of the brief, to the effect that his Holiness was by divine law the Supreme Pontiff, the Queen illegitimate, the excommunication sacred, and those who disregarded it members of the devil.

M. de Poigny, who came from the queen of Scotland, is leaving for France. The English commissioner who recently came back from Flanders is again shortly returning thither.

It is said that a new fort is to be erected on this river.

Two boats, one of forty tons and the other twenty-five, have been sent from here to the coast of France to watch if the fleet there makes any movement and report to this Queen.

All over this country great unrest exists in consequence of the arming of these fleets, and nothing else is spoken of. They are doing what they can to provide for defence, but they are as much alarmed as if they knew they were going to be conquered. As I reported in my first letters, I have, since the beginning of these troubles, continued to report to the duke of Alba both what I write to your worship as well as other things which it is fitting that he should know in his Majesty's interests.—London, 7th August 1570.

9 Aug. **203.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

Since my letter to your worship of the 7th, these people have changed their plans, and Hawkins will not leave with his fleet until they see what is going to be done in Flanders, so that they may not find themselves without that force on the west coast. Under the pretence that he had no intention of accompanying the fleet, the Portuguese pilot, Bayon, has returned to London. The preparations for defence are being very busily carried on, and the

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general fear is that the country is to be attacked, although they see that no preparations are being made excepting those for the passage of our lady, the Queen. They executed to-day the gentleman who nailed the Pope's ban on the Bishop's door.* He remained firm, saying that all that the declaration contained was sacred. They quartered him with great cruelty whilst he was still alive. The day and the hour of the execution were unusual ones, for fear of the people. It took place before the Bishop's house.

They have just sent two aldermen of the city to the ambassador in the name of the Queen's Council, ordering him to meet certain representatives of the Queen on Friday next at a place 20 miles from here.† We presume that this extraordinary step means no good, and that the intention may be to order him to quit the kingdom, although it may be with some other object. God rescue us from these terrible folks !—London, 9th August 1570.

12 Aug. **204.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

By various channels I have reported to your Majesty that this Queen was equipping her 23 ships, which are now at Queenborough on the Thames, and will be ready to sail in 10 days. The governor of the Isle of Wight recently asked the captains of the pirates whether they would be willing to serve against your Majesty's fleet if necessary. They were united in saying that they would do so, and would serve better than Englishmen. They have 35 ships there, well armed and manned. Hawkins has been ordered not to sail; it is understood because they wish to wait until the fleet carrying our Queen shall have passed, although Hawkins is pressing greatly to be allowed to leave. In the meanwhile Bartolomé Bayon, the Portuguese, tells me that he will not go in that fleet, but wants to take other ships and another route, unless your Majesty will acccept his services. He says that Hawkins will not colonise the Indies, although most of the pirates may stay there, but that Hawkins will go direct to take possession of the island of San Juan de Ulloa, in order to be master of the fleets which may come and go. He threatens to revenge himself well for the past injuries done him, and if he should fail in consequence of finding the island fortified, he will do the worst damage he can. I learn that he has 12 ships ready, although the man I sent there to inspect them has not returned.

The commissioners are at Southampton inspecting the merchandise.

The answer that commissioner Fitzwilliams brought from the duke of Alba has not given much satisfaction here, as they thought, with all this show of armament, that things would have been dealt with more gently. They are therefore in a bad temper, and say that I am not a suitable person to stay here, the intention being to get rid of me, on the grounds that I am not confining myself to my own duties, and that I tried to hinder the appropriation of the money which the Queen asserts belonged to merchants. With this object, two aldermen came to tell me that if I would go to

* John Felton. † St. Albans.

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St. Alban's, eight miles from the Court, certain members of the Council would meet me there to discuss matters. As I was warned of their intention, I replied that I could not treat privately with any of them until the Queen would receive me, at least without the express order of the duke of Alba. It appears that the earl of Leicester railed a good deal about it at the Court when my servant took the reply, saying that it was a very great annoyance that I should remain so long in England, considering the way in which I was behaving, as I was only here to spy out what was going on. The letter which they wrote to me afterwards, and my reply thereto, are enclosed herewith. I do not believe that they will stop here, as the determination of Cecil and Leicester is, as the former's own secretary tells me, to turn me out of here, as they say that at such a time as this it is not fitting that your Majesty should have an ambassador in England. The duke of Norfolk is under guard in his own house, and it is believed will soon be released, as the Queen wishes to make use of him.—London, 12th August 1570.

12 Aug. **205.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to ZAYAS.

Since my last letter of the 9th instant, the only trustworthy news of importance is that the new governor of Scotland is in arms against the faithful subjects of the Queen, and the English have provided the governor of Berwick with money to keep 3,000 men on the frontier.

The earl of Northumberland is still a prisoner, and Westmoreland and Dacre, with their Englishmen, are with the queen of Scotland's friends.

The pirates have collected at the Isle of Wight 31 sail besides a few others in the ports and at sea.

At the mouth of this river all the Queen's ships are being armed and provisioned. Nine of the best of them are fully prepared, and anchored in the Downs, bound for Scotland, for the purpose of capturing Dumbarton. The other 14 cannot be ready under a month for lack of mariners, and because neither the biscuit nor the meat is ready. They have only taken the ships there to make an appearance of preparedness. Hawkins is ordered not to leave, and is lying off Plymouth until our fleet shall have passed. The pilot, Bayon, has returned here, and is passing his time until Hawkins has orders to sail.

The news of peace in France is confirmed to-day, which makes these people all the more anxious.

The president of Brittany has come here to try to get some money from this Queen on behalf of the woman who calls herself queen of Navarre, to help the Admiral and the Huguenots. He is being forwarded in his efforts by the Cardinal.

The members of this Council are determined to annoy the ambassador. They have recently written him a very discourteous letter, confirming their request that he would appear before certain representatives of the Queen within two days at a place 20 miles from here. It is expected that the object is to declare to him the Queen's request that he will leave the country. For good reasons

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his lordship has replied that he would not attend, as he had no instructions to negotiate, but it is to be presumed that in order to carry out their intention they will not scruple to come to his own house shortly.

The agent of Portugal continues to negotiate about the treaty, and both he and the English are persuaded that they will come to terms, so that the trade between the two countries may be peacefully carried on as in ordinary times.

The rancour they show against those who knew anything of the Pope's excommunication is astonishing. Many persons are in prison in connection with this, and some are in danger of suffering the fearful cruelty which was perpetrated on the man who fixed the paper to the Bishop's door. The Admiral has taken leave of the Queen to go with the fleet. He passed through London yesterday, accompanied by five Englishmen of high station, who are to serve as his lieutenants and councillors.

Postscript: It is now said that they have summoned the ambassador in order to arrest him, and keep him under guard in his house until further orders. We shall know all in a few days, and I, myself, am expecting ill-treatment from them.—12th August 1570.

14 Aug. **206.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

I wrote to your worship on the 12th, and I now have to report that the Council has just sent a reply to the ambassador's letter. They say that as he has not attended they should not consider him henceforward as an ambassador, or treat him as such. The answer was given verbally to the man who took the ambassador's letter, and we are expecting every moment that the Queen and Council will send an armed force to take the ambassador to the Tower, or give him into the custody of some gentleman who will guard him closely. If they take me too, it will not be so bad, but we fear they will separate us, and molest each of us according to our degree, showing to us in our own persons the feelings they entertain towards his Majesty's subjects. I leave this letter written in order that it may be sent through a friend for your information, as it is believed that neither the ambassador nor myself in future will have a chance of writing. It is not to be supposed that they would treat us in this extraordinary manner, and yet leave us free to write, but I have verbally begged a friend to let your worship know what may happen to us.—London, 14th August 1570.

16 Aug. **207.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

The letter which goes herewith was already sealed, but as the messenger was detained I may continue by saying that we have been awaiting hourly some news from the Court respecting the ambassador, but nothing has yet arrived, although I have learned from a trustworthy source that they are determined to arrest him, and it is presumed that the English Commissioner who recently returned from Flanders is going back thither to-day to inform the Duke of the matter; although this will not be his only object, but also to spy out what is being done about our fleet.

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Scotland is all up in arms, and the Queen's friends are determined to give battle to the new governor and others. He is begging for men and money here. This news is certain. Although it is quite incredible, it is generally affirmed that when our fleet passes, the English fleet will force it to salute. This absurdity sounds like a joke, but it is asserted by persons of weight, who assure us that the Admiral bears orders to do all manner of wonderful things if our fleet does not salute.

The French ambassador has gone to Court to announce to the Queen the terms of peace, and M. de Poigny is going back to France.

The plague, thank God, is not increasing, but there is great sickness of fever all over the country. The Queen is in poor health with her malady in the leg.

The Admiral has returned to Court to discuss their intentions, and afterwards left in all haste to push forward the preparations on the fleet. Reviews are being held all over the island, and they are on the watch day and night. These people are saying that the Moors of Granada are resisting more than ever, at which they say they rejoice.—London, 16th.

Postscript: Whilst I was writing this, the Queen sent a gentleman to tell the ambassador that they are dissatisfied at his not having attended the appointment with the Queen's representatives as requested, but the ambassador excused himself, and he was then asked for a passport for Harry Cobham, whom this Queen is sending to welcome our Queen. There are reports of some disturbance in the province of the earl of Derby. This Queen would not believe the settlement of peace in France until the ambassador showed her a letter from his King on the subject. This news of peace has caused them to send to-day to the Isle of Wight ordering the Englishmen who are on board the Walloon and French ships to come ashore, and to no longer accompany those pirates.

These people are in great fear of the return of our fleet from Spain to Flanders, and dread lest the king of France should have made peace with his rebels on such bad terms only to turn upon the English.—Closed 18th August 1570.

16 Aug. **208.** Guerau de Spes to the Duke of Alba.

By the ordinary post I wrote to your Excellency what had passed with the Council, sending you copies of their letter and my reply. After that, Cecil said to my secretary, Cipres, in the presence of another servant of mine, that he gathered from my letter that I wished to consult your Excellency, and this being so, the Queen did not consider me any longer an ambassador. My secretary, not wishing to take such a reply, Cecil said with great arrogance that he himself would send it to me either before the secretary got back or afterwards. I have therefore been expecting some piece of impertinence from him, but no one has come yet. I am told, however, that Fitzwilliams is being despatched to your Excellency, perhaps with the object of giving an account of this. They have refused to grant a passport for a servant of mine to go to your

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Excellency about it. I send this advice as best I can, and if your Excellency thinks fit, Fitzwilliams may be spoken to about the ill-treatment meted out to an ambassador of such a sovereign as ours, at the sole instigation of Cecil, who has done so much to offend the King, and is trying to break the old friendship between the countries. He fears that, if the Queen hears it from my mouth, (and I can affirm it because I know) it may cause him to lose his place, and he misses no opportunity therefore of preventing it, feigning anything he thinks best; just as he did in the case of the bishop of Aquila, to whom it is notorious that he ordered poison to be administered.

I have been informed that his brother-in-law, the Lord Chancellor, was going to interrogate me at St. Alban's, his house being near that town, and what with the gout and his fear of the plague, he dares not come nearer London. I am told that the interrogation was to take the form of a general inquiry, they thinking that I should be sure to fall into some expression which they could seize hold of, and make an excuse for my detention as I should have been taken unawares. Cecil drew up the memorandum for it with his own hand, although the Queen was not very urgent about it, as she entertains some suspicions in consequence of the duke of Chatelherault having gathered a much greater force in Scotland than the earl of Lennox, whom he is going to meet. If the English cross the border to help Lennox they will break the treaty with France, and Cecil therefore wants the Queen to send two councillors to the queen of Scotland to see whether some reconciliation cannot be made with her, without intervention of the French or Spaniards. The bishop of Ross will try to accompany them if they go.

I also have to report that the letter that these four councillors wrote me was not written with proper courtesy, but I replied in the customary form in order to deprive them of any opportunity which might give Cecil a better chance of succeeding.—London, 16th August 1570.

17 Aug. **209.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

As affairs here are changeable, so also will be the reports I send to your Majesty. On the 13th instant Cecil sent his reply, as I stated in my last, to the effect that this Queen did not consider me as an ambassador because I had to consult the duke of Alba. Cipres, my secretary, would not receive this answer. Since then matters have changed. The certainty of the peace in France, the news that Lennox is not obeyed in Scotland, doubts of the earl of Derby and his part of the country, as well as other fears, have caused them to alter their intention, and yesterday Walsingham, the man they have appointed to go to France, came to me from the Queen to complain mildly that I have not been to meet her representatives, pretending that my intentions were not good; to which I replied that the duty of ambassadors was to treat with the sovereign to whom they are accredited, although points are often referred by them for discussion with councillors or representatives, but that the point was easily settled by my offering to go and

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kiss the Queen's hand whenever she might order me to do so. Walsingham asked me from the Queen to give a passport and letter of recommendation to Henry Cobham, a pensioner of this Queen, whom she is sending to visit our Queen. I have done this amply, and they have given me a passport for a servant of mine to go to Flanders.—London, 17th August 1570.

20 Aug. **210.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

I wrote to your worship on the 16th, and the news since then is that they have enticed Dr. Storey, whom you will know, on board a ship in Flanders, and have brought him hither. He was betrayed by a false companion of his, a treacherous Englishman, and an acquaintance of mine met the traitor on the 16th instant coming from Harwich (?) whither Storey had been taken. My acquaintance seeing the traitor alone, was surprised that he should be here; the latter said, "I have come hither to do the Queen a great service, "for I have managed to bring into England a bitter enemy of the "Queen and this country." It is now understood that Storey will arrive here a prisoner to-night or to-morrow.

Hawkins has been ordered to stay with his fleet at Plymouth, and it is believed that he will not sail on his voyage until after our fleet has passed. It is even probable that he will not now undertake his voyage to our Indies, and to waylay our fleet as was intended. I have since discovered that the Portuguese pilot was really to go with the fleet although he denied it.

A man arriving yesterday from Berwick asserts that all Scotland is in arms, and that the queen of Scotland's friends are much more powerful than those of the governor.

The English sailors have been withdrawn from the pirate ships and have been ordered to embark on the Queen's vessels, which are being armed and victualled with all speed.—London, 20th August 1570.

Postscript: Hawkins has now ready, although short handed, one ship of 230 tons for a flag-ship, some sloops, one of 350 tons, another of 150, another of 120, six barques, four of 50 tons and two of 25 tons. The Queen's ships are about 13, now being equipped, and the pirate have 36, some large and the rest boats.

22 Aug. **211.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

I wrote on the 20th, and the present letter is to report that the English, having heard that our lady, the Queen, arrived on the 21st instant at Bergen, to stay a short time with the intention of leaving with the first fine weather, our fleet being already there, had decided that nine of the Queen's ships, well armed and found, shall go out to watch our fleet. The rest of the Queen's ships are at the mouth of this river, making a pretence of being ready, and that they will leave with the others. But this is not so, as they cannot sail for some time, being short of seamen, without victuals and with insufficient powder. The pirates are also together between

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the Isle of Wight and Dover waiting for the passage of our fleet.

Captain Hawkins has been sent for from Plymouth, and, it is said, will return thither in two days to join his fleet and also watch our fleet on that side. It is thought now that he will not attempt his voyage before next March.

There is a rumour here that the Admiral is detained at Court, and this is spoken about publicly without any cause being assigned for it.

The good Dr. Storey was taken to the Tower yesterday, having been brought by treachery from Flanders. These people in London are only talking of the martyrs they are going to make.

There is nothing new from Scotland except that the Queen is well. Her ambassador, the bishop of Ross, is here at liberty, but the duke of Norfolk still under arrest in his own house. Harry Cobham has left for Flanders in company with the English ambassador. The plague has increased in London, and there is a great sickness of fever all over the country.—London, 22nd August 1570.

2 Sept. **212.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.
[EXTRACT.]

In my last I reported to your Majesty that this Queen was sending Henry Cobham to welcome our Queen, although it would have been more appropriate if she had sent some lord or person of higher position. He is to try to arrange for his going to Spain, and to throw out a feeler with regard to re-opening the negotiations for marriage with the Archduke Charles; not that it will be carried through, for nothing is further from this Queen's thoughts than marriage, but only to keep the matter on hand. In the meanwhile, they talk of calling Parliament together in October in order to raise money. Cecil wants to adopt a new rule forbidding the towns to elect members excepting from residents in the towns themselves, and he is making lists of those he wishes elected, all of whom are strong Protestants.

The English gentleman who sent hither the man Mathew, who was detained in San Sebastian, is called Robert Huggins. He reported to this Queen that your Majesty was certainly in communication about Irish affairs, and had sent certain persons to reconnoitre the country with a page of the marquis of Cerralbo, an Irishman by birth. The lad (Mathew) has been about London, but with this confusion of the plague I have not seen him lately. I think this Mathew told me that the man who sent him was tall and not stout, of ruddy complexion.

There is another man here called Swinfield who has some sort of provision from your Majesty in Naples, and goes backwards and forwards to different places for this Queen. He was sent to Cologne to try to bring round the elector there to the side of the Palatine, and it was said that he wished to go to Spain, as he makes himself out to be a Catholic, although my friends on the Council tell me he is a spy. He is a tall man with little beard, and when he is here he carries his sword belt hung from his shoulder.—London, 22nd September 1570.

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B.M., *Add.* 26,056*b*.

213. The aforegoing letter has the following additional passages in this transcript.

I am entertaining the queen of Scots, as your Majesty instructs me, with letters praising her religious constancy and declaring your Majesty's desires for her liberation, as upon it and her marriage depend the restoration of the Catholic religion in this country. It is well your Majesty should know that since the publication of the bull of his Holiness, the Catholic gentlemen here, feeling themselves absolved from their oath of allegiance, are trying with more earnestness to shake off the yoke of the heretics, and the bishop of Ross has come to me twice, with letters of credence from his mistress, to say that the sons of the earl of Derby, and particularly Thomas Stanley the second son, with the gentry of Lancashire, who are Catholics, have determined to rise and seize the person of the queen of Scots. They tell me that this would be connived at by one of the sons of the earl of Shrewsbury who guards her, and they can raise 10,000 foot and 1,000 horse, the only thing wanting being a supply of harquebusses and some money for the horses, not a large sum. They are, however, against the marriage with the duke of Norfolk, as he belongs to the Augsburg confession, and they only wish to have to do with a real Catholic. The bishop of Ross tells me that the Duke, either out of timidity or for some other reason, does not wish to leave the prison, where he is only guarded by a single gentleman; but Montague, Southampton, Lumley, and Arundel, and many others, the moment the Lancastrians take up arms, will join them or act independently, as may be advised, against this city. The earl of Worcester and his country will also rise, and it is decided that the first thing will be to obtain possession of the queen of Scots, and a fleet might approach Lancashire or the Isle of Man and take her off whilst the matter was being settled by arms. As the affair is so important, I have given him no answer, in conformity with the duke of Alba's orders.

. . . . The Queen was very angry when they brought for her signature the warrants for 30,000*l.* spent on fitting out the fleet, and she has put off signing them, so that the equipment is now entirely stopped, except the ten ships which I have already mentioned as being ready. As they are short of men the pirate ships are fewer in number but better armed than before, and manned wholly by Englishmen.

It is said they had great understandings in Calais with the soldiers there, who are in great need. Much merchandise was therefore being taken thither, and the French ambassador has gone to Court to complain of it.

I have already advised your Majesty that Captain Hawkins had offered to abandon his voyage to the Indies, but I cannot bring myself to believe it.

I sent your Majesty the duplicate letter of the Portuguese pilot Bartolomé Bayon, petitioning for your Majesty's favour; but as I have burnt all my papers again I only recollect that he begged to be allowed to take negroes or goods to the Indies, and that your

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Majesty should give him some honourable employment.—London, 2nd September 1570.

3 Sept. **214.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

Since closing my packet for your Majesty yesterday I have received letters of 26th July. As regards expeditions going to the Indies, I have already reported to your Majesty the promise given to us here that they would desist from the voyage. Cardinal Chatillon has been informed from Rochelle that Captain Sores sailed for the Indies with eight well-equipped vessels, whilst seven others of his company remained on the coast of Spain to do what injury they could. These are now being expected at the Isle of Wight with their prizes. The Cardinal's secretary there awaits them, where he is also receiving his dues from the other pirates.

The man who captured the last wool ship which belonged to one Ribera and hailed from Laredo is young Winter. I am informing the Duke of Alba in order that he may send me instructions what representations I have to make to the Council respecting it.

I will negotiate with Bartolomé Bayon as if of my own accord, and will report what I make of him.

There is no doubt that Robert Huggins is up to no good, according to a very minute statement given to me by Mathew, which cannot be either feigned or false. There can be no objection to his being imprisoned nor to Swinfield being deprived of his allowance. I hear from a kinsman of the duchess of Feria, who brought me letters from the Duke, that this man is of ruddy complexion and has the appearance of a gentleman. He has served as a spy to the Council for some time past. I will find some excuse for seeking and summoning Mathew.

Since Thomas Stukeley left Ireland the Queen has taken a very unfavourable view of Irish affairs, and a certain Don Juan de Mendoza who came in the ships from the Indies was imprisoned in Dublin Castle for having conversed with him. Stukeley's property has been seized, but he has not been proclaimed here as a rebel. This queen publicly told the French ambassador that Stukeley was leaving the country in order to live elsewhere with freedom of conscience. They are in great alarm about Ireland, because the Queen's shortness of money causes preparations to be tardily carried out, and I am told by Captain Lotini, a Lucchese, that there are not twelve hundred Englishmen in all Ireland, and those that are there are badly paid. All the people wish to be subject to your Majesty, and it is believed that Stukeley went to beg you to accept the island.

I sent copies to your Majesty of Antonio Fogaza's treaty with the Council, limiting Winter's marque and restoring commerce with Portugal. I send another copy herewith.

This Queen told the French ambassador that the earl of Sussex would not enter Scotland, and that he was on the border because she had news that Lord Dacre would try to enter England. She said she would not fail to negotiate for the release of the queen of Scotland, although it would have to be accompanied by hostages of high personages and castles, for the complete security of the

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queen of England. Her intention is evidently to put off with words those who are treating of this business.

This morning the Admiral went down the river to the ships, and will take out the ten that are ready. With him went, as ambassador, Charles Howard. He has his look-out on the hill close to Margate, and when our Queen's fleet is sighted they will go out to salute and receive her.—London, 3rd September 1570.

3 Sept. **215.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

Since my letter of the 22nd ultimo, things have been in such suspense that I shall have little to say in this letter. I have reported that the faithful subjects of the queen of Scotland are in arms against the rebels. Since then the earl of Sussex, the English general, with three thousand foot and six hundred horse, has entered Scotland to help the rebels. The earl of Westmoreland with the Englishmen who follow him are on the side of the faithful, but Northumberland remains in prison. The queen of Scotland is still closely kept, but well.

The English have nine ships at the mouth of the river, and near Margate thirteen others, which are being fitted out with the utmost speed, and to which have been taken all the seamen they can get together. As they are short of meat and biscuit, however, they are not ready yet. The Admiral is at Court, and great surprise exists that he should be absent from the fleet at this time, respecting which absence there is much diversity of opinion. There are many pirate ships, about eighteen, collected at the Isle of Wight, as well as others off Dover, and thirteen in the straits. All the English sailors have been withdrawn from them, as far as possible, but there are still two hundred English on board, some seamen and some common rogues.

Seven or eight of the men implicated in the Norfolk rebellion have been condemned to death, although it is said that some will be pardoned. They are some of the principal people in the county. The Duke is still kept under close guard.

Dr. Storey is at present very strictly imprisoned, and is being examined. The man who betrayed him is also under arrest in order to make the people believe that he did not betray him. Many burlesque verses have been printed about the kidnapping of Storey. Much discontent exists here at the agreement made in France,* and it is whispered that this bad Cardinal Chatillon will leave here in consequence. Above all are these people dismayed at the agreement between his Holiness, your Majesty, the Venetians, and other powers, but what is giving them most anxiety is the return of our fleet after the Queen's voyage. All the people are talking of it, and they have little hope of security as they understand that there is a great number of powerful ships and many soldiers on our coast without counting those at Granada. They fear that some evil may befall them from Ireland, and all this alarm will cause them to keep well under arms at great cost.

* The treaty of St. Germain en Laye, signed 8th August 1570.

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The fears they entertain have caused them to order Hawkins to stay on the coast at Plymouth with his fleet, but in the meanwhile, the pirates are still capturing what they can, and recently took a ship with 120 bales of wool from Santander belonging to Pedro de Ribera. These captures occur every day, and the plunder is sold in the Isle of Wight and other ports with the full sympathy and countenance of the people there. It is understood that some of the English traders in Calais had formed a plot with certain soldiers to deliver the town to the English, but it was discovered.

Order has been given to-day from the Court that the Thames boatmen are to be pressed for service on the fleet, and that all persons who have been appointed shall join the ships at once. Whilst writing this I have learnt that the reason of this order is that they have received news of the arrival of our Queen at Antwerp, where she would embark immediately, and await fine weather to sail. The Admiral is still at Court, and in his place, they have sent to the ships a son of the Lord Chamberlain, named Howard. Vice-Admiral Winter and other captains are on board.—London, 3rd September 1570.

11 Sept. **216.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

In my former letters I reported to your Majesty the promise that Hawkins had given me not to go to the Indies, and I have since learnt that three of the sloops that he had ready for the voyage will now go to Rochelle to carry picks, spades, and other building tools, as they intend to make that the port of call whence the Indies may be molested. Captain Jolis, a Frenchman, with three very well armed ships will shortly leave there, his crew being for the great part English, and excellent sailors. He takes no cargo to barter, which is a sign that he wishes only to capture the ships he may meet. Letters from Rochelle say that Sores had maltreated the Spaniards in Florida, but I have no news from the Court of this. This Queen replied to the ambassadors of France and Scotland that the earl of Sussex had crossed the border without her orders, though, as he had done it in her interests, she approved of it, but notwithstanding this she will negotiate for the release of the Queen.

The secret negotiations between the people in Derby and Lancashire, and those of the West, are to the effect that, if they can count upon some help and assurance of support from your Majesty, they will take up arms to restore the Catholic religion in this country and will adopt the course which your Majesty may think best. It is clear that they wish if possible not to bind themselves to the French. I have not allowed them to negotiate with me, but the understanding has been made with the bishop of Ross, and they hope to bring into it the duke of Norfolk. The captain of the smack which brought Dr. Storey is called "Cornelius Hadria,"*

* His name is given by Carte as Cornelius de Eycke, and Storey was enticed on board of his smack at Bergen Op-Zoom by one Parker who was afterwards thrown into prison "by the craft of Storey's friends." The matter is referred to at length in Vol. I. of the present Calendar, page 323 *n*.

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who, I do not think is a Bergen man. He is swaggering about here very impudently. He arranged the matter with March, the English commissioner, and others whose names I am ascertaining.

The Queen's ten ships now await our Queen's fleet, whilst the pirates to the number of five-and-twenty, are cruising on the coast.

The Vidame de Chartres has now permission to retnrn to France and Cardinal Chatillon is requesting the same.—London, 11th September 1570.

16 Sept. **217.** The KING to GUERAU DE SPES.

There is little to reply to your letters and to those which you have sent to Zayas, but, seeing the amount of preparation being made there on the fleet, and the ships, and that the earl of Bedford was in Plymouth* to sail with fifteen hundred Englishmen provided with the requisites for colonisation, it was well for you to write me minutely as you did about it, in order that we might take here, as we have done, the necessary precautions. Don Francés de Alava writes that the English ambassador in France had assured him that no English ships would go to the Indies or attack our ships coming home. In this, however, not much trust can be placed, and you will continue the vigilance you have hitherto exercised in discovering everything and sending reports to me, as also with regard to the negotiations with the Portuguese respecting trade. If the treaty is concluded you will send me a copy of it.

In the matter of restitution of property detained, there is at present nothing to say until we know the result of the coming and going of the Commissioners, which, however, seeing how the business is being delayed, I do not expect will end in anything good.

I also wish you to learn thoroughly the exact position of affairs in Ireland; what forces and troops the Queen has there; what profit she gets from the island; and how much is the ordinary revenue and in what manner it is collected. You will send me a statement of all this drawn up as clearly as possible.—Madrid. 16th September 1570.

19 Sept. **218.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

I have taken care, in fulfilment of your Majesty's instructions, to deal with Bartolomé Bayon, as if on my own account, in order to get him to make clear how he thinks he could best serve your Majesty. I told him, in order to get him to open out, that I would communicate on the subject through a friend of mine who was a secretary of the council of the Indies. The result was that I got him to make the statement which I enclose herewith, and it seems to me undoubted that he is a man who could serve with advantage, and whom it is important to separate from the English and the pirates, who think by his help to make great progress in the Indies. It is true that some of the clauses in his document need moderation; but if he sails only with your Majesty's subjects, your Majesty will

* Note in the King's handwriting: "I think he said he was only there for the preparations and not to go to the Indies."

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always be able to punish him or modify the agreement at your discretion. His request to be allowed to take victuals without present payment and without giving security in Seville, appears somewhat impertinent, but the rest of his demands, after abating the export of negroes, and the taking of merchandise from here, do not seem to be objectionable. Your Majesty will consider it and give me your instructions.

The commissioners have ended their investigations on the coast and will now continue them here. They will no doubt finish in about a week. They have discovered a vast number of robberies, since the inventory was made by the English themselves. I have learnt by letters from a favourite lady of the Queen that the latter has heard of the movements in Lancashire and Derby through a pensioner of hers, the son of a Catholic gentleman, who is concerned in them. She has learnt that they were in league with the western people and intended to have mass publicly performed. I do not know yet what steps she will take to prevent it.

The earl of Desmond and a brother of his, Irishmen who have been for many years in the Tower in consequence of religion and a rising in the time of John O'Neil, have been released on small sureties, and are now in Selliger's house. They all three desire to serve your Majesty, and speak highly of Thomas Stukeley, who they consider to be a man capable of great things both in Ireland and here.

Vandenberg, who was in prison in a private house, has been released on the pretence that he had escaped.—London, 19th September 1570.

25 Sept. **219.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I have written in former letters respecting Bartolomé Bayon's proposals to protect our trade in the Indies, and I will now speak more fully respecting Ireland. I send your Majesty enclosed a memorandum drawn up by Selliger, a good Catholic gentleman, with the advice of the earl of Desmond and his brother, who are in his house under sureties of 1,500*l.* This Catholic (Desmond) is a great gentleman in Ireland, and although he is not much of a warrior, but they say this his brother is fit for anything. Whenever your Majesty wished they could be set free from here without great loss.

This Queen has sent an investigator to Lancashire to unravel the new Catholic conspiracy, from which, if it were well conducted and aided, great advantage might be derived to the cause of God and the security of the Netherlands. If this country were Catholic it would be a good friend of your Majesty, but whilst it is Protestant the fear and hatred with which you are regarded will make the people try more and more to damage and distress you.

The queen of England has summoned the bishop of Ross to Reading in order to push forward the arrangements she wished to make with his Queen for the delivery to her of the Prince, the hostages, the fortresses, &c. Some Catholics advise the acceptance of this treaty on condition that the hostages should be mutually given on both sides, and that the Prince should be brought up by

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persons chosen by his mother, the whole treaty to be limited in point of time. The French desire this settlement in order to save themselves men and money, and because they fear that the first disturbance that occurred here would cause the queen of Scotland to lose her head, as has been already agreed upon by the Council of this Queen. In accordance with what the Bishop tells me I will report to your Majesty on this subject.

The Vidame de Chartres has left for his home, and Cardinal Chatillon will sail for Rochelle in three days, summoned thither by the Admiral, with all the principal Protestants in France, for the purpose of collecting the fifth part of their property, which they have promised to the king of France, and other things. Chatillon told the Queen that the prince of Orange's proposed enterprise against the Netherlands could hardly be carried through without money.

The English are not hurrying the corsairs* since they have been here, though they, on their part, are doing their best, taking such particulars as these people are willing to give them. They are given to understand quietly that, when a general settlement is effected, much stolen money in cash will be revealed to them.

Six ships are being sent to Hamburg, although the profit is little or nothing. The flotilla has come from Muscovy, but brings little of value. It is true that some spices have begun to arrive from there, to the value of ten thousand crowns, brought from the Caspian Sea through the land of the Sophi, but they will cost more than the spices from Portugal.

People are very sorry here that our Indian fleet of so great a value has arrived safely at Seville, and that the king of Portugal's vessels have come into Lisbon. They are complaining that Captain Sores has wasted too much time in taking little ships. Cardinal Chatillon has dined with the French ambassador, and the Vidame came to bid him good-bye.—London, 25th September 1570.

5 Oct. **220.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

In my previous letters I reported that Secretary Cecil and Walter Mildmay were to go to the queen of Scotland with certain proposals and to discover her feeling. They left on the 27th ultimo, and the bishop of Ross followed them. I have tried to learn what the proposals are, and have set them forth in the enclosed memorandum. They are intolerable, and I think that the journey is only taken to waste time. The queen of England also gave a passport for the coming hither in safety of some of the ten lords who had joined together in Scotland in their Queen's favour, promising a cessation of hostilities on the frontier for a month. They have only license for 14 days.

I enclose a copy of the reply from his Holiness to the queen of Scotland, although the servant who brought it from Rome stayed in Paris. I shall learn from him now what are his Holiness's intentions as to helping movements here.

* In the handwriting of the King: "He means Commissioners. Look at the cipher."

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Two French ships have arrived at Dumbarton loaded with powder, wine, flour, and other stores, although in no great quantity. Walsingham has returned from France, and says that the Christian King insists urgently upon the release of the queen of Scotland. The people who accompanied Walsingham hither speak of the discontent of the Catholics in France with the peace, which, it is believed, will be of short duration. It is announced that Sores has taken a Portuguese galleon and a ship from Seville with a large quantity of cochineal.

The commissioners are now hurrying, and Spinola and the other man are entertaining them by saying that if the treaty is a final one they will disclose to them other plunder of great value. They are asking them that particulars of this should be revealed to them. They will do their best, and will leave shortly.

There is nothing new about the Lancashire conspiracy, as the investigator who went thither was a Catholic himself and has greatly absolved the culprits.

A ship from Spain for Flanders ran aground on this coast, and the sailors, thinking that she was foundering, went ashore, leaving the ship and cargo. I have sent to Lord Cobham, who has possession of the ship, and crew, to see what can be done about it.—London, 5th October 1570.

15 Oct. **221.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

On the 10th instant I received your Majesty's letter of the 16th ultimo. I have in former letters dwelt at length on the facilities existing for the subjection of Ireland to your Majesty, and I will make minute inquiries as to the revenue which this Queen now receives from that island, which I know to be very small, and insufficient for the expenditure she incurs, in consequence of the greater part of the island refusing allegiance to her, whilst the part she holds is but little cultivated, though there is an abundance of cattle, which is better than the English. There is no work on the seacoast, as it seems that the English wish to keep it as it is, so that no other prince should enter into possession, the island being so suitable as a point from which England could be subjected, and they have no desire to civilize it, because they think that it thus might become more populous and powerful than this island. Those who have held offices there assert that there are many mines of silver, lead, alum, and other similar things, and that if the island were brought into civilized quiet, its great fertility would make it very valuable to its sovereign. I will report to your Majesty all I learn upon this subject.

In my previous letters I related that Secretary Cecil and Walter Mildmay had gone to the queen of Scotland to negotiate personally with her, and to propose certain measures, of which I gave an account in a memorandum I sent. It now appears that Cecil has somewhat modified these conditions, and the present enclosure contains the proposals as they were handed to the queen of Scotland. Cecil remained there somewhat longer than his leave stated, whilst the queen of Scotland was considering the proposals

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which still contain hard and dangerous conditions, and will not be accepted by the Scots without difficulty.

The bishop of Ross sends word to me by a servant that he will be here within a week, and will then tell me his mistress's wishes fully.

I now know for certain that the duke of Anjou will send a servant to see the queen of Scotland and ascertain whether she is willing to marry him. It may be that the Queen may consent, but it would not please the majority of English people, and it certainly does not please me. The Catholics are not much in favour of the marriage with the duke of Norfolk, as they are uncertain about his orthodoxy, although the earl of Arundel and Lord Lumley affirm that he will be obedient to the Catholic Church. His desire to reign might well wean him from bad paths to good ones. The said Duke himself has been very lukewarm about this marriage, but he now seems to wish to renew the project, particularly as he expects shortly to be at liberty, in accordance with the Queen's promise to him. If your Majesty's wishes have to be manifested equally with those of the French, the bishop of Ross will be a good negotiator, and I could conduct the matter with him or with Roberto Ridolfi, who has been in communication with them, and, if it should be necessary for the duke of Norfolk to bind himself apart to other things, measures might be taken, even now, in the matter. Your Majesty will send me your orders, as it is certain that the release and marriage of the queen of Scotland carries with it the tranquillity of Flanders and the restoration of religion in this country. I will follow the orders that the duke of Alba may send me, as your Majesty commands. The Catholics would prefer a Catholic foreign prince to marry the Queen, with your Majesty's approval, but if the matter is neglected some unfortunate event may occur.

In the meanwhile the earl of Lennox makes every effort to get general recognition as governor, and confirmation for the execution of 33 persons of the queen of Scotland's party.

M. de Lumbres, who has been always the agent here of the prince of Orange, has obtained permission from the Council to go in the pirate ships and do what damage he can to Flemish vessels, seeing how rich M. d'Aloin became last year in this way. He will leave soon. Vessels from the Netherlands arrive here every day, and are well received. The ships detained from Flemings have in many cases been restored to them on some sort of surety, which they will not do for Spaniards on any account.

The memorandum of the treaty arranged by Antonio Fogaza was only concerned with William Winter's marque, but since the king of Portugal has seized two ships belonging to Christmas, an Englishman, they have established another marque, and the agreement for trade will now be more difficult.

The commissioners, doubtless, have given an account to the duke of Alba of the bad proceedings here, and, as it is now clear from the English memoranda that these people are beginning to let out about

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money which they have taken from the ships, besides what the Queen seized, and the amount of such money is known to be much larger than they confess, it would not be undesirable for your Majesty to order that all people in your Majesty's dominions who had been robbed by Englishmen, or pirates hailing from England, within the last two years, should declare the amounts of their losses, on the assurance that they shall not suffer your Majesty's displeasure, or other danger, by so doing, even though they had exported without a permit and had not paid the dues on the property they had lost.

Since the fleet carrying our Queen passed, the pirates have captured a Portuguese vessel which had run aground, the cargo of which belonged to your Majesty's subjects, and another that had gone ashore at Ipswich loaded with salt; in addition to which I have just learnt that they have taken into the Isle of Wight a ship with a very rich cargo of wool, and I am sending to the Court to see whether I can arrange that they shall not sell their booty. If ships continue to come freely in this way trade will simply be to enrich the heretics.

Cardinal Chatillon bade farewell to this Court with great banquets and presents given and received, all at the expense of the seafarers. In order to flatter the earl of Leicester in return for the obligation he is under to him, he told the Queen that she could not marry any one who would be more acceptable to the Protestants than Leicester. He received news whilst he was still tarrying here that all the principal Protestants in France were to gather at La Charité, and afterwards meet at Rochelle with Madame Vendome, who awaits them.

Henry Cobham writes from Spires that he was coolly received by the Emperor. He broached the subject of the Archduke Charles' marriage, but they have deferred a reply until after the marriage of Princess Elizabeth.* He believes that the Emperor would consult your Majesty, and would communicate with me to learn whether this proposal was sincere or not, before giving a reply.—London, 15th October 1570.

20 Oct. **222.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I have thought well to report to your Majesty regarding the negotiations between these two Queens by the opportunity of a boat to Laredo, and when the bishop of Ross arrives I will send final advices with the same diligence. The Queen's 10 ships have been taken out of commission, the captains being contented, and almost astonished, with the liberality shown to them. Our Queen's voyage, according to all accounts, has been as short and prosperous as could be wished.

The Biscay ship loaded with wool and iron, taken by these pirates near Conquet, in which port four other similar ships took refuge, has been brought into Portsmouth, and I have sent a man

* Elizabeth of Austria who was about to marry Charles IX., the young king of France.

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thither with a letter from the Council ordering the ship to be embargoed if it can be taken.

The Queen's new ship is already in the river to carry Cardinal Chatillon to Rochelle.—London, 20th October 1570.

28 Oct. **223.** Guerau de Spes to the King.
[Extract.]

The intention here is to molest the Netherlands,* these people believing in this way that they will escape annoyance in their own country. They are expecting here Count Ludovic, of Nassau, and the quantity of ordnance which they are putting on board these Flemish and English pirate ships is marvellous. The Queen has promised a hundred pieces, and forty are now being shipped to be taken to the Isle of Wight, where M. de Lumbres, who calls himself Admiral for the Prince of Orange, is with fourteen or fifteen fine ships, and expects as many more from Rochelle. It would be well at this time to have some good spies at Rochelle, as all the bad plots are hatched between there and here.—London, 28th October 1570.

2 Nov. **224.** The King to Guerau de Spes.

Your three last letters of 11th, 19th, and 25th September were received together on the 28th October, enclosing the statement given to you about Ireland by Selliger, and the memorandum drawn up by Bayon as to his proposals. Both of these are of such importance that I am pleased you sent them, with the information on other subjects which you gave in your letters. As you have no doubt written the same to the duke of Alba, in accordance with your instructions, he will give you due orders which you will follow on all points. After I have myself considered maturely the question of Ireland, and Bayon's proposal, I will send you advice as to what you are to do. In the meanwhile you will continue to report everything that happens, and especially about the queen of Scotland. You will let her know how much I desire her release, and to see the Catholics tranquil in mind and body, as their noble ends and Christian fortitude deserve. In all your proceedings with them, as regards action, you will closely follow the Duke's orders, as the matter is one that must be very carefully handled, or we may do them more harm than good. Steps must be taken in this with a leaden foot.—The Escorial, 2nd November 1570.

14 Nov. **225.** Document headed "Translation of the Edict of the Queen "of England against those who harbour Rebellious "Persons and Seditious Libels, dated at Hampton Court, "14th November 1570."

Her Majesty the Queen, considering that Almighty God has hitherto kept her realm in general peace, and her subjects in constant obedience to her, notwithstanding many secret solicitations of certain fugitives and rebels, now dwelling beyond the

* Note in the King's handwriting "Notice!"

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sea, by means of their seditious messages and false rumours sent hither with the object of provoking others to participate in their malicious treasons, cannot do otherwise than first dutifully give thanks and praise to God, and at the same time express her acknowledgment of the loyalty of her subjects, and their firmness in the preservation of the common peace. She gives warning especially to the more simple sort, of her dear subjects, not on any account to be lead astray by the false inventions of the said fugitives and rebels, or their adherents, either hidden here or living across the seas, who may try to seduce the good lieges to disobedience, both by word of mouth, and by books and writings, with the object of breaking the common peace and gaining help for their treason and rebellion. Her Majesty, therefore, earnestly orders all her good subjects to beware of this, and to employ all their diligence in arresting such persuaders to disobedience and violiation of the laws, and more especially those who bring within the realm any book or books, or similar pestiferous devices against the laws and government of the realm, or in any manner prejudicial to the royal state. If any person be found willingly aiding or abetting any other person in these malicious enterprises, or receiving, keeping, or remaining silent with regard to, any such seditious books, writings, or printed or written bulls, and who do not immediately discover any such persons and procure their arrest, or at once cause such writings to be presented to the officers of justice, as by public decree has recently been ordered, her Majesty makes known that all persons so offending after this notice will be arrested and punished as the abettors of the principal traitors who are the authors of the same. This being so clear the present decree will be carried out without any excuse being permitted on the ground of simplicity and ignorance by those who are accused. —Hampton Court, 14th November 1570.

28 Nov. **226.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

In my previous letters I have reported that commissioners were expected from Scotland to negotiate respecting the queen of Scotland's affairs. A great heretic called Abbot Farnera* has accordingly arrived to say that only two are coming that are friends of that Queen, but they will not consent to the delivery of the Prince, as neither party is in favour of it. When they arrive I will report progress to your Majesty.

The French ambassador continues his audiences with the object of frightening the queen of England into the idea that his master will not forsake the cause of the queen of Scotland, but little has come of it hitherto.

Cardinal Chatillon has returned hither and is staying at Leicester's house. His return must either be to intervene in these negotiations or else because he fears fresh disturbances in France. The pirate Schonvall recently seized six rich Dutch smacks bound for Rouen, and is hurrying forward the sale of his booty in the Isle of Wight.

* Probably Pitcairn, Abbot of Dunfermline, who was one of the Regent's Commissioners.

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I have complained to the Council, who have been here lately, and they have ordered the captain of the island to take possession of the vessels, and punish (as they say) the pirates. But it has all been done so tardily that I expect the property will be dispersed, and I have sent a servant of mine to see how the governor of the island carries out his orders.

Under pretext of these affairs Cecil has sent several people to me, evidently with the sole object of discovering why your Majesty had not replied to the three letters which they say the Queen had written to you, and also to learn whether I had power to treat for the re-opening of trade if the Queen desired to commence negotiations with me. I am assured of the great need that these people are in of the trade with your Majesty's dominions, and that, if it be interrupted much longer, most of the merchants in London will fail, particularly now that the duke of Muscovy has punished the English traders in his country for befriending a rebel subject of his and detains all their merchandise; and that in Hamburg the rising of the Elbe has greatly damaged the cloths they have there. So far as regards the goods they need from Flanders, they are well supplied by the multitude of boats which come from there, and by the great quantities of merchandise which arrive from the States through Calais. They also get a sufficient quantity of goods from Andalucia which the pirates steal and bring hither. If this source of supply could be stopped it would be desirable, and orders might be given to the effect that, if certain places there suffer very much injury from the cessation of trade, certain Englishmen might be authorised to carry thither what was much needed on condition that they carried back such perishable merchandise as was ready. This they would do willingly as they are in such great need of goods from there, and to dispose of their own merchandise.

The Queen has ordered the sons of the earl of Derby to appear. on a religious accusation, without imputing any suspicion of rebellion against them; she also has ordered the enclosed proclamation to be published.

José Lotini, a ship-captain, a brave lad fit for anything, was in the service of this queen in Ireland; but as they did not pay him, he went over to Flanders, leaving his horses behind him, which will give him an excuse to return thither to fetch them. He is well known to Thomas Stukeley. He told me that in the island there was a Fleming, a good cosmographer, although a Protestant, who had drawn up plans of most parts of the country, and if it were necessary he would take him over to Flanders. I have referred Lotini to the duke of Alba, as he is very suitable to serve in those parts, although I have not told him what my intention was.

Seven ships are ready here for the voyage to the Indies, and I have sent an order for them to dismantle. I obtained a stop from the Admiralty Court by order of the Council, but I am afraid some of the ships will go.—London, 28th November.

5 Dec. **227.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I have already reported to your Majesty that two commissioners

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are coming from Scotland; they are the bishop of Galloway* and Lord Livingstone, and the bishop of Ross is leaving here to be present when they reach their Queen, although the excuse he gives for going is that she is very ill. It is true she is not well, and is in much greater fear for her life than formerly, in consequence of a warning that she has received from a doctor, astrologer and sort of conjurer, to the effect that they are going to give her poison in her food, and who even goes so far as to indicate the day when it is to be done.

The queen of England complains that these commissioners are not of sufficiently high position for the purpose in view, and says she would much have preferred that some of the Earls themselves should have come; but as she complains of the latter for treating with other foreigners for aid, it is suspected that if they had been persons of higher position they would not have got a passport.

The earl of Sussex has come from the frontier after dismissing his forces. He insists that the present is a very favourable time for the Scotch enterprise, but they will not listen to him in consequence of shortness of money.

Two days ago the ambassador from the duke of Saxony arrived with a Frenchman, coming by way of Hamburg. They have been referred to the Council here. I do not know yet which duke of Saxony he comes from, or whether his visit is only to obtain the money that this Queen has to give to the Reiters in exchange for the salt brought from Rochelle, which money she has not hitherto paid. I will advise your Majesty of this, and also as to the action of the Governor of the Isle of Wight respecting the recovery of the six smacks; in which I have not much confidence.

A son of the earl of Derby and other gentlemen of Lancaster, who were summoned by the Queen, have appeared, and their statements have been taken. I do not know whether they will be lodged in the Tower, but if so, it will be a great sorrow for the rest of the Catholics.—London, 5th December 1570.

13 Dec. **228.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

On the 10th instant I received your Majesty's letter of the 2nd ultimo, brought by Henry Cobham, who also gave the Queen the letter your Majesty wrote her. I know nothing more of Cobham's arrival, excepting that the Emperor sends advice to the Queen that she should remain friendly with her neighbours.

Lord Buckhurst is leaving to congratulate the Christian King on his marriage. The Scotch commissioners are expected, although I do not think that any settlement will be come to by their means.

The gentleman who came from Duke August with a present of some little caskets and some pistols for the earl of Leicester belongs to Augsburg, and I think he served your Majesty at the battle of St. Quintin. He petitions to be made a pensioner of this

* The alternative name of "*Candida Casa*" or White House, is given to him in the text.

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Queen, and also requests the payment of the rest of the money for the Reiters, with aid for Rochelle if necessary. He does not come to renew the alliance, although it is expected that this will be done in time.

The smacks taken by the pirates, to the number of eight, of which I have written, were taken into the Isle of Wight. The Governor of the island publicly proclaimed in the presence of the man I sent that all Englishmen must leave the armed ships that were there, three and a pinnace, which they did to the number of three hundred and fifty, although I believe that most of them have returned to the ships again. The property which came in the captured vessels was all dispersed, and papers were shown proving that part of the property belonged to the French, and, with this, the man I sent was dismissed. The other five pirate ships are in the Channel, and are to be joined by a pirate ship which is now leaving this river for the purpose of going to Cape de Verd and the island of Santiago, whence they will proceed to your Majesty's Indies. I believe some of them will leave next month, and, notwithstanding the orders that I have given, they are shipping coloured kerseys, cutlery, and the usual goods they carry there for barter.

They are detaining the son of the earl of Derby without putting him in prison, but Dr. Storey has been lodged in the Tower, and confronted with the man who brought him. He is accused of having plotted with the duke of Alba; they are putting him to the torture to-day, and I expect it will go badly with him. God help him! All the Catholics pray for him.

I have to-day been told that the vessels arrested have been returned to the Flemings, on security being given. They will soon return hither loaded with goods from your Majesty's dominions, three or four having already sailed for Spain with that object. It would be desirable to prevent this.—London, 13th December 1570.

20 Dec. **229.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

The commissioners expected here on the queen of Scotland's business have not arrived, and little confidence is placed in a settlement being arranged. This Queen is shortly sending Walsingham as her new ambassador to France, as she thinks he is more likely to raise dissensions than any other man. Lord Buckhurst will follow him to congratulate the King and Queen on their marriage. He will be accompanied by the earl of Rutland, who is a lad, and goes to see the country. I understand that some sort of negotiation will be opened to get the duke of Anjou to ask for this Queen in marriage, in order that they may make use of this for their own ends. There are some people who advocate a similar embassy being sent to Spain in order to complain of the Emperor's reply about the marriage of the Archduke Charles, but they are not decided on this.

They are very seriously discussing the making of Count Ludovic of Nassau* head of the pirates, to the number of thirty-five sail,

* The brother of the prince of Orange.

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as they think that by this means they may not only molest the Netherlands and your Majesty's territory, but also send ships to the Indies, although those who are fitting out the ships declare that they are only going to Cape de Verd. Wherever they go it is very desirable that they should be punished, and also that the Flemish ships that have gone to Spain from here with English goods should be detained, and prevented from returning with Spanish goods. French vessels are constantly bringing Spanish goods hither. A gentleman named James Fitzmorris has gone over to France leaving a fort which he had in the earl of Desmond's country in the hand of 14 French soldiers.

They have taken another smack with fish off Dover; they are so used to robbing now that it will be very difficult to teach them honesty again.

The ambassador from Duke August and his house say that his master is not desirous of an alliance with this Queen, as he does not wish to incur fresh expenses and responsibilities. This Queen says the same, so that they are both entertaining each other with words.—London, 20th December 1570.

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9 Jan. **230.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

I have advised that Count Ludovic of Nassau was arming in Rochelle, and a servant of his has now arrived to summon the corsairs who are about here, and to take him the artillery and stores which this Queen was lending him. They will have 12 fine ships together, amongst them the great Venetian ship, in which the Count himself will go. The valuable Spanish ship loaded with oil has already been transported from Cornwall to some other place. The Council reply to all complaints with dissimulation, and do not take much notice of the fact that the Englishmen who took the two smacks actually brought them out from the Meuse.

Three vessels and a thirty-ton boat have left Plymouth for the Indies, and another boat and a frigate are ready to leave. All the efforts made and promised by the Judge of the Admiralty are insufficient to prevent them from going.

This Queen has sent to say to the Scotch commissioners that she will be here in five days, and will receive them, together with the commissioners of the earl of Lennox, to discuss the means they propose for a settlement.

This Queen is very proud of the embassy sent by the Protestant princes of Germany to the king of France, and gives out that it was done by her orders.—London, 9th January 1571.

9 Jan. **231.** GUERAU DE SPES to ZAYAS.

It is not my fault that so much delay had occurred in the conclusion of the English business which is being discussed in Flanders, as I should like to see it done differently and without any loss of dignity on our side. It is undesirable that the matter should be protracted because the robberies are increasing and the insolence of the thieves getting worse. They think that all must give way to them, whereas they are really of no account at all, and

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their power is based on such frail foundations that they could be overturned with the slightest effort. Notwithstanding this, seeing, as they say, the remissness of the foreigners, and their own artfulness day and night in the business, they succeed in the most impudent adventures. As a sort of boast of this, the earl of Leicester made a new year's present to the Queen, consisting of a jewel containing a painting in which the Queen was represented on a great throne with the queen of Scotland in chains at her feet, begging for mercy, whilst the neighbouring countries of Spain and France were as if covered by the waves of the sea, and Neptune and the rest of them bowing to this Queen. With these vanities they flatter the Queen to the top of her bent, who, in other ways, lives with more freedom than Joan of Naples or the like. It is really necessary, although we possess so much power, not to allow it to fall from our hands, and we should be as careful to take advantage of opportunities and artifice as if we were as weak as we are strong. By this means our monarchy would be durable and feared by all for the service of God.—London, 9th January 1571.

16 Jan. **232.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

The Queen gave audience in Hampton Court on the 13th instant to the bishop of Ross and the Scotch commissioners with the result that they have to wait 12 days until the commissioners from the other party arrive. In the meanwhile a committee has been appointed to deal with them, consisting of the earls of Leicester and Sussex, the marquis of Northampton, the Lord Keeper, Cecil and Knollys.

Cardinal Chatillon was summoned to all the conferences, and the Queen is now offering to intercede with the Christian King that he, the Cardinal, should be restored to the enjoyment of his revenues. He wishes to push forward the treaty of marriage between the Queen and the duke of Anjou, but her matrimonial intentions are of no use any longer for deceiving people.

In the meanwhile Count Ludovic of Nassau is expected on this coast, and to complaints of robbery, they reply very coolly, thinking that all this will only tend to their advantage in the question of the restitution, and that if they only restore what they have proposed to do, all their offences will be forgotten and a settlement effected.—London, 16th January 1571.

22 Jan. **233.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

I have informed your Majesty that Cardinal Chatillon was pushing forward with great warmth the marriage of the duke of Anjou with the Queen, and the business is now quite advanced, the Queen-mother having written very gently about it to the Cardinal.*

* The whole of the negotiations for this match are fully and most interestingly related in the published correspondence of La Mothe-Fenelon, then recently appointed French ambassador in England. The Emperor's refusal, through young Henry Cobham, to renew the negotiations for marriage with his brother the Archduke Charles, would appear to have been much more decided than is stated in the present letters, and there is no doubt that the Queen was deeply offended at the slight. On the

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The Queen has already proposed it to her Council; one of the members said that the Duke would be rather young, and that it would be well to consider deeply before they broke entirely with the House of Burgundy. The other members were silent, surprised to see her so set upon this marriage, which they had always thought was merely a fiction. The earl of Leicester is greatly dismayed at having been the instigator of this treaty, but the Cardinal promises him grand estate and honours, and says that he shall go to France at the conclusion of it. The fickleness of the Queen makes it impossible to say whether the marriage will go forward or not. She has already assured the Cardinal that she is quite free from any pledge elsewhere, and that she is determined to marry a prince and not a subject, whilst she has a good opinion of the character of the duke of Anjou.

In the meanwhile they are delaying the settlement of the queen of Scotland's business, on the excuse that they must await the arrival of the commissioners from the opposite party, and their only urgency is to find means of assuring the safety of the earl of Lennox, whose life is in great danger by reason of the executions which he has carried out. The Council here wishes to mutually bind the parties very strictly for the present, under the threat that if any hostility is committed the present negotiations shall be stopped.

I have had arrested the two Flemish pirates who captured the smacks in the Meuse, and sixteen hundred thalers were found upon them, which I will try to have restored with the goods to their owners. This has not been ordered yet, although the Council promise me that it shall be. In the meanwhile the other pirates go on robbing, and very little can be done towards punishing them or recovering their booty. The ships from Rochelle, to the number of about ten, are expected, and by means of the screw thus applied the Councillors think they will be able to do as they like in Flanders.

The revenues that the Crown of England receive from Ireland used formerly to exceed 80,000*l.*, but for the last 10 years they have been only about 20,000*l.* a year, with the extraordinary duty on wine. The diminution has come about by reason of bad government. I write this in fulfilment of your Majesty's order, which I could not do before, as I had not the information.

Whilst this letter was being put into cipher the French ambassador came to see me, and in the course of conversation, complained that Cardinal Chatillon had made so much noise about the marriage of the prince (the duke of Anjou) with so little foundation. The Cardinal went to his house to explain his design to him, mentioning the Vidame de Chartres as the originator of the idea, and wished to make the ambassador believe that the Queen would agree to it, but he, the ambassador, thinks that she will not do so. I treated the whole matter as a joke.

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other hand, Catharine de Medici was quite willing to listen to Chatillon, Chartres, and her own secret agent, Cavalcanti, when they proposed so brilliant a match for her second son, as she was now convinced that Philip's sole policy in regard to France was to render it impotent by crushing the reforming party.

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The French ambassador was summoned yesterday to the Queen who complained to him of the French who have possession of the castle* belonging to the earl of Desmond. She says they are fortifying a little island opposite, and have refused to leave on the request of the governor. She desires that the king of France should be asked to order them to retire.—London, 22nd January 1571.

31 Jan. **234.** The KING to GUERAU DE SPES.

I have received your letters of 1st, 5th, and 20th of December and Zayas has told me what you wrote to him on the 28th. I am well informed thereby of affairs in England, and the plans and plots which are being carried on there with the German heretics. Continue to advise me of everything and particularly with regard to placing Count Ludovic at the head of the pirates. Let me know what strength of ships and men he can dispose of, and what routes are taken both by Ludovic and the seven ships which you say are being fitted out for India.

All this is quite incompatible with the settlement which is being discussed with the Queen. The duke of Alba writes on the 1st December that this settlement was quite advanced, and we are surprised that you do not mention this in your letters, as it is the most important subject at present pending. So much is this so, that until we know how this negotiation ends no new prohibition can be made of the export from here of the merchandise you mention, nor can I take fresh steps to prevent the bringing hither of English goods needed by my subjects. You will therefore in all your letters report to me what is being done about this treaty and what hopes may be entertained of its being carried through.

I have nothing special to say to you respecting the affairs of the queen of Scotland and the English Catholics, as the Duke will convey my intentions to you as may be needful. I have only to say that you can assure the queen of Scotland and the Catholics that I desire their amelioration more than I can say, and that I will not fail to duly aid and support them by word and deed.

Having considered what you have written on various occasions about Bartolomé Bayon and the memorandum he gave you, I have come to the conclusion that his proposals are quite out of the question, and were no doubt only made for the purpose of getting more credit and reputation with the people there in consequence of the reply he hoped to get from here. Although this was the case, you will do well not to appear to slight him, and you may tell him, as if on your own account, that the person who was your intermediary had informed you that, if he would moderate somewhat the demands he makes, he might be dealt with reasonably, but that it would be much better, in order that it should be settled more speedily and easily, that he himself should come here to treat on the matter; for which purpose a safe conduct would be given to

* Dingle in Kerry.

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him. You can proceed cautiously in accordance with this as you see fit, and let me know what passes.—Madrid, 31st January 1571.

6 Feb. **235.** GUERAU DE SPES to ZAYAS.

It is no good to say anything to this Council about the pirates for they will not refrain from welcoming them. M. de Lumbres is now arming a Spanish ship which he captured, without any hindrance, and the Council are thinking again of stirring up trouble in Flanders, and either bringing the Christian King to their will, or once more trouble his kingdom. They think with this bait of the marriage of the duke of Anjou with the Queen that we shall be afraid of offending them, and they therefore are delaying the queen of Scotland's business. It is true that so far as the Catholics are concerned matters were never more favourable than now. I did not dare to accept their offer in the face of the duke of Alba's instructions, but whenever his Majesty wishes, a great service can be done to God, and, at the same time, the safety of the Netherlands secured and the throne of Spain aggrandised. The position of its ambassador here will not add much to its dignity unless some prompt steps be taken. I have suffered more than can be imagined, and, on Purification Day, the doors of my house were surrounded by those who came to arrest the persons who had attended Mass, of whom they captured three or four, all Spaniards. At night they were released on bail and the payment of a fine.—London, 6th February 1571.

12 Feb. **236.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

This Queen is entertaining the ambassador and commissioners of the queen of Scotland with the hope of the arrival of the earl of Morton, and says she will send a special man thither to hurry him. In the meanwhile she wants to draw them into another negotiation about the restitution (of prisoners?) on both sides, but they will not deal with that matter separately.

The secretary of Cardinal Chatillon is expected from France. He is the promoter of the marriage with the duke of Anjou. The Cardinal for his trouble has received through Veluti (Velutelli?) ten thousand crowns. By way of France news has arrived that his Holiness had granted the kingdom of Ireland to your Majesty, and that you would in consequence send Thomas Stukeley with fourteen or fifteen companies of Spaniards. These people are already beginning to discuss the measures to counteract this. The pirates have brought to the Isle of Wight three sloops of great value belonging to your Majesty's subjects. One was lost on its arrival. I am sending there now with letters from the Council to try to recover them. Cecil told my servants that, if the merchants of Antwerp would pay for two of the Queen's ships to be fitted out, they should be sent to stop these piracies, upon which he was told that, whilst the pirates themselves were armed here, there was little use in such a remedy as that.

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A Flemish ship loaded with spices and sugar has entered Portsmouth. I think it is an arranged thing as Philip Asselier, the master, is here, and in communication with the Council, but Rotendal's ship has been allowed to go on his declaration that she belonged to the fleet which accompanied our Queen.

The merchants are very pleased with the hope of a settlement as they can hold out no longer, although they get some relief by the goods stolen by the pirates.

Postscript : I am advised that, as soon as Buckhurst learned on his arrival in France of the Christian Queen's illness, he sent back to his mistress to know whether he should proceed, but on a letter being produced by Cardinal Chatillon from the Queen-mother, saying that he was not to abandon his voyage in consequence of the Queen's illness, orders have been sent to Buckhurst to proceed on his journey.—London, 12th February, 1571.

18 Feb. **237.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

I have reported to your Majesty that Parliament has been called together, and is to meet on the 2nd April. The lists of property of those who have fled the country are now ready, as the principal subject to be dealt with is the sale of such property, and the infliction of punishment upon those who refuse to take the oath acknowledging the Queen as head of the Church, the only other thing is to ask for money. The earl of Morton and Vunderec (Sir James MacGill ?) of the Scotch Council arrived here last night, and we shall now see the intention of the English with regard to the Scotch Queen. The French ambassador saw this Queen yesterday, in order to intercede for the Queen of Scotland in his master's name. He was not so well received as before, although he promised that the Frenchmen who were in possession of the castle in the earl of Desmond's country should be punished if the Christian King could get them into his hands, as they had acted without his authority.

The arrival of the commissioners to be sent by the duke of Alba to witness the restitution is awaited here with anxiety, although these people will not be satisfied if the restitution is not followed by a re-opening of trade. The Council have sent the English commissioners to me to-day with the Judge of the Admiralty, in order to arrange for the security of eleven ships which have recently been brought hither by fate and the pirates. Their principal reason, however, is doubtless to hear what I should say about commerce. I altogether avoided the subject.—London, 18th February.

2 March. **238.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

Three detachments of ships, in all seven or eight, are now being equipped here for the Indies. Some of them belong to William Winter, others to Hawkins, which will shortly leave, and two others belong to Bartolomé Bayon, who takes but little notice of my persuasions. To judge by the goods he is taking, there is no doubt that he is going to ship negroes and sell them at the Indies.

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The Council at first promised to prevent the expedition, but now says that it is unjust to prevent people from making voyages, especially as they are informed that no damage will be done in your Majesty's territory, and they have no intention of preventing trade. Although I persisted in the matter, I believe all these ships will go on the Indian voyage, and if they are well punished that will be the only way of preventing other people from doing the same.

In the meanwhile the delay in the arrival of the commissioners who are expected from Flanders has caused the discharge of the eight or nine ships which recently entered the ports, although the English commissioners and the Judge of the Admiralty agreed with me that the valuable ship carried by English pirates to the Scilly isles (?) should not be discharged. M. de Lumbre, with other pirates, took it away from them and brought it half sacked to the Isle of Wight. Some French vessels have arrived from Andalucia with oil, which was much wanted here, but they have now an abundance of spices and other merchandise which have come from these prizes.

The tendency of these folks is anything but peaceful. They have had printed the apology which I send enclosed, and some of the Council have hinted to me that we are not alive to the negotiations which are being carried on from here in Flanders. I believe that they are shameful, and will some day produce effect.

The Queen has made Cecil a lord, so that he may be able to be more useful in Parliament, and about the queen of Scotland. Although the commissioners on both sides are here, they have done nothing yet excepting to prolong the truce in Scotland for this month. The queen of England says that she will consider what can be done in the whole business when she is at Greenwich, whither she now goes.

They are still talking of the marriage of the duke of Anjou, but not so warmly as before,* although it is said that the matter will be discussed in Parliament favourably.

The Queen has ordered the viceroy of Ireland to go and capture the castle of Dingin,† which Captain La Roche and other Frenchmen are holding. This is in accordance with the Christian King's wish.

He‡ went in disguise through here towards Dover in order to escape into a Catholic country, and he was captured, although

* It appears that the Queen had been told shortly before this that one of the courtiers of the French King had stated at Court, before a numerous company, that she had an incurable malady in the leg, and that after the marriage a "French potion" could be given to her whereby she might be got rid of, and the duke of Anjou could then marry Mary Stuart, and reign over both England and Scotland. The Queen was greatly enraged at this, and treated the French ambassador very curtly for some time afterwards. She told him she greatly regretted his absence from the marquis of Northampton's ball, as he could have seen her dance there and could assure the Duke that he was in no danger of wedding a cripple.

† Dingle, Kerry. *See* letter from Norris to Cecil, 8th January 1571, Calendar of State Papers (Foreign).

‡ Note in original: "He does not say who this is."

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he was only known by Catholics. He escaped from prison at mid-day, dressed as a porter, with some wood on his shoulders. He has taken refuge in my house, and I will try to get him out of the country. Your Majesty will see by the letters from Dr. Storey to me how he is suffering in the Tower.—London, 2nd March 1571.

4 March. **239.** Document headed: "CONTENTS of FIVE CLAUSES issued "by the QUEEN OF ENGLAND touching the irregularities "on the Sea Coast, 4th March 1571."

1st. That no pirate of whatever nation shall enter any of her ports or the Downs, under penalty of losing the ship which he brings, and imprisonment for himself.

2nd. That no subject of the Queen, or other inhabitant of her realm, shall send or supply any victuals or stores of any sort to the said pirates, and shall not receive goods from them, or deal with them directly or indirectly.

3rd. That it is the Queen's will that these clauses shall be obeyed, and that any infraction of them shall be punished by the arrest of the offenders by the Governors of the ports, to be held until further orders from the Queen and Council.

4th. That any person found culpable, after the publication of this, shall be punished as a disturber of the Queen's peace.

5th. That any subject of the Queen who may have offended in this way, and will make confession of the same, and declare those whom he knows to be guilty, shall be himself pardoned.

10 March. **240.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

In conformity with your Majesty's orders of the 30th January, I await here the arrival of the commissioners to be sent by the duke of Alba with the decision on the points discussed by him with the English Commissioners relative to the restitution of what remains of the merchandise seized from your Majesty's subjects, and the other points if they have been settled, although the Duke does not write that any arrangement has been made, excepting for the restitution. During the negotiation in Flanders the robberies and seizures have been going on as usual, and these people are now so obstinate in them that it will be very difficult to reform matters. The same bad tendency is shown in their desire for liberty of conscience in the Netherlands, and it is absolutely necessary to watch them closely, as they proceed with this intention with great vigilance, astuteness, and dissimulation, the object of it all being to diminish the greatness of your Majesty. This is most certain. The servants of the prince of Orange have manned their ships with two or three Flemings in each, the rest being Englishmen, and they have already taken much valuable plunder. News from Rochelle comes that a Flemish ship-master had surrenered a valuable cargoe to Count Ludovic, and that many ships were being armed there. Letters that I have seen say the number exceeds thirty, the captain of which is to be Ludovic himself. They think here that they are coming to molest the Netherlands, and these people are dreaming

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at the same time of attacking Dunkirk. They are talking also of the Indies and Scotland, but I will persevere in my efforts to stop the ships from going to the former place. I have not been able to settle anything with the Council, and still less with Bayon. When I sent to summon him hither, he was already in agreement with a Portuguese doctor here and certain Flemish exiles to fit out two ships, and he refused to come to me, but wrote to me that he would not touch in your Majesty's territory. I do not believe him, but I am not abandoning the matter and profess great affection for him, although he presumes a great deal more than he has any right to do. The Council are willing, however, that he should go. I will do my best and report to your Majesty.

As regards the queen of Scotland's affair, this Council now wishes to draw up a complete case, pro and contra, as to whether the deposition of the Queen was legal, and if the oath to the Prince can be revoked. It is nothing but dissimulation; these people think they can deceive everybody.

The queen of Scotland, the duke of Norfolk, and the heads of the Catholics have wisely resolved to send a gentleman to your Majesty, who will also see the duke of Alba, without the knowledge of the French. I have tried to obtain copy of his instructions, and after great difficulty send herewith a copy of them.—London, 10th March 1571.

14 March. **241.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

The day on which I wrote my last letter to your Majesty, the 10th instant, Captain George, an Englishman sent by the English ambassador in Paris, arrived with news that your Majesty had ordered the arrest of a certain English gentleman in Spain who was giving reports of the proceedings of Thomas Stukeley, and that the latter, with your Majesty's support, was fitting out an expedition for Ireland to be accompanied by Major-General Julian Romero with a good body of Spaniards. This news, together with certain sinister information given by an English gentleman named Smith who was formerly in your Majesty's service in Flanders, and the delay in the arrival here of the commissioners from Flanders, has caused the Queen to order the seizure of all the ships on the coast, the immediate arming of three of her own and the preparation of five more. Lord Grey is leaving for Ireland, and the Council sent word that they wished to see me. They accordingly met on the 12th at Durham Place, there being present the earls of Leicester and Sussex, lord Burleigh, as Cecil is now called, and Walter Mildmay. Burleigh set forth the information that the Queen had received from various quarters, and said she was much surprised at it after the letters your Majesty had written to her and a milder one from the duke of Alba. The Queen, he said, was forced to defend her birthright, and even to act on the offensive towards those who wished to injure her in her dominions, with such strength as God had given her. They therefore gave me notice of this as a minister of your Majesty in order that I should

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not be surprised at her preparations, and that the reasons of them should be conveyed to your Majesty. I assured him of your Majesty's continued good will to preserve your friendship with the royal house of England, and I called them to witness this in view of the great moderation your Majesty had displayed in the discussion of the differences arising from these seizures. I said I had heard nothing about Stukeley, although my letters from Spain were recent, and I said I did not believe it, but that spies had exaggerated matters. Lord Burleigh, for instance, had been told that your Majesty had given Stukeley 500 reals a day, which was not a usual thing. I would, however, report what they said to your Majesty. Burleigh said he would give it me in writing, and after this they made many excuses to me about past affairs, to which I replied with great courtesy. The earl of Sussex took me aside and said he was a good Spaniard, but if he were forced he should be driven to go on to the other side. I said that he might well believe that it would indeed be a great force which would make Spain take up arms against England, and they all seemed somewhat tranquillised with this, particularly when they heard at the same time that the commissioners had arrived. They said that the Queen wished to send Henry Cobham to your Majesty to give you an account of these suspicions. I said no doubt your Majesty would receive him and listen to him willingly, and asked whether he would go by Flanders. They said I should have full information before he went. They are still continuing to bring harquebusses, pikes, and corselets out of the Tower; part of them, apparently for the Queen's ships and part of them for Sandwich for the Flemish rebels. They await the arrival of Count Ludovic. I told them the steps they should take to stop the piracies and the expeditions to the Indies, and as regards the first point, they said they could not stop them unless the merchants paid the cost. I replied that they paid customs dues for security of the channel, but was very moderate in my expressions, in order that it might not appear as if I was saying what I did as an excuse for similar armaments being fitted out in your Majesty's dominions. As regards the Indies they asked me whether, if assurance were given that no injury should be done to your Majesty's dominions, there would be any objection. I said it was impossible as your Majesty's edicts forbade the voyage, and the matter so remained without any further assurance being given to me.

On the 12th the Lord Keeper gave an answer to the bishop of Ross and the queen of Scotland's commissioners, to the effect that the queen of England would not release the queen of Scotland without first having her son delivered to her, with six nobles and six of the Scotch fortresses, to be chosen by the queen of England; that Morton and his party were to govern in the Queen's name, she renouncing all alliance with other princes; so that the business will all come to nothing. I will advise your Majesty of what happens. M. de Zweveghem brought me the duke of Alba's letter which I will follow. They have appointed an audience for him on the 16th.—London, 14th March 1571.

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23 March. **242.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

I have previously informed your Majesty of the fears entertained by the Queen of the coming of Stukeley to Ireland, and that I had tranquillized the Council about it as well as I could. Four of the Queen's ships are ready, but the crews have not arrived. A large quantity of arms have been brought from the Tower, some of which have been sent up the river, on the way to Bristol. Many remain, for the ships at Rochester and others have been given to the Flemish rebels. The note which Lord Burleigh was to give me saying what they wished me to convey to your Majesty on the subject, has not yet been sent to me, nor are they decided yet as to the going of Henry Cobham to Spain. No doubt the whole object is to delay in order to see what decision is arrived at with M. de Zweveghem and the commissioners from Flanders. Zweveghem had audience on the 18th, and on handing his letter of credence to the Queen, she said that she did not consider the matter settled as the duke of Alba said, and used other doubtful expressions of the same sort. She promised to send him her wishes upon the subject which she did yesterday by Leicester and Burleigh in the presence of the English commissioners. They pointed out six amendments they required in the agreement, all of them of the greatest importance, which amendments are sent to the duke of Alba to forward to your Majesty. They wish to commence the restitution from the 28th of December 1518 (1568 ?), or, as it is worded in the agreement, from the winter of that year, and by this means there will be a difference of two hundred thousand ducats against your Majesty's subjects. Another injurious point is that they wish to exclude from the restitution all inhabitants of your Majesty's dominions who are not your subjects, and they also wish to take advantage in the matter of the valuation, and, in fact, to undo what has already been agreed upon. They will not agree to consider the money that they hold, as a security for the reciprocal restitution of goods in your Majesty's dominions which is to be made after restitution here, and they also wish to cheat us of the restitution of the missing portion of the goods by punishing the defaulters personally without enforcing the restitution itself. There are other points of the same sort which your Majesty will consider. All this is atrocious, especially as the treaty has been under discussion for a year and a half at the request of the Queen herself.

M. de Zweveghem has, I believe, done his duty very well, and I have advised him to speak to the merchants and commissioners, pending the arrival of the duke of Alba's reply, with regard to their own wishes upon the subject. My opinion is that these people wish to drag the matter on until the summer is over, which is their usual trick, and your Majesty's subjects the while are suffering.

The affairs of the queen of Scotland are in a bad way, and I think that Morton is returning to Scotland on the excuse that he bears no authority to deliver the Prince. The queen of Scotland is sending a gentleman to your Majesty and his Holiness with a credence from many Catholics. He leaves in a couple of days for Flanders and thence will continue his journey by post. She writes

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to me saying she desires to follow your Majesty's wishes in everything.

Manuel Doria has arrived with a letter from the king of Portugal for me, although he travels with a letter of credence from the King. He and Antonio Fogaza tried to obtain audience of the Queen, but she would not grant it, saying that they must first produce letters from the King. There are many Portuguese goods here, and they have granted a delay of twenty days before proceeding to the sale of them at the request of certain merchants. The man who holds the letter of marque asks a great sum for it, although he has already profited ten-fold. Some of the councillors are asking for forty thousand ducats to buy up the marque and release the rest, offering henceforward not to allow any privateers to be fitted out against that King's Indies. Doria is returning to Antwerp to consult the Portuguese merchants there upon these points. I will report to your Majesty what happens in this respect, and I now enclose a copy of the reply I have sent to the king of Portugal.

Winter's three ships, with one that is said to belong to the Admiral, have sailed for the Indies. Bayon is still under embargo, but efforts are being made for his release. He is to be joined by another ship and a pinnace. He sends to tell me that if I will give him four thousand ducats he will not go, on condition that he is allowed to take the cargoes of the three ships to Spain. It has been impossible to bring him to decency, as he is a great scamp. If weather do not prevent him, I understand he will go to the river Senegal and thence all these pirates hope that the winds will carry them to the coast on the north of the island of Hispaniola where there are good ports and opportunities of profit.

Lord Burleigh (Buckhurst?) has returned from France, but I do not know what decision he brings. I have just heard also that Cardinal Chatillon has died at Canterbury which may well be true as he was very ill.—London, 23rd March 1571.

25 Mar. **243.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

The queen of Scotland and the duke of Norfolk, in the name of many other lords and gentlemen who are attached to your Majesty's interests and the promotion of the Catholic religion, are sending Rodolfo Ridolfi, a Florentine gentleman, to offer their services to your Majesty, and represent to you that the time is now ripe to take a step of great benefit to Christianity as in detail Ridolfi will set forth to your Majesty. The letter of credence from the Duke is written in the cipher that I have sent to Zayas for fear it should be taken.—London, 25th March 1571.

In a letter from Guerau de Spes to Zayas of the same date the following paragraph occurs:—"The bearer is Roberto Ridolfi whom "the queen of Scotland and the duke of Norfolk are sending to "his Majesty as I have mentioned in my other letters. It is "necessary that he should have an audience of his Majesty with "the utmost secrecy, as your worship will be able to arrange on "so important a matter as this. I beg you will favour and forward "him to the best of your ability, as he has been an agent of his

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" Holiness here, and is a person of great truth and virtue, and an " intimate friend of mine, besides which, he is entrusted with a " negotiation which well merits favour. He bears a letter for you " and orders to follow your instructions in everything."

28 March. **244.** GUERAU DE SPES to ZAYAS.

I wrote to your worship yesterday by way of Laredo, and Henry Cobham has been to see me since and to tell me that he is leaving, requesting me to give him an order to enter Spain as you will gather from the letter he takes with him. His intention is to make very light of the detention of ships and money and also of my arrest, perhaps even throwing the blame on to me for the purpose of excusing themselves. He will make out that they are the injured parties in the treaty discussed in Flanders, will make the most of the little restitution they promised, endeavour to get trade re-opened for their benefit and leave all the rest to be forgotten; and if they can get security from his Majesty about Stanley (Stukeley?) and other points they will offer that an ambassador should go to Spain and the whole matter will be concluded to their liking without the intervention either to the duke of Alba or myself, although I am apparently neutral in the matter. Your worship knows well the craftiness of these people, and it is necessary to meet their craft with cunning, and so to dissipate their castles in the air and do our business for our own benefit, without loss of dignity on the part of his Majesty or material loss on the part of his subjects. We should not at present re-open trade and should cheat them in any way possible in this point of the restitution. I, with this end, am all gentleness with them now; mixing my words with honey until we can carry the matter through, although Henry Cobham tells me that it will not be undertaken until his return, which is most undesirable. He therefore should be got to write to the Queen here that the restitution should be carried out without waiting for new points of perfection to be given to the treaty, or else he should promptly be dismissed with gentle words in order that it may be done quickly. Let them send an ambassador if they like; that will not hinder what his Majesty may subsequently decide to do. As I have said, the road is now clear and open, we are prompted to take it by the wickedness, thefts and knavery of these pirates; all of whom were armed here, sell their booty here, draw their crews from here, and here obtain all they need for their evil deeds; we are prompted to take it by the arrest of his Majesty's ambassador in a way of which the Turk would have been ashamed, and, by the seizure of the money, after the Queen's word had been pledged and her passport given, whilst by the very same post orders were sent to seize it under the fine excuse that it was to protect it against pirates. Send Cobham back with sweet words, unless need for other action should supervene, and if they blame me tell them to do so before my face. They will not dare to say anything in my presence, or I should tell them what they are and what they have done.—London, 28th March 1571.

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28 March. **245.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

Henry Cobham has requested me in the name of the Queen's Council to give him a letter enabling him to reach your Majesty's Court. I have given him the present letter with instructions to forward it from Burgos or other place in the interior of Spain to the care of secretary Zayas, and on receiving your Majesty's leave, that he should himself follow to explain his errand which, being as it is, on behalf of the Queen, cannot fail to be agreeable to your Majesty.—London, 28th March 1571.

10 April. **246.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

The treaty for the marriage of the duke of Anjou and the Queen is going forward, and, two days since, Guido Cavalcanti came from Paris with letters from the Queen-mother and certain clauses of agreement. He came very secretly, his intention being to confer alone with Lord Burleigh and Heneage, a favourite of the Queen, but he was recognised at Dover. It appears they offer that the Duke shall conform to the laws of this country as regards religion, that he shall be called King but not be crowned, and that he shall have an allowance equal to that which he would receive in France.* I therefore think that this marriage will be effected, and, if it be, many evils will result, particularly as they are setting about the persecution of Catholics in this parliament. As the treaty is addressed to Lord Burleigh without any mention being made of Leicester, it has all the greater likelihood of being carried through promptly, as Burleigh will only think of his own advantage. The real remedy is that with which Roberto Ridolfi is charged. This Queen peremptorily orders the Scotch ambassadors to return to the side of their Queen. I judge that the object of this is that they, through their friends, should not hinder this marriage, or perhaps it is intended to adopt something in this Parliament opposed to their mistress' interests, although Cecil told the bishop of Ross that if the duke of Anjou comes here he, Cecil, will be able to get a suitable husband for their mistress. I have just received a letter from the duke of Alba, and after consultation with M. de Zweveghem, I will take steps to carry out my instruction, although I believe that these people will try to delay the matter.

The pirates have taken thirty ships near the islet of Texel and eighteen of them are now at Dover, whilst the pirates are seeking seamen and soldiers in the neighbourhood with the utmost assurance. M. de Lumbres with his five ships is in Plymouth. I am sending notice of all this to the Council.

The English announce that the castle of Dumbarton has been captured, which news is believed to be false and invented for the purpose of animating the Protestants in this parliament. The earl of Morton has returned to Scotland.

Parliament has just issued a bill that any person assuming any right to the crown of England without the permission of the

* The proposal was for him to receive from the English revenues 60,000 livres a year settled on him for life.

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Queen shall lose any claim that he has thereto. As some people think that this is directed against the queen of Scotland they are in some fear about passing it.—London, 10th April 1571.

15 April. **247.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

I have on several occasions reported how warmly the negotiations for the marriage of the duke of Anjou with the Queen are being pushed forward. There is but little difference of opinion about the conditions, and conferences are being held incessantly. I believe the marriage will de effected, notwithstanding the ancient enmity between the two nations. They are persuaded to agree to this marriage by the idea that they will establish their religion in France as well as here, and will gain some protection against your Majesty, whom they know they have offended, and at the same time will escape the restitution of the property seized, or only restore it on their own terms. Although the matter has not yet been mentioned in parliament and has only been discussed by some of the councillors, they are as arrogant about it as if it were an accomplished fact and had turned out all to their advantage, Yesterday and the day before, Leicester and Burleigh, as English commissioners, gave M. de Zweveghem most obstinate replies to his proposals, refused to confirm what had been agreed upon in Flanders, and would not give way to any just representations, but on the contrary, added new notes and emendations of the most unjust description, a copy of which is sent to the duke of Alba. M. de Zweveghem thinks that his stay here is now of little advantage to the business.

These people are much encouraged by the news that the earl of Lennox has by negotiation taken the castle of Dumbarton, a place of great importance, which news is now confirmed by the Earl himself. The pirates also are muliplying greatly and constantly bring in rich prizes here whilst direly afflicting your Majesty's subjects, and these people are getting all the advantage. Brederode's twenty-two sail are at Dover, whilst he is quietly selling their plunder and obtaining crews and stores. It is announced that they will leave a few ships there to guard the Channel and take all the other vessels which have not been ransomed and leave for Rochelle to join Count Ludovic, where they will also meet M. de Lumbres with his four ships which left here on the 7th. All this fleet together will then assail ships from Spain on all sides, and will attack the Indian fleet and harry the coast of Galicia, where they expect to do most damage. Your Majesty may be certain that the people here have every desire to do the utmost damage and injury they are able to your Majesty's dominions, and they will never abandon this course until they are frightened out of it by the punishment which they so richly deserve.

The bishop of Ross dismissed the other two commissioners but remains here himself, still supplicating the Queen and Council. He will have enough to do in getting them to dissemble with him much longer as they have taken a servant of his coming from Flanders

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with many printed books in defence of the claims of his mistress to the crown of England and they will make much of this.*

They have not yet settled anything in Parliament about the subsidy, nor as regards Catholics and absentees, although I expect all will be decided soon and not very differently from the Queen's wishes.

Fleming who commanded the fortress of Dumbarton has retired to Lisleburg, but the archbishop of St. Andrews who was captured there was beheaded by Lennox for having been concerned in the King's death.

Guido Cavalcanti is still at Cecil's house with a secretary of his, apparently a Frenchman. They will await a reply to a courier who left two days since carrying with him a favourable decision from here.—London, 15th April 1571.

17 April. **248.** The KING to GUERAU DE SPES.

All your letters have been received to those of 16th March. It was well to send us particulars as we are most anxious to learn the progress of events there, and particularly regarding the queen of Scotland and the Catholics that follow her. You also did well in trying to obtain a copy of the instructions given to the gentlemen sent by the Queen to the Pope and myself, in order to induce us to endeavour to procure her release. We desire it so sincerely that, if we had been able to obtain it, there would have been little need to send and ask for our aid. If, however, the gentleman arrives here he will find as welcome a reception as the importance of his business deserves.

I note that the Commissioners sent by the duke of Alba had been promised audience for the 18th of March, and as I am sure you will, ere this, have written the result to me, I have nothing more to say about it for the moment, excepting that I await the decision with impatience.

What you write about the pilot Bayon has been no news to us here as we always judged that his proposals made to you were simply an artful trick. In view of what you wrote about his being in league with Dr. Nuñez I wrote ordering the detention if possible of the ship that was in Ayamonte, and have also given fit instructions respecting Thomas Wyatt's (?) ship which came with cloth to St. Jean de Luz. I will advise you what happens respecting this as no answers have yet come.

You answered well to the remarks respecting Ireland and Stukeley made to you by Cecil and the other councillors, as it was simply the truth, and I do not therefore suppose that they will have persisted in the idea of sending Henry Cobham here. If he should come, it will be well for you to let me know beforehand

* This was the second edition of the Bishop's famous book called "A defence of the honour of Queen Mary," which had just been published at Liege. A small secret edition had been printed in London at the end of 1569, but had been rigidly suppressed and the seizure of these copies of the second edition led, as will be seen, to a similar course being adopted with them.

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what his errand is, and you will continue to advise me minutely of everything with the same diligence as heretofore.

With regard to your salary and the memorandum sent of your extraordinary expenses, they shall be looked into and reply sent in due course.

Note in the King's handwriting in original:—"Until these expenses are considered, and it is seen whether they are correct, it will be well not to say that they will be provided for."—The Escorial, 17th April 1571.

23 April. **249.** ZAYAS to GUERAU DE SPES.

You will already have learnt of the reception and treatment here of Thomas Stukeley and the intention entertained of helping him quietly and without showing ourselves, in order that he might encourage the Catholics of Ireland. It turned out, however, afterwards that his talent, intelligence, and weight were insufficient for the purpose in hand, and for this reason, and in order not to stir up feeling prematurely, an honest excuse was found to divert him, and he left for Bivero, having dismissed the people who came from Ireland with him and dismantled his ship, which was only of eighty tons; which ship he left there. He returned hither intending to go on to Italy and, although when he was first here, he received a money allowance from the King, in the belief that he would only stay a short time, when he returned nothing whatever was given to him in the way of lodging or otherwise. For cheapness, he went to live at Rozas* where he still remains, waiting for the Princes to leave, so that he may accompany them in search of adventure. He says himself, that he is going to the Pope. I thought well to let you know this, particularly as when Cobham arrives here it will be palpable to him that the cause for his coming was a slight one. His Majesty is very anxious for Ridolfi to arrive, as judging from what you say in your letters, he brings with him matters of importance.—Madrid, 23rd April 1571.

27 April. **250.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

In former letters I have represented to your Majesty how little these people can be trusted to agree to a restitution. All the points which were believed to have been settled in Flanders are being disputed and freshly opened up, and they are now pressing for the Duke to declare, within a week, if he will pay for the cloths which he ordered to be sold, at the same rate as they would have been sold at otherwise, and if not, the Queen will proceed to the sale here of all the goods detained. This she will do in order that the earl of Leicester may make a profit by it, and the Queen herself said so yesterday to M. de Zweveghem very firmly, and even with a sort of joke about the pirates; remarking that, as they did not speak English, it was no business of hers to correct them, and gave Zweveghem no chance of replying or carrying on the conversation. This courier is therefore being sent to the duke of Alba,

* Las Rozas is a village a few miles from Madrid.

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reporting to him also that Count Ludovic is expected hourly here with the armed ships from Rochelle, in order that they may all join together to do some great injury, although these ships that are now at Dover could be taken with the greatest of ease, which will not be the case later on, as they are rapidly being supplied with artillery, munitions, and men. The pirates have been so cruel that it is confidently stated that they threw overboard the crews of the cutter and the Biscay ship which they recently captured. I will find out the truth, having sent a man to Dover for the purpose.

Parliament is going forward rapidly, having already voted the subsidy, which will amount to 140,000*l.*, and they are now drawing up some very strict statutes against the Catholics, such as no nation in the world has ever heard of before.

The negotiations for the release of the queen of Scotland are entirely broken off, and the French have abandoned her. A packet of letters from Randolph, postmaster-general here, sent to the earl of Morton, has been captured and in them hopes were expressed that she would not live very long. Lisleburg is still held in her interest.

The partisans of the marriage of the duke of Anjou and the Queen say that Leicester will marry the queen of Scotland.

I advised your Majesty of the arrival of Guido Cavalcanti. His departure was extremely secret and he was guarded closely to prevent anyone from speaking to him, even the French ambassador, so that the Queen's decision should not leak out. It is believed that this marriage will now be carried through, seeing the inclination of the Duke and his mother for him to entirely adopt the Anglican religion; and the Queen's closest friends think that Cavalcanti bears a favourable resolution.

The Queen-mother promises to come hither with her son, and the wedding, they say, is to take place at Canterbury, but no fixed allowance is to be granted to the Duke, that question being left to the Queen's discretion. It is thought here that either Marshal Montmorenci or M. D'Anville will come here. The queen of Scotland and the duke of Norfolk are anxiously awaiting the resolution of the despatch of Ridolfi.

I have had Bartolomé Bayon arrested here through certain creditors of his, and he will not be able to go to the Indies now, even though he be released, as the season is too far advanced. I will try to stop him for any future season, and also his going to Rochelle, which he intends to do in default of any other voyage.—London, 27th April 1571.

9 May. **251.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

As I reported in previous letters, the pirates increase in number daily and a large party of them are off Dover and, although I had the bastard of Brederode detained, it is all of little use. The Queen's guns and stores have been put on board, and great numbers of Englishmen are embarked, although I do not fail to communicate with Lord Burleigh about it. He pretends to be ignorant of what is going on. The ships from Rochelle and Denmark are expected,

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The only thing settled in Parliament has been to vote the subsidy, but they are not agreed as to the measures for the purpose of oppressing Catholics, in consequence of the Puritans and new Protestants having brought in the bill of which I enclose copy, and this has raised dissensions amongst them. In order that this may not produce an ill-effect outside, the Council has become milder for the present. It has not been decided yet to sell the property of absent Englishmen.

Couriers are running backwards and forwards furiously between England and France, and the Queen is fixed in the idea that the duke of Anjou must, when he lives in this country, conform to the laws with regard to religion. No doubt this is intended to delay the business, as the Queen can conclude it whenever she thinks desirable.

In consequence of the capture of the bishop of Ross' servant and the discovery of his cipher letters, they have put him to the torture, although lightly as yet.* He is in the Tower, and the suspicions they have thus conceived have caused them to dismiss nearly all the queen of Scotland's servants, and she is strictly guarded, although, even in her guard, she has some good friends.—London, 9th May 1571.

252. Copy of the Opinion of the Duke of Feria and Prior Don Antonio respecting English Affairs.

The two points submitted to your Majesty by Cobham were as follows: First, to impress upon your Majesty the close friendship which for so many years had united the two Royal houses, and the second (without complaining of it), was that a servant of the ambassador Don Guerau, sent by him to the duke of Alba, on arriving in Flanders, caused the seizure of the English vessel in which he had crossed over, and that, from that time forward, he gave orders in every place whereat he arrived, that all other ships and goods belonging to Englishmen in the States should be seized, the object of this representation being to support their (the English) contention that reprisals were first begun on the part of your Majesty's officers, and Cobham referred, for all other points, to the letter of which he was the bearer. It is our opinion that a reply should be given to him in accordance with the discussion which took place in the Council, treating the matter on a broad and general footing and referring it to the duke of Alba, through whom his Majesty had, from the first, negotiated these affairs, both in consequence of his being well-informed as to his Majesty's wishes, and being, so to speak, on the spot. We think this is the verbal reply which ought to be given to Cobham, and we are of opinion that the letter to the Queen, which is to be given to him, should not mention the matter of the duke of Alba.

As regards giving him a chain, it appears to us that, affairs being in their present condition and Cobham having come on the errand he has, with the suspicions expressed in the Queen's letters, on no account should a chain be given to him.

* This was Charles Baily, whose capture opened up the whole conspiracy, and led eventually to the execution of the duke of Norfolk.

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We are of opinion that Stukeley should not be despatched until this man has gone, as it will not be advisable to arouse the distrust of the Queen nor to discourage the Catholic party. After Cobham has gone it will be well to despatch Stukeley and send him away satisfied.

We also think that Don Francés should be instructed to look at the hand of the Irish Archbishop who is in Paris, to discover the understandings he has both here and there.

The coming and going of a Scotsman called Patrick in Madrid should be closely watched. He was with the Archbishop, but is said now to be going about with Cobham and sometimes goes to Zayas' house. The Catholics say that both he and his master are spies.

Note in original.—Copies of all these despatches to be sent to the Duke (of Alba) and Don Guerau.

Against each paragraph of the aforegoing is a note in the handwriting of the King, which notes are respectively as follows:

1. I have had this matter of England referred to the duke of Feria and the Prior for discussion, and Gracian has here set down their opinion, whereto I will add what occurs to me. With regard to this first article, I approve of what they say. Have a letter prepared at once in this sense and sent to me to sign, so that when it is handed to Cobham a verbal reply may be given to him in conformity with the above, and we may get rid of him and not allow ourselves to enter into any pro and con with the man or to detain him.

2. There is some confusion here about the chain; there is something to be said on both sides. Let it be again discussed by the Cardinal and Velasco, and let me know their opinion.

3. I agree that Stukeley should not be despatched or a reply given to him until Cobham has gone, but whether we send him away satisfied or otherwise, will depend upon whether he is willing to come to reason or not.

4. No harm can be done by sending Don Francés these instructions, so let it be done.

5. I quite approve also of this being done, and efforts must be made to find out what there is in it.

Note.—It will be very advisable to send them copies and let them know Cobham's errand and our reply. When this is done get rid of this Cobham as soon as possible, as he is doing no good here.

10 May. **253.** The Duke of Feria to Zayas.

Very magnificent Sir. I have not replied to yours of the 3rd because I awaited his Majesty's commands, and also because I wished to wait until Cobham was gone, but the opinion of myself and the Prior is sent by the hand of Gracian, and to this I refer you. I understand that our object is to keep friendly with England because it is not, at present, possible to undertake the subjection of that country and Ireland. We were lords of it once and left it. This friendship will be very difficult to maintain if the sovereign be

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not a Catholic, and our hold upon the Netherlands will consequently be slighter. The Queen has felt our weakness, and so assails us with inventions and fears that she will marry in France. She will no more marry Anjou than she will marry me. She has neither youth nor health to have children, or to live long. She is hated by all the nobles and her subjects in consequence of her persecution of the Catholics and her refusal to allow them to leave the country; but withal, she has been unable to destroy them, for the Catholic party is sounder than ever, as she well knows. It is out of the question to believe that the French and English will ever be friends, as they have a natural dislike for one another, and besides this, their sovereigns have such mutual claims as to make it impossible that they could trust each other. The English have never had, nor have their princes, any cause for enmity with us but, on the contrary, many reasons to desire our friendship, which they have always found sincere, and the trade with his Majesty's dominions profitable. The French have not a friend in the whole country, whilst we have the Catholic party, which includes the majority of respectable people. If we lose this support and the opportunity of helping them, it will be another grave offence to God, besides those already committed; for it is in consequence of the affair not having been managed with the due circumspection that the country is in the hands of heretics. We have thus completely failed, so far since it is clear that, if the Queen had means to offend us more, she would do so; although seeing the way in which her tricks are succeeding there is no need for her to seek any other way of troubling us. If Cobham is not dealt with in a dignified way as recommended, I am afraid that what is done to avoid war will only bring it into our own house, and we shall find suddenly some day that we have lost the Catholics, and that they too are in arms against us. I am certain that, as soon as the Queen understands that the Catholics depend upon our king, she will not dare to break with us. There is no other way out of it than this: for the last two years we have trodden the path of feebleness, let us now try the other road. I am in a position to speak more freely of this than of any other affairs, because I have had much to do with Englishmen and am well acquainted with the Queen and her ministers, their mode of proceeding, and the extent of their power, and I cannot see why we should needlessly make water in the ford in this way. The Irish Archbishop has begun his tricks now in Paris, and I send you enclosed a letter he has written to a man named Salazar who is married to an Englishwoman in Madrid. Keep it for me. The morning I arrived Cobham came to visit me in the Queen's name with an extremely loving message. He was with me for some time, but I could get nothing of importance out of him, excepting recommendations to me of the case of the merchants and their goods, and complaints of the reception given to Stukeley, which has made them smart, and I do not wonder. I answered him as had been agreed upon in the Council, in case he should approach any of us separately, saying that I was not speaking as a minister but as a good Englishman and friend. The discourse only confirmed me in my opinion, and I am convinced also that this is

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no time to discourage the Catholic party and, at this juncture if we are not on the alert we may put ourselves into a hole from which we cannot get out. Tell the gentlemen there that I beseech them to weigh this matter maturely, for it is not one that can be contemned or passed over lightly. We are having here the most lovely weather in the world, although his Majesty passes his day, or or nearly all of it, as in Madrid. Aranjuez, 10th May 1571.

254. DOCUMENT HEADED: Statement of the errand of Henry Cobham, Gentleman of the Queen of England, and the reply he bears with him (without date).

His Majesty gave Henry Cobham audience on his arrival in Madrid, on the last day of April, having ordered his gentleman of the Chamber, Don Diego de Acuña, to provide him with horses and servants, and he (Acuña) himself went to accompany Cobham from his lodging to the palace. On his arrival there, his Majesty graciously received him, and Cobham handed him a letter which he brought from his mistress and, in her name, submitted two points to his Majesty. The first was to remind him of the old friendship that had for so long existed between the House of Burgundy and the Crown of England and to express the Queen's desire to maintain it. The second was (without complaining) to say that a servant that the Ambassador Don Guerau de Spes had sent to the duke of Alba, on his arrival in Flanders, had caused the seizure of the ship in which he had passed over and gave notice at each place at which he arrived that they were to seize the other ships and property belonging to English subjects in the States. All this was to prove what they falsely try to assert, namely, that the reprisals were commenced by his Majesty's officers. After this Cobham was silent and referred to his mistress' letter on all other points.

His Majesty replied in general terms that he had never had any wish other than to preserve the friendship and brotherhood with the Queen, and although what had passed was known, he would have an answer given to him for his prompt despatch, and this ended the first audience.

Some days having passed without Cobham submitting any further points, it was thought well that Secretary Zayas should take the opportunity of visiting him, in acknowledgment of the letter he had brought from Don Guerau to him, with the intention of discovering whether he had anything else to bring forward, besides what he had said to his Majesty. On this question being put to him, he said: Yes, he had very important matters, which he would submit to his Majesty when the first points had been answered and his Majesty would grant him an audience. Zayas told him that it would be best, and time would be saved, if he would put into writing what he had to say, as the King was at Aranjuez with the Queen, busy in despatching his nephews the Princes, and the statement should be forwarded to his Majesty, who would then, at once, reply to it. But Cobham would not be persuaded to do this, and entrenched himself behind the answer that when his Majesty had answered his first points, as he had promised, he would proceed to the others.

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His Majesty having been informed of this, and understanding that all of Cobham's points were simply to gain time and delay a settlement, in order never to reach the stage of actual restitution, whilst at the same time giving rise in England to the idea that he was entrusted with great affairs, and that the final settlement of the business must be deferred until his return, determined to cut the knot and get rid of the man. He therefore sent Zayas to tell him in the King's name that, as regarded his point concerning the maintenance of the ancient friendship between the two Royal houses, the Queen might rest assured that, whilst she performed her part, as Cobham had said, there would be no shortcoming on the side of his Majesty, in order to carry on the same good feeling and neighbourship between them with all the sincerity and straightforwardness, which his Majesty had always displayed. Desiring, as he did, that all questions that might lead to an opposite result should be ended, he would be glad if the negotiations for the restitution of goods and money so long detained in England could be settled with reasonable brevity, in accordance with the arrangement discussed with the duke of Alba by special commission from his Majesty. This was the true and plain way to come to the point, and he (Cobham) was to tell his mistress so, and take her a letter which his Majesty would write in reply to her's, which letter Zayas took to hand to him. When Cobham heard what the decision was, he replied to Zayas, asking him to keep the letter from his Majesty, and he would put in writing what he had to say. Accordingly, in two days, he sent his Majesty a brief letter, enclosing a memorandum of which copy is enclosed. When his Majesty had read it, being still convinced that Cobham's errand was with the already mentioned object, and to give an excuse for wasting time in fruitless discussion, he decided not to enter into any sort of detail, but to reply to the Queen as seemed most fitting to his dignity and position, setting forth the real points at issue and urging a settlement of the open questions on both sides, as has been done in the terms of the copy of his Majesty's reply herewith.

Zayas having taken this decision to Cobham and delivered his Majesty's letter, together with the passport, he again repeated in substance the previous declaration of the King's desire to remain on friendly terms with the Queen, and said that he had nothing to say respecting the points contained in his letter, as they were practically the same as those in the Queen's letter, which was fully replied to in his Majesty's answer.

Cobham answered that, since this was his Majesty's wish, he was satisfied, and would go and kiss his hand and take leave, if he would graciously allow him to do so. Zayas, having been instructed what he was to say in such case, told him that, whenever he chose to go to the Escorial, the King would be happy to see him. On the 8th June he went, and his Majesty having graciously heard him, took leave of him with some general expressions, with which Cobham appeared to be pleased. He stayed and dined that day with the duke of Feria, and had a long conversation with him, in which the whole of the matters were discussed. It is important

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that this conversation should be conveyed to you, and therefore a memorandum of it is enclosed, as well as one of Cobham's first discussion with the Duke. His Majesty was much pleased with both conversations, as they embodied his wishes.

27 May. **255.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

Since the arrival of Thomas Fiesco* here respecting the matter of restitution, nothing fresh has been done, excepting that he has spoken with some of the Councillors, who have referred him to the English commissioners as to the points which they say are still open. He will treat with them for the future, and I will continue to report to your Majesty what may be arranged.

A secretary of the Council came to me from the Queen yesterday to ask me whether I knew anything of the arrival of Henry Cobham at your Majesty's Court. I told him what Secretary Zayas had written to me. It appears that they are very sanguine respecting the despatch which Cobham is to bring from your Majesty.

The secretary also informed me, from the Queen, that she had been moved to close all the ports of this country for 12 days past, even to couriers and persons bearing her own passport, for reasons connected with the interests of her realm, and that I was not to conceive any suspicion in consequence thereof, as the ports were now open again and letters might be sent. I think the step was taken because of the imprisonment of the bishop of Ross, and to prevent any letters or papers of his leaving the country. They have been searching for such papers everywhere in the houses of his friends and himself, but have hitherto found nothing of importance, nor can they make out the letters they have seized, as they have yet to be deciphered.†

Your Majesty will have learnt that I addressed this Council from the duke of Alba, in order to attempt to procure the release of Dr. Storey. I now hear that they took him to-day to be tried at Westminster, and they have condemned him to death in the usual way. I will say no more about it, as I have no fresh instructions to do so.

A French ship, loaded with munitions, has arrived in Scotland to aid the faithful there. This has caused great sorrow here, and these people are trying to succour their party.

The Council has sent certain interrogatories to be administered to the queen of Scotland.

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* There is in the British Museum (Cotton, Vespasian, C. xiii.) a small anonymous document in Spanish, which may be the original rough diary, from 10th to 30th May, of this man during his visit to England on this occasion. The manuscript is outside the scope of the present Calendar, but is worth attention, as are the many documents in Latin, French, and English, relating to the protracted negotiations for the mutual restoration of the property seized and for the re-opening of trade between England and Spain, which will be found in the British Museum, Cotton, Galba, iii., iv., v., and vi.; Cotton, Vespasian, C. vii., C. xiii., &c. All the more important Spanish manuscripts in the above-mentioned volumes (of the dates covered by this Calendar) will be found in the present volume.

† The cipher was subsequently discovered hidden under the roof-tiles of the duke of Norfolk's house, besides which Charles Bailey, the bearer of the letters, divulged under torture the heads of their contents. *See* State Trials (Duke of Norfolk).

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I suspect that the closing of the ports here was done partly to prevent news of the intentions of the pirates being taken abroad. They have now left Dover, to do what injury they can in Flanders.

I had written thus far when I decided to convey to the Council the enclosed remonstrance. Cecil replied that an answer should be sent after the Queen and Council had been consulted, as had been done previously, but he was much surprised that the Duke and I should intercede for an Englishman.—London, 27th May 1571.

256. Statement of the last conversation which the DUKE OF FERIA had with HENRY COBHAM at the Escorial, Friday, 8th June 1571. Drawn up by the DUKE himself with his Secretary.

On the 8th of June, Henry Cobham arrived at the Escorial to take leave of his Majesty. He went straight to the duke of Feria's residence, and the latter at once conducted him to the King. Cobham said he greatly wished that they would tell him, or give him in writing, the answer that his Majesty was sending to the Queen, as it was customary to do this in England with those who came from foreign princes. The Duke replied that his verbal message had been answered verbally, and that the Queen's letter was being replied to by a letter from his Majesty, and he had never seen any other way of doing it than this, as it did not seem fitting that the King should discuss matters with him which he himself had not verbally broached in the Queen's name, and which she, in her letter, had not said were to be discussed with him. He was silent at this, but afterwards said that he should be very pleased if he was the bearer of the King's decision to recall Don Guerau de Spes. The Duke replied that he thought it better that he should not mention the matter to the King, as the Queen had not touched upon it in her letter; but the reasons given for complaining against Don Guerau were neither just nor true, as he and the duke of Alba were charged with having been the first to adopt reprisals, which was notoriously false, as he (Cobham) and all the world knew. If the King admitted this cause of complaint it would be blaming the wrong person. He, the duke of Feria, knew well that the ambassador had not written a word on the matter to the King, although he did not recollect exactly what the duke of Alba had written. To prove, however, to the Queen what a good servant of hers he was, and how true an Englishman, he, the duke of Feria, would undertake to forward this matter and to try to carry out the Queen's wishes, but that on no account was he, Cobham, to speak about it to the King. This he promised, and they then arrived in his Majesty's presence, when Cobham kissed hands and took his leave without saying anything about business. He afterwards returned to the Duke's lodgings to dinner, and again pressed for the recall of Don Guerau, without saying anything of the appointment of a successor. He also said that he should like to bear a plainer answer about trade, and made some show of grief

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that no answer had been given to him that he could grasp. The Duke told him that if he liked, they two, as a couple of good Englishmen, might settle the whole business. He replied that he would very gladly do so, and said that he had powers from his mistress for that purpose. The Duke said that they could commence the discussion of the matter at once, and as he, the Duke, had taken upon himself the risk of breaking the ice, Cobham should now begin. He opened the matter by again desiring to blame us for making the first reprisals, to which the Duke replied in accordance with the facts, and after having debated the matter for some time, said that, as that was not a point of any importance as regards the settlement desired, it might be placed on one side and the other points dealt with. Cobham was satisfied with this, and we then entered on the subject of the restitution. Cobham at once unhesitatingly said that he would promise that restitution should be made, and the Duke then replied that, if this was done, he would promise that trade should be reopened as before; but that, if restitution did not come first, it was impossible to prevent the arising of consequences which might again disturb trade in future. He (Cobham) asked through whom could negotiations be carried on upon the subject, as the Queen was vexed with Don Guerau and, on no account, would she treat with him; wherein, he said, she was quite right, as it was a question of honour. The Duke pretended not to understand the last allusion, but said the King had referred the matter to the duke of Alba, both on account of his personal merits and because he had always been attached to the Queen. Cobham replied that the Queen was not very well satisfied with the Duke, because when he arrived as governor in the States he did not send to salute her. The duke of Feria replied to this showing him how light a matter it was, Cobham insisted that the Queen should be treated with all gentleness and courtesy, and this, he said, had not been done. He said that at the conclusion of these affairs it would be well to send a person to ratify old alliances and treaties, although these last words were said under his breath. The Duke replied that he was astounded to hear him say that the Queen had not been treated with due respect and courtesy, for, although she had taken the King's money and the ships and property of his subjects, whom she had imprisoned; although she had allowed her country to become the common shelter of all the rebels and enemies against the King and as many pirates as chose to call themselves so, whose object was to injure the King's dominions; and notwithstanding the King's letter to her begging for a remedy to these evils, and the despatch of Chapin Viteli and others for the same purpose, the Queen had never replied except in the vaguest possible way. If the King had not been the most prudent and considerate prince, he would have turned upon her, but the King saw that he had no interest in quarrelling as he had no claim to her country, and no need for it, although if he had had, it was once in his own hands, during which time he did nothing but save lives, restore properties, countermand banishments, return offices and dignities to Englishmen who for their offiences had been deprived of them, and out of his own means help and sustain them. If the Queen herself would

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recall that time to mind, she would recollect that she herself had no small share in these benefits, and she well knew that the duke of Feria was a witness thereof. The Queen on her side, had no claim to the King's dominions, and the friendship between the crowns was so ancient and the connexion between their respective subjects so desirable, that the King was loath to make any movement on the provocation given him, but considered it as the ill-advised actions of a lady, whose eyes he trusted would be open some day or another to the knowledge that the affairs of her realm were not so stable as they might be, and that she had not so many friends abroad, apart from the King. The French and English knew each other and the sovereigns of the two countries had mutual claims which would for ever prevent them from being good friends, besides which the nations themselves were naturally antagonistic, and had done and received injuries so recently that it is too much to hope that they would soon be condoned. The Emperor cannot be expected to think otherwise than he does of the country after having been tricked in the way he was about the Archduke's marriage. The Duke said they knew already what the Pope's feelings were, and the German princes would come and help her if she had plenty of money with which to pay them, but not otherwise, whilst he well knew that, unless they had discovered some new gold and silver mines in England since he was there, the Queen's purse was none too heavy that she should undertake the expenditure incurred by a sovereign who quarrelled with his neighbours. He, the Duke, said he spoke with so much plainness and freedom about these matters, because he was truly sorry to see the English going so far astray, and carrying on negotiations which they thought were deceiving others, whilst they themselves were really the persons deceived. Cobham replied to this that it was true that things were said in England which were related differently here, and that the Queen had been much angered about Stukeley. The Duke said that he had told him that that matter was simply absurd, and that when the King was going to open such a ball as that it would not be with a partner like Stukeley. He, Cobham, replied that a very small spark would set a kingdom in a blaze, and that Stukeley was a turbulent man with considerable connexions, and the Duke could not deny that he had asked the King for ten thousand men, and Julian (Romero) and other captains. The Duke answered that those ideas came from an Irish Archbishop who had come hither, and was, out of charity, at first entertained by the King, but who afterwards began with his lies and inventions and was sent away. Cobham was silent at this, and again turned to the matter of sending some person, as was customary between princes who wished to agree. The Duke replied that it was not necessary in this case as there was neither territories to restore nor claims to reconcile, but only money and goods belonging to merchants, and that a deputy or two, appointed by the merchants themselves, could agree upon the matter, although it would be well that after this restitution had been made, the reopening of trade and other matters he had mentioned. should be dealt with by a gentleman to be sent by the King, the Queen on her side sending

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another hither, which two gentlemen might remain respectively as ambassadors, and Don Guerau recalled at the Queen's desire. The Duke said that he, Cobham, should endeavour to arrange that the person who might come hither should be one that would be likely to please the King, and he, the Duke, would undertake in the same way that a fitting person should be sent to England. After thinking a little, Cobham said that the man who was sent should not embroil the question of religion; but the Duke would not let him proceed for fear he should blurt out some impertinence, and told him that the man who went would have to live like all other ambassadors, who had hitherto gone thither, and the man who came here would do like his predecessors, and not cause scandal as John Man did by his imprudence after he, the Duke, had warned him not to mix himself up in religious matters. He was told that he would only be permitted to act as his predecessors had done, but took no notice of this, and ran his head against a brick wall. The Duke asked him, Cobham, to recollect that we never made any innovations or alteration in our religion, and did not ask them to do so. What we were yesterday we are to-day, as we have been the last ten, twenty, and a hundred years past, and should for ever be. He pointed out to him the calamities and misfortunes they, the English, had suffered since they had began to make these changes, which could not be justified by any law, human or divine.

Not another word was said; Cobham dined, slept, and afterwards returned to the Duke's. He was then with the Duke and Duchess for a long time, very downcast and without saying a word about affairs, indeed, appeared designedly silent for long periods together. At last he rose to take his leave, and the Duke, having to go up to the monastery* to see the King, mounted on horseback and accompanied him along the country for a time, trying to return to the colloquy, but always without success. Cobham asked about the conclusion of the league, about the special concessions which the Pope had granted to the King, about the kingdom of Granada, and the revenue which the King derived therefrom. He was astounded at the great sum of money which the Duke told him could be obtained from all sources, and said that he had pondered much upon the fact that, whilst Don Juan was the general of the league, his lieutenant should be Marco Antonio Colonna, a subject of the King. He asked what Spaniards had gone to Italy, to which the Duke replied that those who had been engaged in the war at Granada, about twenty thousand men, had gone. He asked when the duke of Medina was going to Flanders, and if the duke of Alba was over eighty years of age. The Duke replied that Medina would go shortly, and that the duke of Alba was not eighty but about fifty-five although looked much older than his years.†

257. Fragment of Letter without date. To Guerau de Spes (probably from Zayas).

The letter which Cobham takes for you is written plainly (*i.e.*

* The palace of the Escorial is, and always has been, called the royal Monastery of San Lorenzo.

† He was 63 at the time.

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not in cipher) so that if he should open it, as it is piously to be expected that he will, he shall find nothing offensive. He is very artful, but he has been easily seen through, and it is clear that the principal reason of his coming has been to delay the business as much as possible. He would therefore like to enter into interminable pros and cons, and shows no desire to return, although he professed to have. His Majesty would have liked to get rid of him at once but, as I say in the open letter, the reason why he has not been sent away earlier is that we have been busy with the departure of the princes. We now send him off with a few general words about his Majesty's wish to preserve friendship, and referring in all other matters to the letter he takes for his mistress, which is a long one, justifying ourselves on all points, and with so much regard for the dignity of our master that I think you will be pleased with it. A copy shall be sent to you at once by way of Flanders by a special courier, together with a copy of the Queen's letter to his Majesty, and a minute relation of all that has passed with Cobham from his arrival until his departure on Monday the 11th of June. He went on hired mules as far as Burgos, as he was unwell, but will take post when he finds himself fit for it, which I have well provided for in his passport. I have thought well to advise you of this by him, in case he should arrive before our post and you should have a general report of what has happened pending the arrival of the aforementioned detailed statement. If he should mention in London that he was not given a lodging and received no chain or other present, he will simply say what is true, because, the question having been well considered, it was not thought advisable to give him either, as he neither came for peace nor war, in which cases it is usual to give presents to envoys. He came under false pretences with hidden threats, as you will see when you receive the copy of the Queen's letter, and it would have appeared weakness on our part to do anything of the sort for him, as it would have looked as if we were afraid. I think it well to let your Lordship know this and refer you on principal points to the despatch which will leave shortly. The present letters are being entrusted to Cobham to show confidence in him. We have heard that Count Ludovic and the bastard of Brederode were ready to sail with more than sixty ships and six thousand harquebussiers, besides artillery, for the purpose of doing something wonderful in our Indies.

15 June. **258.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

George Fitzwilliams* arrived to-day from your Majesty's Court, greatly desiring to see the queen of Scotland, with some rings which he had of hers from the duchess of Feria and Thomas Stukeley, and he communicated with me certain matters he had discussed with Zayas and the duke of Feria, respecting the service which John Hawkins offers to render to your Majesty with fourteen ships of the fleet, and other ships if necessary. All this matter has been dealt with honestly both by Fitzwilliams and Hawkins. I have put Fitzwilliams into communication with the queen of Scotland,

* George Fitzwilliams was a relative of the duchess of Feria, she being a daughter of Sir William Dormer.

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on the pretext of asking her for letters of favour for him to your Majesty, entreating for the freedom of the English in Seville, and with the same excuse, he has been given leave by this Queen to return to Spain. As I have no orders from your Majesty about this, I have not cared to accept any offers from him or enter into particulars with him or Hawkins, nor have I prevented his returning to Spain, knowing well that if it were your Majesty's wish to punish these people here and bring this country into subjection to the Catholic Church, it will be a good step to make use of English ships both to occupy Ireland, take possession of English ports, to burn the Queen's fleet, and assail the pirates who infest the channel, and who are now ready to leave for Rochelle. The task is an easy one, and opportune from all points of view. Your Majesty will consider it and act for the best. M. de Zweveghem and Thomas Fiesco are still here discussing with the English commissioners the question of the caution money, in the hope that other points may be settled and that some day or other the English may be got to restore what little is left. The matter is being greatly delayed, as they would not enter into the question of restitution until they learn the result of Cobham's journey, and whether your Majesty was so offended as there was reason to fear you would be. They think that recent events* will cause some coolness between your Majesty and the French, and this is their great hope, for they will not accept the marriage with Anjou, excepting as a last resource, although the king of France's fall and illness make them more anxious. The people in the part of Ireland nearest to Spain have rebelled and have expelled the Governor John Parret. The Queen's friends are prevailing in Scotland.—London, 15th June 1571.

20 June. **259.** The KING to GUERAU DE SPES.

Your letters of 23rd, 25th, 27th, and 30th April were received together on the 22nd May. There is little to say to you about the coming of Henry Cobham and his errand, beyond a statement which is sent to you containing details of his proposals and my reply thereto. All this is sent for your information, so that, in case you should be spoken to there on the matter, you may reply to the same effect. If nothing is said to you, you will not open the subject, as the less discussion we have with such people as these, the better it will be in all respects. You will, however, cautiously endeavour to discover what statements are made by Cobham, and how the Queen takes my reply. You will advise me and the duke of Alba of this. Although the principal reason, as we judge, of the coming of this Cobham was to delay the treaty for restitution and put off the matter, and we suppose that M. de Zweveghem will not have settled anything, still if, by chance, he should have been able, with the aid of Thomas Fiesco, to come to any terms, you will give us full particulars thereof, with a complete statement of the monies, goods, and merchandise actually in existence, which we may hope to recover. You will also send a statement of the merchandise seized from the Portuguese, as I

* *i.e.* The settlement of religious differences in France and the rise of Huguenot party.

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should be pleased for them also to be recovered. You did right to send me the copy of your reply to the King (of Portugal), as you will be also to serve him and help his subjects, wherever you can.

Roberto Ridolfi has not arrived here, and if the particulars of his errand have got wind it is greatly to be feared that it will be the death blow for the queen of Scotland and the duke of Norfolk, as it may be considered certain that, if she of England learns of it, she will make it an excuse to wreak her ill-feeling on them, and with ample cause. We are still not without suspicion that the whole thing may have been an invention of hers, with this very object. You will be as vigilant as possible in this business, proceeding with all due caution and a close understanding with the duke of Alba.

Notwithstanding all you say about the negotiations for the marriage of the duke of Anjou with the Queen, I cannot persuade myself that there is anything in it beyond the objects aimed at in former similar negotiations. Don Francés writes the same in all his letters, especially in that of the 1st instant, where he says that, although there was very much talk about it and gold and silver stuffs and other adornments were being bought in consequence, he knew from a trustworthy source that the business is at an end. Still you will be watchful, and report what you hear.

It is most necessary that you should endeavour to learn the real truth respecting the number of ships collected by the corsairs and pirates, and what help and facilities are being given to them by the Queen; what route they take and from what port they intend to sail, and when. You will report with the necessary speed upon all this. You will also advise what you can learn of the proceedings and designs of Huggins, who has shown an inclination to serve me, and as he is, as he says, a Catholic, it is natural that I should look upon this with satisfaction.

You will also keep me informed as to what Antonio Fogaza is doing there, with whom he mixes, and in what esteem he is held; what friends and connections he has, and how you and he stand towards one another.

Certain safe conducts which have been given by you for ships and goods of private persons have been complied with, but I have told Zayas to inform you very urgently that which you will have seen in his letters. You will comply with this, as it is necessary to take this course until we see how our negotiations with the Queen end.—20th June 1571.

23 June. **260.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I have already reported the disturbances in Scotland. The hundred soldiers which the queen of England was sending thither as a guard for the Prince have been detained at the request of the French ambassador, and the marshal of Berwick had entered the country with the excuse that he desired to reconcile both parties. Both sides were convoked for a conference, where, the number of the rebels being the larger, they seized Lord Hume in the presence of the Marshal, and killed a bastard brother of the duke of

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Chatelherault, an abbot, who had been elected for archbishop of St. Andrews. The rest of the company escaped, with the loss of some few, into Lisleburg. On one of the prisoners was found a letter from Mr. Beaton, a Scotch gentleman who has been with the duke of Alba and in the court of France, setting forth the distrust existing there with regard to sending the aid to them from France, and the cold replies which the Queen-mother had given, advising the Scots to endeavour to obtain the help of your Majesty. This letter has been brought here.*

The queen of Scotland is more closely kept than ever, and the bishop of Ross is well guarded in one of the Bishops' houses.

By a courier who arrived yesterday from France I have learned that the Queen-mother writes to her ambassador in her own hand, saying that the clauses sent thither respecting the duke of Anjou's marriage left much to be desired, but that the English ambassador was coming to her, and she hoped he would have power to moderate them.—London, 23rd June 1571.

29 June. **261.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

Certain servants of the French ambassador here and the English ambassador in France have arrived with news that M. L'Archant, captain of the guard of the duke of Anjou, is coming here with Guido Cavalcanti to settle difficulties with regard to the matrimonial treaty, on the understanding that, if things go well, the conclusion shall be carried through by the coming here of the duke of Montmorenci and others. There are therefore great hopes that it will be arranged, although doubts still exist as to whether the Queen will ever marry. The members of the Council who are Protestants are much exalted at this, together with the promises made by the duchess of Vendome and the Admiral, and they think, already, that the States of Flanders will fall into their hands. They believe that the Christian King will help them powerfully towards this, for the sake of the Duke, his brother, and these hopes prevent the French from interfering in Scotland or saying a word in favour of the Queen, who is now much oppressed; excepting in a very lukewarm way, through the ambassador here. The English, instead of settling with the commissioners from the duke of Alba, are proceeding so tardily and even deceptively, that they have sent three commissioners to the west country to sell a certain part of the merchandise there, and find out whether there is any money amongst it, and it is announced that the Queen has made a grant of all the proceeds to the earl of Leicester. Some of the pirates are in the Downs, and some off the Isle of Wight, supplying themselves with victuals. It was said that most of them were going to Rochelle, but the weather has been unfavourable to them for the last six weeks. I will report to your Majesty what happens, and now

* Andrew Beaton had been sent early in the year by the Papal Nuncio in Paris with a large sum of money for the queen of Scots (140,000 crowns), which he conveyed with letters from Ridolfi to his mistress, and thence returned to Paris, where, with his brother the bishop of Glasgow, he represented the Queen's cause. Full particulars of his movements are given in the depositions of the bishop of Ross in the State Trials—Duke of Norfolk. The letter referred to here was used at Norfolk's trial.

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enclose the printed book of what has been done in this Parliament. In it will be seen things against the Roman Church and the English absentees, and in defence of the title of this Queen, all of them very strange and many of them contrary to international treaties, which treaties have not been confirmed by Parliament before it closed, contrary, it is said, to the usual custom.—London, 29th June 1571.

12 July. **262.** GUERAU DE SPES to ZAYAS.

B. M., *Add.* 26,056*b*. Transcript. [EXTRACT.]

The bad conscience of these people and their bitter malignity prevent them from ever doing anything good. I care little what they may say of me personally, the more especially as his Majesty is so prudent a prince and knows so well the humour of these people with all their tricks and artifice, for truly it is needful to be for ever on the watch with more eyes than Argus to guard against them. As all of Lord Burleigh's jests have turned out well for him hitherto he is ready to undertake anything and has no fear of danger. They and the French together make great fun of our meekness, and in order to arouse the indignation of the French ambassador they told him that the house of M. de Fourquevault had been assailed in Spain. La Mothe asked me whether I knew anything about it, and I answered that it could not be anything of which Fourquevault could complain, seeing the close friendship existing between our King and his Christian Majesty.*

I may say that I am in pawn here, but I have no doubt my tribulation will be borne in mind by his Majesty who will recollect that I am not a rich man, and should not lose in his service, but quite the contrary. Up to the present time I am much out of pocket.

In any case I will serve him in such a way as to prove my goodwill and determination that he shall be acknowledged everywhere for the great Prince he is, and his interests respected by friends and enemies alike, but, as I have said, one must dissemble here and at times be a very Proteus. I will, however, try to bring due punishment on the heads of these people for their insolence.—London, 12th July 1571.

12 July. **263.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

I received yesterday your Majesty's letter of the 20th ultimo, with copies of that sent to you by this Queen, the reply of your Majesty thereto, and statements of what had passed with Henry Cobham at your Court. Cobham arrived here on the 6th, and his letter and verbal statement have made the Queen very sad, and Lord Burleigh not over boastful, as they are more alarmed than they were. Nothing has been said to me from the Queen, and Cobham's visit to me was very short. He brought another pensioner with him, as a witness, and did not enter into business matters at all. He said that they were pressing Englishmen in Spain more than usual to submit to the Catholic Church, to which I replied that

* Raymond de Pavie Sieur de Fourquevault had accompanied Elizabeth of Valois to Spain as French ambassador in 1560, and had remained there. He had commanded Hume Casle in Scotland under Mary of Lorraine, and accompanied Monluc on his mission to Ireland.

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there could not be very many English there whom they could oppress as they were all Catholics. He well sees that he has been treated in conformity with his sinister object, whereat all your Majesty's servants in this country rejoice exceedingly.—London, 12th July 1571.

12 July. **264.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

B. M., *Add.* 26,056*b*. Transcript.

There is no doubt at all that Ridolfi's affair is serious, both on his own account and also because of the queen of Scots, the duke of Norfolk, earl of Arundel, and lord Lumley, being concerned therein. It will be extremely advantageous for the restitution of the Catholic religion in this country, the change of government and the safety of the Netherlands. It was a most extraordinary piece of good fortune to save the packet taken by Carlos, the bishop of Ross' servant, which Ridolfi unsuspiciously entrusted to him at Brussels, knowing that he was the Bishop's secretary. It was written in a difficult cipher, and Carlos took an alphabet with him in order the more easily to decipher it in future. All of this was recovered through me by the good offices and help of Thomas Cobham before lord Burleigh heard of it, and another packet was made up with the same cipher characters; Burleigh has had a secretary at work upon it for days and has sent copies to France and Italy, but without effect for there is nothing in it. They are trying to cajole Carlos by means of the good Dr. Storey. This Queen had some idea that Ridolfi was writing to certain personages here and that the duke of Alba was going to send aid to the queen of Scots, but Carlos did not declare who these personages were for he did not know. I have no doubt I shall be able to throw them still further off the scent. The Queen has had the lawyers consulted about it, but cannot inculpate the duke of Norfolk. I was informed of her intention by one of the lawyers and that they can get no further than a general suspicion, which will put them on the alert for the future as to who communicates with the queen of Scots. The bishop of Ross is a prisoner although he can be communicated with and is, so to speak, master of the house where he is confined. This Queen, however, will make him suffer when she has a chance for this suspicion about Ridolfi. I heard from Rome that his Holiness thought very well of Ridolfi's proposal, and the latter will no doubt ere this have fully informed your Majesty of everything. I expect also Fitzwilliams will have arrived in Madrid. I have had no intelligence that casts any doubt upon him or his proposals. He and Hawkins have always been looked upon as Catholics, and Hawkins is ambitious and expects to rise to great things if the Government here is changed and he serves your Majesty. This, I think, is his motive for entering into such affairs, which may result in great profit, particularly if he allows your Majesty's soldiers to out-number Englishmen in the ships. The only fear is lest Burleigh himself may have set the matter afoot* to discover your Majesty's feelings, although I have seen nothing to make me think this; but Hawkins and Fitzwilliams were very busy with Burleigh about the

* This was actually the case.

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going of Fitzwilliams to Spain, and Burleigh asked me to give him a letter of recommendation in favour of the liberation of the English prisoners in Spain.—London, 12th July 1571.

13 July. **265.** The KING to GUERAU DE SPES.

I have learned of the present position of affairs in England by letters from you that Zayas has shown me, dated 11th June, and copy of yours to the duke of Alba. It is most necessary, especially now, that you should continue to report by every possible way the progress of the pirates, their designs, and the understandings they have in France, England, and the Netherlands; how Hawkins is behaving, what he is doing, where he is, how many ships he has, their quality and burden, and whether he has spoken to you in a way which proves that he will serve me loyally if he is welcomed and favoured. Roberto Ridolfi arrived here and gave me your letter of the 25th March, and those of the queen of Scotland, the duke of Norfolk, and a brief from his Holiness, exhorting me to embrace the business with which he is entrusted. As I most sincerely desire the success of this, not for my own interests or for any other wordly object, but purely and simply for the service of God, the welfare of religion and the happiness of the queen of Scotland and the Catholic party, I am discussing the matter with the hope of doing what is fitting and possible with all goodwill, and I will resolve very shortly. You may convey this information cautiously to the Catholic party, urging them to remain firm and in good hope, enjoining them strictly to secrecy. It may be that when they learn this and finding themselves so oppressed and ill-treated in England, with indignation and thirst for vengeance, they may want to break out prematurely, and take up arms before the time, but you must warn them that on no account must they make any movement until things are duly matured and arranged, as otherwise they will run the same risk as the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland did, and the business itself will be ruined for ever, and the queen of Scotland immediately sacrificed, as well as all the rest of them that can be captured. I have therefore sent this special courier to the duke of Alba who will forward you this letter. The Duke will instruct you on other points, and you will proceed in conformity with his orders with great care, dexterity and all the vigilance which so great a business demands. It has been thought well that the said Ridolfi himself should inform the queen of Scotland, the duke of Norfolk, and the bishop of Ross of the details of the reception that he has met with from me, urging them not to move prematurely, and he therefore does so in the form which you will see by his cipher letters, copies of which are sent addressed to the bishop of Ross.* You will have the packet delivered to him with the utmost secrecy, and advise me of the receipt. A courier will presently go to the Duke with the decision as to what is to be done in the future, and he will take a letter for you with him.—San Lorenzo, 13th July 1571.

*As will have been seen, the capture of Charles Baily, coming from Ridolfi, in Brussels, to England, and his declarations under torture, had discovered the plot before these letters reached England,

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14 July. **266.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

In my former letters I reported what had happened since the arrival here of M. de L'Archant and his return. I also advised the arrival of Henry Cobham, and the profound silence regarding your Majesty's reply which had been observed on the part of the Council. Montmorenci and other French gentlemen are expected, and if they are not in accord about the marriage, at least they will try to agree about the league to assail the Netherlands.

The marriage will not be broken off by the French, because it will cause very little trouble to them to change the forms of their religion, and in the end they will do as the Queen wishes, but many people still doubt that the Queen herself will decide to marry. She has around her Councillors so inimical to the peace of Christianity and the security of the Catholic faith that for this object they will run any risk, as may be seen in the affronts they are bold enough to offer to your Majesty without cause, to the damage and loss of your subjects. This is a subject which it is needful for your Majesty to weigh well, seeing how important it is for the future tranquillity of the Netherlands, which country these people think they are going to get as a marriage gift. I will report all that happens with the needful promptness and care.

The pirates have been forced by contrary winds to put back to this coast, and I am now informed that they were again setting sail for Rochelle, where perhaps they think to do more against the Indies than against the Netherlands. The forces they have are not large to attack territories with, but amply sufficient to assail the fleet from the Indies, and do some damage to badly protected places. They are arming three or four more pirates here, and they have recently brought to the downs two valuable smacks and another with fish, for there is not much left in the Channel now to steal.

Thomas Fiesco says that he has almost managed to pacify the English merchants who deal in Flanders, with regard to the prices of their cloths and other goods, but with those who trade with Spain, who for reasons which I have explained to your Majesty are asking for a great deal more than was taken from them, he is not yet in accord, as he can only get a reply after much delay. It was arranged to agree with regard to the valuation of the property of your Majesty's subjects, but they have not yet begun. All these are difficult points when dealt with by English commissioners and Councillors, naturally greedy, and in this case interested in the matter itself. I cannot therefore say for certain whether even they will come to the agreement which is now under discussion, unfavourable and unjust as it is for us. I should rather be inclined to believe not, and that if any terms be made at all, they will be more unfavourable to us than those we thought were already agreed upon in Flanders. I send a detailed balance of what merchandise still exists of ours.—London, 14th July 1571.

19 July. **267.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

The pirates are delaying their departure for Rochelle, although Count Ludovic is urging them to go, and some few have left. I have just received news that three ships and a pinnace armed in

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Denmark have arrived in Dover, the captains of which are respectively John Sibarson, Jacob Simonson, Dietrich Cleys, and one Ville who, to judge from their names, should be Netherlanders. They bring an order from the prince of Orange that all pirates, under pain of death, shall gather at Rochelle and place themselves under the command of the Count. The Council here does not wish for all of them to go, as the port is well guarded by them and they have been recently supplied with seventeen fresh guns and a great quantity of ammunition.

The gathering of the ships under Ludovic is either for the purpose of going to the Indies, or else in order that he may raise his infantry and return in full strength to Flanders. It is more likely that the destination will be the Indies, although, in any case, he must get his troops in Rochelle as there is not the slightest sign of any being raised here. Brederode has had an interview with the Council here, but he seems to have gone back to the ships in poor health and with little stomach for fighting.

There are seventeen sail of pirate ships in the Downs and at Dover, as well as some at the Isle of Wight. They go ashore now more impudently than ever, banqueting with the Queen's officers. It is said that the king of Portugal's ships have captured an English vessel called the "Castle of Comfort" on her way to the Indies.

Although the Queen's favourites say how little desirous she is of concluding the marriage, yet demonstrations are still made that it will come about. The only person who is earnest in his efforts to this end is Lord Burleigh, who thinks in this way to undo the earl of Leicester, and in case he should fail in the French business, he is plotting to elevate the Hertford people, and with this object is persecuting the friends of the queen of Scotland, having recently cast into the Tower the second son of the earl of Derby and a Catholic gentleman named Garret, because they are powerful in the country where the Queen is detained, and some suspicions were recently afloat that they were endeavouring to release her.

Englishmen are going to Scotland three or four at a time to gradually reinforce their friends there, but the French are shutting their eyes to it all with the hope of bringing about this marriage; although the Queen, it is said, has written to the Christain King, saying that she could take no husband who has not the goodwill of the Protestants in whom her principal strength lies. They expect to bring round the duke of Anjou entirely to their religion if he comes here, or to keep this point open, so that they may be able to break off the affair if it suits them to do so. When the gentlemen from France come (if they are to come, which I doubt), we shall see better what are the aims of both parties, which in any case certainly will not be favourable to your Majesty's interests.—London, 19th July 1571.

4 Aug. **268.** The King to Guerau de Spes.

By my letter of the 14th July you will have learned what had occurred up to that date respecting the errand of Roberto Ridolfi. Since then, I have fully discussed all the details which presented

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themselves, with the care and consideration demanded by the importance of the matter. In the result, after carrying the whole question before Almighty God, whose cause it is and in whom we confide for the guidance and direction of this affair better than human prudence can attain or understand, since all the object is directed purely and simply to His glory and service and the advantage of His holy Catholic faith, I have resolved to adopt the course which you will learn from the Duke of Alba, to whom I write respecting it at great length. In conformity therewith and the orders that he may give you, you will proceed in the business with the discretion, dexterity, mildness, and cleverness which we expect of you, keeping in close communication with the Duke, and carrying out minutely all he may order, this being my will.—San Lorenzo, 4th August 1571.

5 Aug. **269.** The KING to GUERAU DE SPES.

By your letters and from what Zayas tells me you have written to him, I have been informed of everything that has happened in London up to the 29th of June. There is little to say until we see what was the result of the reply taken by Henry Cobham, who, as we understand, arrived there on the 9th July, although really I have small hope that the Queen or her friends will ever of their own accord come to the point of restitution or any other good thing. But, at all events, we will await the reply, which cannot now be long delayed.

From your letters and those of Don Francés de Alava, I learn that the negotiations for the marriage of the Queen with the duke of Anjou are still being warmly discussed, but truly, I cannot persuade myself that there is any sincerity in them, but that the whole object is to entertain with vain words and wishes both her own subjects and the French. Still it is very desirable and necessary that you should be vigilant in trying to learn all that happens from both sides, giving me advice of the same with all due minuteness.

Fitzwilliams has arrived here with the reply to the Articles of Agreement which he had taken to John Hawkins. We are discussing the reply with him in order to satisfy ourselves as to whether there is anything in it or not. If there be, and Hawkins behaves straightforwardly, there is no doubt that he would be of great service, but many confirmatory proofs are needful before we can be convinced of this. You shall be informed of the decision. arrived at in due time, and, in the meanwhile, if Hawkins speaks to to you, you may tell him only that you have heard of the arrival of Fitzwilliams here.

The necessary measures have been taken here in the matter of Bayon, and Dr. Nuñez, in conformity with your advices. If you think that anything should be done in Flanders in respect of the connections which Dr. Nuñez had there you will advise the duke of Alba in order that he may take such steps as he may consider necessary.

The death, or rather martyrdom, of Dr. Storey was, I see by the statement you send, so firm and faithful in the Catholic religion

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that it is a subject of gratitude to God that He has still preserved such men as this in England, since by means of them, hopes may be entertained that the true religion may yet be restored there. Having respect to the need and trouble in which I was informed Storey's wife was at Louvain, where she lives, I have ordered the Duke to make the necessary provision for the maintenance of her and her children.

The book you sent of what had been done in Parliament was received. You did well in sending it, and you will continue to send all such information as you can obtain. The general cipher having been so long in use and having passed through so many hands, we think it is time it was changed, particularly as Don Francés suspects that it has been tampered with. We consequently send you a new one, of which you will acknowledge receipt as we cannot use it until we know you have received it.—San Lorenzo, 5th August 1571.

5 Aug. **270.** Guerau de Spes to Zayas.

B. M. [Extract.]
Add. 26,056*b*.
Transcript.

On the 4th instant, at two o'clock in the night, a great arch of fire appeared in the heavens here, according to the statement of the large number of people who saw it. It lasted two hours, and then broke up into many parts. Neither I nor any of my people saw it, but, as it was witnessed by 500 persons, I believe the statement, although I do not mention it to his Majesty. You may imagine how disturbed these Londoners are at it, as they are so timid and greedy of wonders.—London, 5th August 1571.

8 Aug. **271.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

The determination of your Majesty to aid the release of the queen of Scotland and favour the gentlemen who aim at converting this country to obedience to the Catholic Church, rescuing it from the tyranny and bad government which now afflict it, is so godly and just as was to have have been expected from your Majesty's magnanimity and nobleness. By this means, too, it is to be hoped that the insults and robberies committed in defiance of your Majesty will be justly punished and stopped for ever. I should at once have set about conveying the letters to the bishop of Ross, the queen of Scotland, and the duke of Norfolk, but for the strict orders given to me by the duke of Alba to await further orders from your Majesty in answer to a despatch which he had specially sent to you, and although it is a pity to lose this time, especially as Burleigh and Leicester are continuing to oppress and almost to destroy the Catholics, I will detain the letters as the Duke orders, and the time thus lost may perhaps be made up by sending another courier with great speed. The spirits of the Catholics are high, but as your Majesty well knows, the character of these people makes it necessary to take advantage of their ardour without leaving them much time to put their heads together for re-discussion. If the opportunity is lost this year I fear that the false religion will prevail in this island in a way that will make it

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a harsh neighbour for the Netherlands. At present these people here are without commanders, with no good soldiers, with but little money, discontented, divided, and convinced that the queen of Scotland is their natural ruler.

Very far from believing that after some sort of restitution is made such as that which has been discussed for so long and so disadvantageously with your Majesty's officers, all the ill-will of these heretics against your Majesty will disappear, as well as their hopes of overturning the Indies and the Netherlands, I make bold to affirm that they will grow more insolent than ever, even though they may be without allies. I know that the hearts of Leicester and Burleigh, as well as those of the Queen herself and most of her Council, are incurably bad.

It is understood that the French marriage now under discussiou is being promoted mainly by Burleigh, and notwithstanding the age and habit of the Queen, I much fear that it will be brought about, or will result in a league between the English and French to injure your Majesty's states.

The suspicions entertained here about the voyage of Ridolfi and his arrival in Rome need not trouble us much, as they know by the declaration of the prisoner Carlos,* that he is going to beg for money for Scotland, and it does not matter much what they suspect, since the blow will be struck without leaving them time for thought, as is usual with wars here.

The imprisonment of this son of the earl of Derby will be a drawback, but it will not stop the business, for the Catholics will be three to one, and with the blessing of God, in my opinion, the battle is over already, on the sole condition that aid is quietly held in readiness to be given at the first rising.

Irish affairs are now greatly helping us, as James FitzMaurice is prospering. He has taken possession of the greater part of Munster, and iniquitously (*sic*) put to the sword the best Englishmen who were there. The Viceroy, Harry Sidney, has come here, and refuses to return as they will not give him proper help, indeed, things are going so badly that the Irishmen of themselves with the advice of some Englishmen would succeed in their enterprise.

If the remedy is deferred, it is greatly to be feared that Scotland, which is at present without succour, will fall into the hands of the English, who are carrying on incessant negotiations with that end and if the Queen (of Scotland) were once put out of the world, and she is often in danger of it, the little prince, or the son of Hertford, would turn out to be a fine king for the Catholic party. All other dissensions and partialities are forgotten in this great religious question. Your Majesty will order what you consider best, and I have only to report and represent what is happening and to express my opinion of the opportunity which offers itself to do a great service to God.

I have, on many occasions advised your Majesty that a party of pirates to the number of twenty sail are near Dover continually

* Charles Baily, the Bishop of Ross' secretary.

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taking prizes. Seven are great ships, the others very small, and the men come on shore with impunity every day. They have enriched that place, the Isle of Wight, and nearly all the coast. The crews are, generally speaking, men of inferior class. The last prize taken was a French ship loaded with woad, belonging to the Michaels of Antwerp. The Council wish to keep some of these pirates here and not let them all go to Rochelle.

Mean knaves come hourly from the Netherlands to join these people, and not a ship sails that they do not know the hour of her leaving and her point of departure. There are other ships belonging to Englishmen, which are robbing in the same way.

The rest of the pirates have gone to Rochelle, but are at present in and near Brouage. I have had a statement taken from the crew of two ships which sail from that place a fortnight ago, which says that there were at that time eighteen ships there, ten of great burden, well armed, but still unsupplied with many necessary things.

I have learned that the Queen has received a letter from the Court of France saying that the prince of Orange had failed in his promises that certain preparations would be ready at the time that these pirates were collected, so that up to the present they have done nothing but plunder; and Count Ludovic writes to the Queen that he is coming here himself. Both the rebels and the English have an infinite number of connections with the Netherlands, and the one thing they are constantly plotting and contriving is to cause disturbance there. They expect some great alliances as a result of the conference between the Admiral and the Christian King, and it is expected that M. de Foix will be here next week.

I have written to your Majesty of the great desire which Hawkins expresses to serve you, as you will also have heard verbally from George Fitzwilliams there, and I can discover nothing suspicious about it. He has gone to Plymouth taking artillery and munitions from London, leaving a person here in case I should wish to call him back, on a pretext connected with the smack which they captured of his and took to Flanders. I shall ostensibly summon him for the reply to the representation which he has asked me to make on that matter to the duke of Alba. He may render great service by manning his ships with a very few men and filling them up with others chosen by your Majesty, and the least of these services will be to catch the pirates who infest the Channel which he considers very easy. If this arrangement and that with Ridolfi could be carried through in conjunction, it would be very advantageous.

The restitution of the merchandise is being so dragged out by the English that sometimes we think that they want to delay it until the winter.—London, 8th August 1571.

18 Aug. **272.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

In my previous letters I advised your Majesty that I had delayed delivering Ridolfi's letters until I had fresh orders from your Majesty, in conformity with the instructions I had received from the duke of Alba. The Duke's orders were very precise, but it

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certainly is in my opinion most desirable that the matter should not be long delayed, for fear that feeling may change here in consequence of the turn taken in French affairs.

M. de Foix* was at Court on the 15th, with M. de la Mothe, accompanied by Lord Buckhurst and Charles Howard, attended by seventy or eighty horsemen. Foix has been exquisitely well received and lodged in the palace, where the Queen's officers entertain him very splendidly.

On the 16th he had audience and made a long speech to the effect that his King desired friendship and relationship to the royal House of England, and pointed out the advantages which would result therefrom to both countries. This was the public audience, and a committee consisting of Lord Burleigh, Keeper, Leicester, and the Chamberlain, was appointed to confer with him in secret and decide as to his business. Many people still doubt whether the Queen will marry, but it is believed that these negotiations will result in some league against your Majesty's States. I have not yet been able to discover details of what has taken place, although I have people at Court expressly to scrutinize everything.

Leicester is offered the duchess de Nevers in marriage, and an estate in France, and La Mothe and Foix have decided to give presents of jewellery to the Queen's favourites, Foix having come already provided with the jewels for that purpose.

It is of some importance to us that the French should thus be showing their hand, and it seems more desirable than ever that they should be circumvented. The matter of the pirates remains in the same condition, as previously advised, but for many months they will not be able to go in any great force to the Indies, although some private ships are undertaking the voyage.

Over eighty bronze pieces with much ammunition and a large quantity of corselets, and pikes, have been shipped for Ireland. A servant of Thomas Stukeley, who recently came from Spain, has been brought to the Tower, and has been severely tortured. I am just informed that Foix has proposed that the Queen of Scotland should be married to the duke of Vendome.—London 18th August 1571.

23 Aug. **273.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I have previously advised your Majesty that the guns from the castle and ramparts of Dover had prevented the Flemish ships from taking the twenty-four pirate vessels which were there. Twenty-two of them are now on the beach, our ships having captured the other two. The pirates have left a few of their sailors in charge of them and the captains and rest of their people have come to London. The assertions made at Court that the pirates would be arrested is not true, and the reply which Lord Burleigh gave to the Secretary, whom I had sent to complain to the Council of this insult, was that formerly Don Alvaro de Bazan had done the same thing in defending certain French vessels against the English. I shall say no more

* This was Paul de Foix who had been French ambassador in England. Cecil's letters to Walsingham and Foix's own correspondence give a full account of his mission.

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about it until I receive orders from the duke of Alba, as these people are very impertinent and, on the same day, almost dismissed Thomas Fiesco for good, rejecting the settlement which he thought he had made of the question of the Genoese money in the hands of the Queen. They threatened him, and told him that the Queen did not mean to return it for seven years to come, so that Fiesco's intention of pressing the settlement of the points still pending, relative to the restitution of our merchandise, must fall through. They dismissed Fiesco, telling him that he must prove that the Queen took the money in cash and what was the amount. Her officers refused to give any information whatever about it as they said that it was all set forth in the Treasury books. As there were still some of the people here who came with the money, Fiesco brought them with him before Thomas Gresham who, he was told, had to settle the business. I have now less hope of these people than ever, and Fiesco is of the same opinion.

The French ambassadors have been with the Queen for a week, and pass three or four hours every day with the Council. It is generally declared that the marriage will not take place, as the people have hitherto shown no liking for it, but my friends assure me that the matter is agreed upon, and that on the arrival of Marshal Montmorenci he will be assured by the Council that the duke of Anjou will be allowed to hear mass privately, although this will not be set forth in the treaty, and by this means, the Protestants here will not be disturbed, and the Christian King will be able to obtain great help from the French Catholics towards the cost of his brother's coming. I am also told that it is agreed that the Duke shall be acknowledged as King with certain limitations.

I am following the duke of Alba's orders and delaying action in Ridolfi's affair until I have received fresh instructions.

Every month there leave here four ships for Hamburg, and next month eight will sail, as during the winter months the voyage is impossible. They will carry great riches, and it would be most desirable to capture them, and so to equalise the advantage these people now have in the value of goods detained.

Whilst writing this I have received the following news, namely, that the Queen's Council is very divided because Lord Burleigh and the Keeper, his brother-in-law (who are followed by the earl of Sussex out of enmity for Leicester), are of opinion than the Anjou marriage should take place first and afterwards the negotiations for alliance should be undertaken. Leicester, the Admiral, and Knollys, are against the marriage, but in favour of making an offensive and defensive league with the French. The Queen is, so to speak, driven to the marriage, but Burleigh is so powerful in the Government that she dares not oppose him. The French ambassadors are satisfied because either arrangements will suffice for them.

An English captain has arrived from Scotland to beg in the name of the earl of Lennox for ten thousand crowns and some artillery and ammunition to batter the castle of Edinburgh.

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Huggins,* who came from Spain is the Commissioner against Stukeley's servant, whom he is having tortured. He said yesterday that the Council was seeking some means by which I might be expelled the island, but they had not yet hit upon any scheme which seemed suitable.

Huggins (Hawkins?) insists upon not fitting out his thirteen ships, and Captain Murses and Thomas Murses have promised me that they will capture either Count Ludovic or M. de Lumbres if they put to sea, and carry them to Spain. I told the man who spoke to me about it, that if they did so they would be richly rewarded, but I refused to give them letters, as they asked me, for them to be admitted into any of our ports, because if they enter with their prizes they will at once be recognised for what they are. The capture of Lumbres would greatly alarm the other pirate leaders, and I am informed that these men are quite able to do as they say.—London, 23rd August 1571.

27 Aug. **274.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

The arrangement made by M. de Foix with the Queen and Council is that the duke of Anjou should be married without either he or his household being obliged to conform to the religion of this country, and in addition to the royal title, powers are to be given to him similar to those granted to your Majesty when you were here. Foix returned from Reading, where the Queen is, yesterday, with the decision, on the understanding that they would send him afterwards a written copy of the eight clauses signed by all the members of the Council. This was brought to him by Lord Burleigh, but with an addition to the effect that neither Anjou nor his people should attend mass, as he, Burleigh, considered it open idolatry. Foix is going back to the Court to-morrow about it, and to say that he has no orders to accept this clause. Lord Burleigh told him that there would be no difficulty about arranging the league, with any securities that the French might desire, and that the duke of Anjou should not hesitate to accept these terms of marriage, as what was proposed to him would be the salvation of his soul. It may well be believed that Foix is not much displeased with the proposal, as he himself is somewhat suspected of heresy, and I believe that either the league or the marriage will be carried through. If the Duke would declare himself on the Protestant side, these people would accept him with all the greater pleasure. It appears that Foix has held out great promises of this to the Queen if the Duke once can see her.

I am also informed that Foix has been promised ten thousand pounds if he arranges this matter to the Queen's liking. He and I have visited each other without speaking of business. The duke

* This Thomas Huggins or Hogan had resided in Madrid for some years as a spy of the English Court until the defection of a messenger of his, as related in previous letters, when he escaped to England. There is a letter from him to Leicester (Cal. of S. Papers, Domestic, 26th June 1572) divulging the practices of the archbishop of Cashel in Madrid and begging to be further employed. He also solicited a grant of a lease of a portion of the sequestrated estates of Sir Frances Englefield.

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of Alba will fully inform your Majesty of what Fiesco has done. With regard to Ridolfi's affairs I will still await orders, and I will send Hawkins the reply as instructed, using in future the new cipher sent to me.—London, 27th August 1571.

30 Aug. **275.** The KING to GUERAU DE SPES.

Your letters of 12th, 14th, 19th, and 24th July received, and we are glad to hear what you say about the business which Roberto Ridolfi proposed to us, to the effect that it has been dealt with sincerely and straightforwardly, so that no suspicion need be entertained. Under this impression, and because I see that it is so well justified and so entirely directed to the service of God and the advantage of our holy and true religion, and the rescue of a princess so catholic as we consider the queen of Scotland to be, we desire anxiously that the matter may be so conducted as to successfully attain the end in view. We have therefore written, and are now again writing, to the duke of Alba directing him to take such steps and precautions as may be necessary to carry through the business effectually, and to instruct you what you are to do on your side with the same object. We order you, as we have done before, not to exceed in anything the instructions the Duke may give you, as it is necessary that in all things you should act in absolute co-operation, and with the attention, care, and diligence which the greatness of the issue demands.

Notwithstanding what you say of the proposals made by John Hawkins through George Fitzwilliams, yet there is some suspicion about it, because both of them have communicated with Secretary Cecil. We agreed that the affair should be listened to, because we knew that Hawkins with his ships might be of great service in the principal business, if he acted straightforwardly, and this was the reason that Fitzwilliams was treated with, and the conditions and terms set forth, as you will see in the cipher copy enclosed of the deed made between him and the duke of Feria, confirmed subsequently by my order, which the duke will send you with a full relation of the whole affair. He will also tell you the time and method in which you will move in both matters, and you will act as he orders, this being the course desirable for the end in view.

We are very sorry to learn that the two gentlemen you mention, both being Catholics of high position and partizans of the queen of Scotland, should have been cast into the Tower, but as the inquiries against the duke of Norfolk have not resulted in convicting him of any offence which the Queen can punish, we hope that God will help both these and the others and will give them strength and courage necessary to carry out their laudable and Christian purpose.

The negotiations for marriage between the Queen and the duke of Anjou change so frequently from day to day, that it is quite clear it is nothing but a cunning trick, although we do not doubt that if she had the slightest inkling of what we are arranging, she would conclude the marriage, however little she liked it, in order to unite her to France. You will thus see how necessary it

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is to proceed with such secrecy that nothing shall be known until after it is done, as in this consists the whole issue of the business. We are sure the Duke will so manage it that it will succeed as we desire.

There is nothing to say about the restitution, because I do not believe that the English have any attention of bringing it about, but only to enjoy the goods and money which they have in their possession. You will follow the Duke's orders, however, in this also.

It was well to report the sailing of the pilot Bartolomé Bayon, as I at once had the necessary steps taken to catch him, and advised my nephew, the king of Portugal, to capture him when he called in to take the negroes, that being the place where he can be most easily taken. We do not doubt that the Portuguese will do their best as they are much offended with him.

There is nothing fresh to say about Antonio Fogaza's affair, only that you did well to write what you think of him and the others who are treating of Portuguese affairs there, and I am glad to know that you are promoting these affairs duly.—Madrid, 13th August 1571.

7 Sept. **276.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

In former letters I have reported the arrival and dealings of M. de Foix who left here yesterday afternoon on his return to the King, carrying with him presents of plate to the value of thirteen hundred crowns and loaded with fine promises. From what I can learn of the decision he bears, it seems that the Queen insists that the duke of Anjou should not exercise the Catholic religion at all here, and they cast the blame upon the ambassador Walsingham if he has been promised otherwise. Foix might well be sure that the intention of the Queen is not to carry the marriage into effect, excepting under the most urgent necessity, but that her real aim is to gradually bring the French into the offensive and defensive league in which many of the German princes and the duke of Florence are said to have joined. By this means and with the help of the adherents they think they have in the Netherlands, they believe they can trouble the States greatly, and gradually bring the Christian King round almost entirely to Protestantism. They depend greatly upon the present Council in France, which they see now consists largely of people of their way of thinking as indeed it would appear, seeing how they have abandoned the queen of Scotland and her interests. The better to carry all this through, Lord Burleigh is going to France, and it is said will depart as soon as Foix's report is received from there. In the meanwhile Killigrew will go to help Walsingham in the business, and Burleigh will be accompanied by Guido Cavalcanti.

It lately happened that some money which was being forwarded to Scotland by a secretary of the duke of Norfolk was captured, as your Majesty will see in detail by the enclosed statement. The secretary is now in the Tower, and his master more closely guarded. It is said that some of the Councillors are coming to take his declaration. If they put him in the Tower it will somewhat hinder

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matters, especially now that the second son of the earl of Derby is there; but the Catholics are many though the leaders are few, and Lord Burleigh with his terrible fury, has greatly harrassed and dismayed them, for they are afraid even of speaking to each other. The whole affair depends upon getting arms into their hands and giving them somebody who shall direct them what to do, though the Protestants have as many good leaders in warlike affairs as the Catholics. The great confidence of the Protestants is that the French will come to their protection, and that between one and another they will be able artfully to contemporise without making restitution whilst they molest the Netherlands and keep their sea infested with pirates until the formation of a league allows them to undertake a war.

The Scots suspect that M. de Foix has been making mischief about the duke of Norfolk's affair, although La Mothe appears now to be favourable.

George Fitzwilliams has just arrived, and Hawkins writes me from Plymouth that he will be here presently. Fitzwilliams thought that I had already received instructions from your Majesty as to what was to be done in this business, and he expects that the instructions will shortly arrive. In the meanwhile I have told him to go to Lord Burleigh to get permission to visit the queen of Scotland, in order to endeavour to obtain the release through her of the imprisoned Englishmen (in Spain), and he is also to ask Cecil for leave to negotiate with me on the subject. I have advised the duke of Alba of this immediately, so that he may know what is passing.

M. de Lumbres is in Dover with seven ships, and he and the rest of them are preparing to continue ther robberies.

A servant of mine has just come in saying that he has met the duke of Norfolk in the street being taken to the Tower with two or three gentlemen guarding him secretly,—London, 7th September 1571.

9 Sept. **277.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

By my last letter your Majesty will have learnt that they have lodged the duke of Norfolk in the Tower, and although he was taken without a regular guard and at an unexpected hour, the concourse of people was so large and the shouts so general that a very little more and he would have been liberated, although he was very gay. It may well happen that this popularity of his amongst the common people may be of little advantage to him with the Queen.

He has two secretaries of his in the Tower with him, and Mr. Douglas, a Scotsman, was taken yesterday, and interrogated about these moneys which were being sent to Scotland, but as he did not reply to their liking they liberated him. The Florentine ambassador has been twice questioned about it. The fact is all England is much disturbed. Some suspicion exists that Foix advised the Queen to make sure for the present of the Duke, although M. de la Mothe makes great professions to the contrary, but the Scots are well informed in the matter. The French, or the

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duke of Florence, have given some information to this Queen about the objects with which Roberto Ridolfi went to Rome, as she remarked that she knew that the duke of Alba had sent to his Holiness a list of those who are on his side or on that of the duke of Norfolk. When Thomas Fiesco was taking leave of her recently she also said something about it, and although it is not credible that the duke of Florence should have mixed himself up in the business, still, after Ridolfi left Florence on his way to Spain, a Florentine named Burgiam Tadei (*sic*), who is established in Calais, left Florence by post for London, he not being a man who could afford such an expense, and on his arrival here he had a conference with Lord Buckhurst, who went to France for this Queen, and is consequently well versed in these affairs. M. de Foix was also accompanied hither by another Florentine named Alfonso Dalbene. It would be well to learn from Ridolfi if he mentioned anything about this list to the duke of Florence, or whether any hint has come from there (Madrid) or from Rome about the French or the Duke having sent such a report to the Queen.

There was a skirmish recently in Scotland favourable for the Queen's party, and under colour of this M. de Verac, the French ambassador, has been released, as well as the Scotch lord Hume. They entered the castle of Edinburgh, but, both sides being pressed, a truce was afterwards agreed to.

Your Majesty will learn from the duke of Alba the settlement which Thomas Fiesco was able to make with the commissioners. This was the best which could be done for the present, and it will be well to put into execution promptly.

Fitzwilliams has gone to Court, but he will find it difficult now to obtain leave to go to the queen of Scotland.—London, 9th September 1571.

14 Sept. **278.** The KING to GUERAU DE SPES.

Your letters of 28th July and 8th and 18th of August were received on the 7th instant, and Zayas has also told us what you have written to him. You did well in giving us full reports, and particularly as regards the good heart and firmness with which the duke of Norfolk and the queen of Scotland's friends continue. Nevertheless we approve of your not having given them Ridolfi's letters, or telling them that you had them, such being the duke of Alba's orders. This course was the best for my service and the successful conduct of the business, all details being left to the Duke for him to arrange with the zeal, devotion, and prudence which we are sure will enable him to carry it to a good issue. We again repeat that you will most precisely and punctually act in accordance with his orders, without exceeding them in the slightest degree.

The duke of Alba will inform you of the death of the duke of Feria, and of what you have to say to John Hawkins in order to assure him that the arrangement agreed upon with him shall be fulfilled without default or failing if he complies with his promises, which we hope he will, and shows in action the same goodwill with which you credit him. We are glad to hear your opinion of him,

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and you will tell him so to encourage him, but you must proceed with him in the manner and form prescribed by the Duke, whose instructions you must not overstep.

I note what you say of the great demonstration of welcome made to Foix, both in lodging him in the palace and entertaining him as they did, but, notwithstanding all this, I do not believe that the treaty of marriage between the duke of Anjou and the Queen will end in anything. It would, however, be bad enough if they were to conclude the supposed league. You will continue to report what you hear about the progress of events in Ireland, as well as what is done respecting the restitution, which, seeing how they are delaying it, we have but little hope they will carry out, or do anything else good, of their own free will.—Madrid, 14th September 1571.

20 Sept. **279.** GUERAU DE SPES to the King.

In previous letters I have reported to your Majesty the pretext under which the duke of Norfolk has been again lodged in the Tower. Lord Burleigh came on the 12th instant to interrogate him, and three secretaries of his and others of his servants, all of whose declarations were taken with much solicitude several times, but there is no rumour of Cecil's having obtained the information he expected. They do not trouble themselves much now about the money they seized, but are insisting that Roberto Ridolfi was sent to his Holiness and your Majesty. From certain words dropped by the earl of Leicester, it is suspected that they have received information of this from Florence, as I wrote to your Majesty.

They have dismissed with great severity all those who served the queen of Scotland excepting ten persons, and even her secretaries had been ordered to go away, although the Queen's exclamations and protests had prevented their departure. The Scotsman who left here with a passport for the purpose of taking some packets of letters to her, had his papers taken away from him in spite of the passport, and they were returned by Killigrew to the French ambassador, with a message to the effect that the queen of England begged he would take this action in good part, as the safety of her States had made it necessary. The Scotsman, however, saved the greater part of his packets by hiding them in a rock two leagues before he got to the place where the Queen was staying. The queen of Scotland writes that she had seen these packets and amongst them, I believe, is included the advice I sent her of the ten thousand crowns which the duke of Alba was handing to Mr. Beaton.

At the same time all travellers were stopped and their letters taken from them; amongst others they took my packet of the 12th instant, which is all in cipher, and they have been sending me messages for the last three days, saying that they will return these letters to me presently. They now confess that they have been sent to the Court, and as the man who was carrying these letters bore a regular passport, I have sent to the Court about it, and will report the reply to your Majesty. I now enclose a copy of the letter which I wrote to lord Burleigh on the subject, and also a true relation of the death of the earl of Lennox, which certainly

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has been a most successful enterprise. The whole of the queen of Scotland's enemies were captured, and the matter would have been ended there and then, but the plundering infantry was so busy robbing that the prisoners escaped, and the only one who paid the penalty of his bad government was Lennox. They have appointed in the meanwhile for governor the earl of Mar, who has the Prince in his possession, and holds the castle of Stirling, although he declines to interfere in the matter. This Earl is bringing up the Prince without any religion, or rather with the bad instead of the good one. His wife is a Catholic, but dares not, I am told, speak openly about it. One of the worst evils connected with such a bringing up is that the Prince should be fed upon such vile milk as this.

The queen of England has received M. de Lumbres very well, and helped him with money. She is trying to get the congregations of rebels also to raise funds for him, and he is getting ready to put to sea, harquebusses and ammunition being now on their way to the coast for him. It is believed that the number of pirate ships ready will be forty-four.

One of them, a Frenchman named the "Jacques de Boulogne," captured a French ship loaded with textile goods lately on its way to Spain. It is worth more than sixty thousand crowns, but they cannot get more than twelve thousand crowns offered for it at Torbay, where it is. All this property belongs to Spaniards, and, in addition to this, a hundred thousand crowns' worth of woad has recently been captured from your Majesty's subjects in French bottoms.—London, 20th September 1571.

29 Sept. **280.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

In my former letters I have advised your Majesty of the extremity in which the queen of Scotland now is, and the great difficulty she experiences in sending or receiving letters. Her life is also not safe, as is proved by a letter which was found in Scotland written by the queen of England to the earl of Lennox, directing him and his party to demand the surrender to them of the queen of Scotland in the interests of peace, to which demand the queen of England promised she would accede if she were asked, and almost commanded him to have the queen of Scotland killed when they got possession of her, but Lennox himself was killed on the very day that he received the letter. Perhaps these people will try the same thing with the new Regent.

The prosecution of the duke of Norfolk is being pushed on with great vigour, and the councillors have communicated the proceedings to the Chief Justices, without whom the Council cannot condemn him. The charges are said to consist of three points; first, that he attempted to marry the queen of Scotland against this Queen's command; second, that he provided money to the opposite party in Scotland; and, thirdly, that he had attempted to rebel with many others, with the object of receiving and welcoming the duke of Alba into this country. There appears to be no proof of the first allegation about his attempt to marry the queen of Scotland, as this Queen has ordered that charge to be

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dropped, as also that of having carried on a correspondence with the queen of Scotland. On the second charge of helping the Scots the Duke excused himself by saying that this was out of England and without prejudice to it. Of the third charge they say there is little or no proof, and the queen of Scotland was greatly enraged with the Judges when they made these charges known to her, whereupon they were much intimidated. Fresh prisoners are being taken every day to increase their evidence, and Secretary Smith and Wilson do nothing else in the Tower but this.

Lord Lumley was sent to the Tower yesterday from Richmond, where the Court is, and the earl of Arundel was ordered to remain under arrest at Nonsuch. It is said that the same course will be taken towards Lord Montague.

I learn that Lord Burleigh suggested in the Council that it would be well to send me away from here, and although he has not been able to find any handle for doing this in the proceedings he is carrying on, he says that for the sake of the Queen's safety it is necessary that I should be expelled. They are now considering the matter, although it seems that one of them said it would be better to await the return of Thomas Fiesco and the execution of the powers by the Queen for the league with the king of France, the Count Palatine, and other princes of the Empire, all of whom will be represented in France. Killigrew will leave here at once with this as Walsingham reports that the matter is favourably decided there.

There is no reply about the marriage as M. de Foix delayed a long time before he arrived at the Blois.

*Another ship loaded with sugar from Barbary belonging to subjects of your Majesty, has recently been captured,** and four other ships on their way to Brouage for salt, some of the crews of which have been thrown overboard. I have sent to report the matter to the Court, and Lord Cobham has been ordered in future to provide against such disorders. It will be all in vain, however, as it has hitherto been. I also informed them that M. de Lumay and Courvoisier are arming six war ships, and I have set forth the excesses which Winter's ships had committed at Teneriffe. Everything here is directed to your Majesty's prejudice and the injury of your subjects, with the ultimate object of causing even greater evils.—London, 29th September 1571.

13 Oct. **281.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I have not written to your Majesty since the 19th (29th?) ultimo, in consequence of the difficulty of sending letters, the English courier himself having been stopped although he carried a passport.

The French ambassador with Guido Cavalcanti had audience with the Queen last Sunday, and I am told, conveyed to her his master's thanks for the kind reception given to M. de Foix, respecting which he gave her a new letter of credence from the

* Note in handwriting of Zayas: "This is a fine way by which to expect restitution."

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King, and assured her that the duke of Anjou would accept the marriage treaty with the modification of one of the clauses which had been sent from here after M. de Foix had left, to the effect that the Duke's foreign servants, although they were ordered not to exercise any other religion here than that of this country, should not incur any personal or pecuniary punishment if they did so. He told the Queen therefore that she could now send to France the personage she had promised to send when the King should have agreed to this clause, and the whole of the questions submitted to the Council by M. de Foix could then be discussed. He then said something about the severity with which the queen of Scotland was being used, but the Queen burst into a most furious rage at this and dwelt very strongly upon the evils which she said were being brought upon this country by the queen of Scotland. She afterwards went on to speak of the plots which she and the duke of Norfolk were weaving jointly with your Majesty to turn her (the queen of England) off of her throne, and afterwards to make war on France. She screamed all this out with so much vehemence that almost everybody in the palace could hear her. She said also that she would have the king of France to know that some of the principal members of his Council were offering great sums of money to her officers to prevent the marriage of the duke of Anjou and the projected alliance; by which it is conjectured that she referred to Cardinal Lorraine. The end of it was that she promised the ambassador to let him know shortly the name of the person whom she intended to send to France, and the same night the Queen had a private interview with Cavalcanti and afterwards discussed with some of her Council the means to be adopted to get me out of the country.

On the same day also Lord Cobham and his brother Thomas were arrested at Court and lodged in the house of Secretary Bernard Hampton. Fresh prisoners are being brought to the Tower every day and Lord Burleigh and four or five other Councillors have been here for some time past taking their declarations. Yesterday the Chancellor convoked a meeting of the Lord Mayor, aldermen and principal merchants in the Guildhall, and told them to give thanks to God for having preserved them from infinite danger, as a plot had been discovered to murder the Queen which had been in preparation for the last three years, and that recently, through good friends which she had in all parts of the world, the Queen had obtained possession of a letter written by the Pope to the duke of Alba urging him to take in hand the conquest of this island, towards which he promised great help, and enclosed him a full list of all the people in this country who would co-operate with him. He said also that the Queen had obtained a copy of the duke of Alba's reply to his Majesty (Holiness ?) with a draft of the agreement to be made, the plot being to hand over the island to a certain foreign prince whose name he, the Chancellor, did choose to not mention. In order to alarm them the more he told them that six Englishmen had been captured who had agreed to set fire to the city at various points simultaneously on a certain day, with artificial fire, and at the same time to raise the people and sack the houses of the richer citizens

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He said that the plot had been mysteriously discovered, and he had no doubt that it was connected with the bills which had been found in various parts of the city lately at night, calling the apprentices to arms and denouncing the imprisonment of so many noblemen by the Council, who were characterised as tyrants. He therefore gave them this account of the need that the Queen had found to arrest the persons who were now in prison, for her own safety, the welfare of the public, and the preservation of their common religion. He advised them not to send their merchandise in future to the dominions of suspected enemies, either openly or under cover of others' names. He also set forth the endeavours that the Queen was making to satisfy the Hamburg people relative to the recovery of the plunder taken from them by the pirates. This speech was listened to with pleasure by the Protestants, although some of them and the Catholics know well that it was only a device to bring the people round to their view and incense them against your Majesty. In the meanwhile the city is being guarded strictly and no one dares to walk the streets without being obliged, the people fearing even to speak to each other.

The Queen has appointed commissioners to reconcile the Hamburg people. They have gone to Dover and have detained on the coast some of the pirates, and others who have purchased the stolen property. They have seized, in the name of the Queen, all the plunder which still remains on hand, but they confine their claims to merchandise purchased after the 4th December last, which I think was the time that cardinal Chatillon died, he having had authority granted to him for these pirates to rob in his name.

I send your Majesty copy of the letters given to the commissioners, and you will see that something is said in them about the license recently given to M. de Lumay to arm ships. He will leave shortly with five or six ships and M. de Lumbres will surrender to him the post of Admiral, as he wants to go back to France and buy a barony, he having become very rich on his spoil. Frobisher also has left, under license from the Court, with four well found ships after having given some sort of security as a matter of form.

Beside the ships captured which I recently reported, there are many more vessels seized and now in the Downs. The Portuguese property in some of them is claimed by Christmas in virtue of the letter of marque under which he has taken so much Portuguese merchandise, and he has now gone to the Downs to urge his claim. All this goes to the profit of the earl of Leicester.

The French ambassador has not yet received information as to the person to be sent by this Queen, but it is said that when Lord Burleigh can finish the process against the duke of Norfolk with which he is busy the answer shall be given. In the meanwhile they are professing great friendship for the French ambassador and Killigrew is making ready to go to France. He is a person of inferior rank but a brother-in-law of Burleigh, a badly inclined man and a strong Protestant. I sent to tell the French ambassador that ships belonging to French subjects were being captured in the mouth of the Seine daily with great quantities of merchandise,

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mostly the property of your Majesty's subjects. He replied that, besides having reported this to the Council, he had written a report of it to his King, who had answered him that he had spoken of the matter to Admiral Chatillon, and the latter had promised to exercise his authority if the King would allow him to redress the evil complained, of as regards ships taken into Rochelle and the French ports. The King had thereupon authorised him to carry out his office, but I do not believe that any redress will result from this. There are now two French war-ships off the Isle of Wight, which it is announced, are going to the Indies, the master of one is called Poitier and the other Nicolas de Lavals.

There is much mistrust here about Ireland as they see that Fitzmaurice is gaining strength every day, whilst the Queen will not find money to pay the captains that have come from there or those that are going thither.

They are coining money in the Tower with great haste from the cash belonging to your Majesty.—London, 13th October 1571.

282. Document labelled in the handwriting of Zayas as follows :—
"This contains so perfect a representation of all the matters
" brought by Ridolfi, that, without doubt, it has been
" declared by someone connected with the discussion of the
" business."

Salutem in Christo.

The godly and the evil-minded delight in opposite things ; the godly in seeking and maintaining truth, the wicked in concealing it. It follows therefore that the declaration of the truth pleases the godly and displeases the wicked. I, understanding that the majority of people at this time do not know for certain the cause why the duke of Norfolk and many others are prisoners in the Tower, and being sure that the godly will be glad to know the truth which the wicked are trying to hide and destroy, I could not conscientiously refrain from setting forth what I will now say for the satisfaction of the godly and the stopping of the lies from malicious tongues of seditious people.

First it is known that the duke of Norfolk for some years past has been negotiating for his marriage with the queen of Scotland without the knowledge of our lady the Queen.

It is also known that the queen of Scotland has been the most dangerous enemy in the world to our Queen, as she tried to deprive her of the crown immediately after the death of Queen Mary.

Item.—It is known that, when she found that strength and craft were alike powerless to compass this, she solemnly promised to acknowledge the right of our Queen to the crown as the legitimate daughter and heiress of King Henry VIII. her father, and as such, entitled to succeed her brother Edward and her sister Queen Mary, as fully as any other sovereign of England of past times, besides being a Princess so worthy for her clemency and goodness. It is also known that the queen of Scotland has not hitherto kept her promise, but has rather delayed doing so by vain excuses, nor is her promise of any value even if she did fulfil it, as no act of hers could improve the perfect title of our Queen, particularly as she, the

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queen of Scotland, could not obtain this country when she claimed it, nor keep her own in peace when she had it, besides which, no promise of hers could be looked upon as sincere but rather to be kept or broken, as she might consider desirable.

Item.—It is affirmed with probability that the queen of Scotland was the principal cause of the rebellion in the north, by means of which certain nobles, some of whom, or their ancestors, had served valiantly against the Scots, were, by the cunning of this Scots lady, seduced, to the ruin of themselves and their houses, with many other English lieges.

Item.—It is a notórious fact that our lady the Queen is far from being vindictive, and that she endeavoured to restore the queen of Scotland to her throne, and, indeed, saved her life after the murder of her husband, by promoting an arrangement between her and the King, her son, and the Governors and people of her realm, in the hope thereby to finish the civil wars which were raging in it.

Item.—It is known that the queen of Scots, when the duke of Norfolk was first arrested, renounced in writing to the Queen all ideas of marriage with him, setting forth at the same time that she herself would never have conceived the project, of which she did not approve; and the Duke himself, by means of many messages and letters to the Queen, humbly and penitently acknowledged his error in trying to marry the queen of Scots; promising faithfully under his hand and seal never to treat of the matter again or to have any future dealings with that Queen.

It is now certain that the afore-mentioned plot between the Queen and the Duke has been formed in violation of their faithful promises and renunciations, and has been continued without interruption, secretly, through badly intentioned persons during the whole time that the Duke was first in the Tower, and subsequently whilst he was arrested in his house, until the present time, when he is again lodged in the Tower.

The danger which might arise from the continuance of these secret dealings and the intention to effect this marrying against the will of our Queen is best shown by the perilous negotiations which have accompanied the plot, which negotiations have been miraculously discovered by the goodness of Almighty God, for the safety of the royal person and the welfare of the realm.

It was decided that a new rebellion should be raised near London which should take possession of the city, and whilst this was being done a great force of armed foreigners would be brought by sea from the Netherlands to one of the principal ports of this country, and the two bodies of enemies and rebels would thereupon unite with objects which I think best not to mention at present.

These plans were not only discussed but were actually reduced to writing and agreed upon, and messengers were sent beyond the sea in Lent last with full authority and writings to testify to the determination of those who were to be the leaders of this rebellion; so that, the whole arrangements being settled, were approved of there, and letters were written in all haste for the Queen (of Scots), the duke of Norfolk, and especially for that wicked priest, the bishop of Ross, who is the originator of all the Duke's calamities and the

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sower of treason in this realm. It was directed that this enterprise should be kept very secret, especially from the French, for reasons of great importance until the messenger should have gone post to Rome to the Pope for money, and to the king of Spain for orders and directions for troops and ships. The queen of Scotland, the Duke, and others, gave letters of credence to the messenger for the Pope and the king of Spain, and the man, after arriving in Rome, returned a reply from the Pope at the beginning of May for the Queen, the Duke, and others.

The letter to the Duke was in Latin commencing with the words, "*Dilecti fili salutem*," but truly the Duke might say that he sent no *salutem* to him but rather *perniciem*. The Duke received the letters and read them at the request of the said wicked priest, and the contents of them were to the effect that the Pope approved of the enterprise and would write to the king of Spain to help it, but that the present costly war against the Turk had made them short of money for that summer, but notwithstanding this, his unfortunate Holiness, in his usual manner, comforted them all and told them not to despair. It would thus appear, either that God inspired him to be so very zealous against the Turk, which was certainly good, or that the coffers of his Holiness are not at present so full of money as they are of bulls. We are thus brought to the conclusion that want of money was the cause of this perilous treason not having then been carried out, and it is to be hoped that by similar goodness of God future crimes will be diverted from us.

It was also decided by the inventors of these plots that the kingdom of Ireland should be assailed at the same time in order to weaken the Queen's forces and divert them from the defence of her loyal subjects.

Now it would be better that this tree of treason should be rooted up for once and for all, since it is certain that it has branches of its own growth in various parts, such, for instance, as the talk of the release of the queen of Scotland, sometimes disguised, sometimes by force and rebellion, with the object of raising her to the throne of England. It was also said that her son was to be stolen from Scotland and sent to Spain, and other inventions of the same sort were set afloat with the object of disturbing this country, which was, and is, praise God, quiet and tranquil.

Some people may say that many of these things are doubtful, or changed in the telling, either by malice or credulity, but, verily, all that I have said, and much more, has been reported to me so faithfully by persons of credit who are not in the habit of relating falsehoods, that I can confidently affirm that it is all true; and if it be found otherwise, it is to be believed that some of the Councillors will reprove me for it when this relation is read. If so I will patiently suffer correction for my credulity. If these things are true, as I have said, although they be not all discovered yet, time will shortly confirm them, when her Majesty causes the prisoners publicly to reply to them according to the law, as she will no doubt do in the exercise of her benignity, and so God keep her under his special care, as he has miraculously done hitherto to reign over us in peace.

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Since writing this I am induced the more to believe in its truth, because on this very day the Lord Mayor of this city, with many of the governors of the same, were before the Council, where I am informed by some who heard it, that the statement made to them by the Council respecting the duke of Norfolk were, in substance, the same as I have set forth here, with many other things which I have not related.—At London, 13th October 1571.

Your loving brother-in-law, R.G.

14 Oct. **283.** Guerau de Spes to Zayas.

I sent yesterday to the duke of Alba a duplicate of the enclosed letter for his Majesty, and I cannot exaggerate the confusion which reigns here. They have just brought to the Tower three other gentlemen, inhabitants of the part of the country where the queen of Scotland is. The people are all astounded, and if there were only a leader, some great disturbance would arise, but as it is, Lord Burleigh triumphs over all. Perhaps they will aim a blow at me presently: patience!

I should like to see all our resolutions carried through with more expedition and we should succeed in our enterprises; otherwise I certainly fear we shall have many evils to encounter, especially if the people in Flanders be not quieted from their apprehension about the tenths;* but where the duke of Alba is I do not think there will be any want of council or prudence.—London, 14th October 1571.

15 Oct. **284.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

In my last I wrote an account of the speech made by the Keeper to the Lord Mayor and aldermen of this city respecting the imprisonment of the duke of Norfolk and the other nobles, and attacking your Majesty and the duke of Alba respecting the invasion of the country. The Lord Mayor has to-day summoned the constables and many other citizens, to the number of nearly four thousand men, to the Great Hall for the purpose of speaking to them to the same effect, in order that each of the constables shall do the same in his own district to-morrow. The Council believes that, by such means as these, they will sustain their tyrannical government.

Burleigh arranged with the Mayor for some of the aldermen to go to the Queen and beg her to increase her guard, and this is being made an excuse for the palace to be protected by a large number of troops and the whole city to be very strictly watched.

It is said that Killigrew will be shortly sent to France, and they have arranged to-morrow for Burleigh and Leicester to see the ambassador to enter into details about the proposed marriage or league. I have been assured by a member of Burleigh's household that he has read a letter from the duke of Florence to the Vidame de Chartres, promising to enter into this alliance, as he considers it necessary to resist the greatness of your Majesty, which he says

* This was the oppressive new tax imposed by Alba in the Netherlands of one tenth of the value of all transactions effected.

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seems to increase every day. Since Burleigh has this letter he will certainly have others from the same Duke to a similar effect, and the English are now treating the matter without concealment. Guido Cavalcanti is here, very willing, as usual, to take part in anything directed to the prejudice of your Majesty and the injury of the Catholic religion. They have done nothing fresh to me yet, although I am told that they are seeking an excuse for doing something. My secretary has not left the house for ten days, in order to prevent their arresting him on some feigned excuse.

Lord Cobham has been taken to the Tower and the earl of Sussex is also in danger, being neither a prisoner nor free, for Leicester and Burleigh seem to be in accord, for once, that the enemies of both of them should be molested, so that there are people of both ways of thinking in prison.

They are already repenting having taken so many seamen from the pirates, and at the instance of M. de Lumbres, have determined to leave the rest of them on security. They are trying to calm the Easterlings by other means, being in great fear for the property they have sent, and are sending, to Hamburg.

The more I see of Hawkins and the closer I watch him, the more convinced I am of his faithfulness in your Majesty's interests. The members of the Council would like to trick the queen of Scotland by means of him and Fitzwilliams. They have never given the latter permission to see her. Hawkins and Fitzwilliams are anxiously awaiting the decision of your Majesty, they having already incurred great expense in fitting out their fleet which is now nearly ready.

The Queen wishes to send to Ireland Captain Malby and the son of Secretary Smith. I could easily bring Malby round to your Majesty's service if I had orders to do so before his departure. There are many like him in office here, very desirous of serving your Majesty.—London, 15th October 1571.

21 Oct. **285.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

As the duke of Alba has not yet sent me the despatches that he has received from your Majesty for me (keeping them, as he says, for certain good reasons), I have nothing to answer in this letter but only to report the great uneasiness in which this Queen and her Council are; tortured by their own consciences more than by the actual proof that they have against the duke of Norfolk, and still less of the proposed invasion of which they are in fear. The only information they have to go upon in this latter respect are the declarations made by Carlos, the servant of the bishop of Ross, who was the first prisoner made in this business. Carlos is now in the Tower half crazy. To gain the people over they are still publishing the little books of which I send your Majesty a copy in Spanish, not very well translated for want of time. From this letter and copy enclosed of my letter to the duke of Alba your Majesty will understand the state of things here.—London, 21st October 1571.

26 Oct. **286.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

Since my last advices I have to report that Killigrew left here yesterday with a servant of La Mothe, bearing powers to discuss the

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terms of the alliance proposed with France. On the same day the bishop of Ross was taken to the Tower, without any respect for his special safe conduct and his quality of ambassador. Lord Burleigh told him that his mistress was a Queen no longer, as she had abdicated in favour of her son and was a prisoner. He therefore could not be considered as an ambassador and would consequently be sent to the Tower and put to the torture.

I learn that the duke of Norfolk is very ill. I do not know whether in consequence of anything they are giving him in his food, but if so we shall soon see. It is understood that the proofs against him are of little weight.

The castle of Edinburgh was besieged on the 6th instant, and much ammunition has been sent from here to the besiegers.

The pirates are now off Dover, and in order to satisfy the Easterlings, they have not recently been so openly supplied with victuals as before, but they are secretly furnished at night with all they want, and, what is worse, they are now openly victualled from France, and consequently the pirates have recently returned to the French some of the prizes they have taken.

M. de Lumbres has gone to France with over a hundred thousand crowns in cash intending to buy a barony. Schonvall remains in his place. He has a brother of the habit of St. John in Antwerp and this might be a means of converting him and his fleet to your Majesty's service.

They have just brought an Irishman a prisoner to the Tower, who they say has come hither from Spain as a spy. They are incensing the people with this.—London, 26th October 1571.

31 Oct. **287.** Guerau de Spes to the Duke of Alba.

I believe your Excellency will have received my despatches carried by the courier on the 21st inst., and also those of 24th, and 26th. It will not be unadvisable to capture Hieronimo Salvago, a Genoese, who usually lives at Rouen. He left here from Spinola's house on the 8th, carrying a packet from M. de Zweveghem. He arrived safely at Antwerp and personally delivered Zweveghem's letter, but my letters of the same date (8th) taken by him had not been delivered on the 23rd to Leonardo de Tassis. If this packet of mine, which contained two letters in cipher, does not appear, we will see whether Spinola has stolen it, and if it was by comparison with my cipher that the queen of Scotland's letter was recently deciphered in the Tower. If it be so it is high time that such insolence were punished. Your Excellency, knowing how important it is to the service of his Majesty, will doubtless put your hand to the matter at once.

Besides the little books that I have sent to your Excellency they have brought out a long one, written in good Latin, against the queen of Scotland,* the most shameful thing that ever was seen but which I do not dare to send you in this packet. They have again

* This was doubtless George Buchanan's book called "A detection of the doings of Queen Mary" which had recently been published. Buchanan was one of the first Latinists of his time.

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arrested the earl of Southampton who came unsuspiciously to the Court and also the brother of the earl of Northumberland, although in the disturbances in the north he was on the side of the Queen and the principal cause of the others being lost. They have also captured a Catholic gentleman named Morgan, and it would seem that, without further reason, they mean to lodge all the Catholics in the Tower. They have also arrested Luis de Paz, although up to the present he is kept in a house without being allowed to communicate with anyone. They have ordered that no one shall come to my house, and threaten anyone who does so, even apothecaries and surgeons. The whole place is surrounded with spies without attempt at concealment. I attribute this to Burleigh's alarm at what little proof they have already obtained against the prisoners.

The pirates are better supplied now than ever. A man of mine has come back from where they are and says that M. de Lumbres went to France mainly to beg Count Ludovic not to allow M. de Lumay to take the first place, as there was great division amongst the gentlemen now at Dover upon the subject, and Lumbres complained that such an appointment would frustrate the agreement he had made for taking Sluys, some of the inhabitants of which place had come to offer to deliver it. M. de Lungatre of Artois, an exile, was awaiting near Boulogne with 1,200 soldiers ready for the enterprise, as well as to carry out a plot to buy or hire certain small houses adjoining the church of St. Gudule at Brussels, where a Fleming had promised to make a mine and blow up with powder your Excellency and all those who were hearing mass there.

My man said that when Lumbres was in Rochelle three gentlemen from Seville came to offer Admiral Chatillon the sympathy of many Spaniards with regard to religion, but my man did not dare to ask for more particulars upon this point. There are forty sail off Dover, 16 of them well-found ships. Lumbres was said to be expecting 15 more from Rochelle and Denmark. They are again saying here that Fiesco is a long while returning. Stukeley's servants who came from Spain are being interrogated every day and they are made to declare things that were never dreamt of there. When I have a surer messenger than this one I will write more at length.—London, 31st October 1571.

31 Oct. **288.** The KING to GUERAU DE SPES.

On the 5th instant your letters of the 9th and 10th ultimo were received, reporting the imprisonment of the duke of Norfolk, which grieved us greatly, both because of his own danger and the evil which may result therefrom to the queen of Scotland, and also because it frustrates a matter of so much importance for the service of God and the advantage of religion as that which was being forwarded through him. The thread of the business thus being cut, there is no more to say to you about it, excepting to refer you to the duke of Alba for instructions. We are anxious for a newer letter from you to learn what has happened since, as we trust in our Lord, whose cause it is, to once more put it in such a position that I may help it forward in his service.

There is nothing more to be said about Hawkins, as that affair,

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too, depended upon the principal business. You will proceed with him as the Duke may instruct you.

I have not yet learnt what settlement has been arrived at as regards the restitution of the detained merchandise, since neither you nor the duke of Alba send me the statement of Thomas Fiesco's arrangement. Although no doubt it will have been sent before you receive this, it will be well for you to keep me well advised of all that is being done or hoped for in this business. It is being so much delayed that little result can be expected to come from all the negotiations that have been carried on, but in any case we must keep hammering away with these people.

Very evil and injurious to Christianity at large, and to my dominions in particular, would be the conclusion of the treaty which you believe is being agreed upon between the French and the Queen, as it is clear that the Protestants of Germany would enter into it. It is therefore most necessary that you should endeavour to learn thoroughly what there is in it and duly advise us. As regards the marriage of the duke of Anjou, I cannot believe that there is any reality in the affair and this is shown by the scanty message taken back by M. de Foix.

You will also try to learn from the bottom what understanding the Queen has with the duke of Florence with regard to the aforementioned matter, as I am of opinion that it is all artifice* and I cannot believe that he would bring himself to enter into an alliance with that Queen, seeing that the result might be so unprofitable to him. But in any case it will be well to see his hand and report what you hear.—Madrid, 31st October 1571.

11 Nov. **289.** The KING to the DUKE OF MEDINA-CELI.† [EXTRACT.]

As regards England you will proceed in conformity with what was communicated to you here and the Duke's (of Alba) information, although I do not think there will be much to do at present as the Queen has got scent of the business and has arrested the duke of Norfolk and the principal other people concerned. She has also made the queen of Scotland's imprisonment closer, so that, as Don Guerau writes me on the 21st October, they are all in great peril, for which I am very sorry, although I have still confidence that God, whose cause it is, will help us to forward the matter as we wish. You will therefore hold yourself prepared, in case the Duke should write to you at sea, to take any step with this end; as we

* Note in the King's handwriting: "It is not well to express opinions about anyone or to put more in the letters than is necessary. They or the cipher might be lost and, in short, there is no reason for it and it serves no purpose."

† The present letter covers the King's instructions to the duke of Medina-Celi who had been appointed to succeed the duke of Alba as Governor of the Netherlands, the latter having been ailing for some time and urgently begging the King to be allowed to return to Spain. On Medina-Celi's arrival, however, jealousy and ill-feeling broke out between them, and as Medina-Celi's powers were to remain in abeyance so long as Alba remained in the country, the latter stayed on. Medina-Celi was thus kept in the invidious position of a Governor without power for two years, notwithstanding his frequent requests that he should be allowed to return home. The deadlock was at last removed by the return of both Dukes and the appointment of Don Luis de Requesens y Zuñiga, grand commander of Castile, to be governor of the Netherlands.

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have indicated in Clause IV. of your instructions. I have thought well to have it repeated in this letter *which for greater security you will burn before you embark.* (The words in italics have been added by the King in his own handwriting.)

As I told you here, I have ordered 200,000 crowns to be provided for the execution of this business, 100,000 of which were sent in warrants, some time since, to the duke of Alba, and the other 100,000 have been handed to you in Seville in gold and silver. You will take this money intact, without allowing any part of it to be spent or touched on any account whatever, as it is my will and intention that it shall be kept and set apart entirely for this English business, which I sincerely hope that God will guide in some unexpected way for the good of His cause.—Madrid, 11th November 1571.

20 Nov. **290.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

By the courier who takes this I am advising the duke of Alba that the earl of Leicester distinctly told M. de Zweveghem last Sunday that they would wait three days longer for Thomas Fiesco and, after that, would at once proceed to sell the merchandise without further delay. This is promoted by a certain coalition of merchants here, who hope thereby at one stroke to become rich. The earl of Leicester will get a large share.

The Queen and Council are proceeding furiously in the condemnation of the prisoners and are urging the judges to declare them all deserving of death, although most of the latter are opposed to this decision. I therefore expect that many of the prisoners will be condemned, as Burleigh says that otherwise the royal authority will be injured in the sight of the people. The matter is now in such a stage that I shall be able to report to your Majesty this week what the result has been.

It seems that Lord Buckhurst will not go to France yet, as he refuses to go unless he has very decided instructions about the marriage. It is now said that Secretary Thomas Smith will go, but he will not leave until the effect of Killigrew's journey is known. Although Killigrew is a little personage, these people think confidently that he will settle the alliance to their satisfaction. It is perfectly marvellous how pertinacious these heretics are. There are men in office who say that it is more expedient to submit to the rule of the Turk, if he will let them have freedom for their sect, than to allow any alteration in it to be made by the hand of Christian princes.

All people, and particularly the Catholics, show great delight at the signal victory which God has given to your Majesty.* In the meanwhile they live here in the most utter servitude which can be imagined.

The king of France has written to this Queen expressing sorrow for the troubles which have arisen here and offering his help to remedy them. I believe this, although I have not been able to get a copy of the letter.

* The battle of Lepanto, won over the Turks by the combined fleets of Spain Venice, and Rome, under the command of Don John of Austria.

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Hawkins tells me that he has obtained secretly permission from this Queen to assail your Majesty's dominions. He has now twelve ships ready and is waiting most anxiously to signalise himself in your Majesty's service. I am sure that, in this and other things, he is proceeding straightforwardly, and it would be very desirable to let him have a prompt decision.—London, 20th November 1571.

22 Nov. **291.** ANTONIO FOGAZA to the PRINCE RUY GOMEZ DE SILVA.

Portuguese. I wrote to your lordship on the 12th May sending certain information in his Majesty's interests and sent my letter by a man who went post. He has just returned to this city after a most unsuccessful voyage. It appears he went to Seville, where he has relations, and embarked at Cadiz on an English ship. When he landed at Plymouth the captain of that port took all the letters and papers in the possession of those who came in the ship, which papers were sent at once to the Council. My man thought best to tear up the packet that he brought from your Lordship for me, for which act I forgave him, because if the letters had been seized I should have had trouble about it, seeing how things are going here now, as is happening to all those whose papers were taken. I am sending the present packet in good hands addressed to Juan Gomez de Silva at the Court of France to whom I am writing begging him to send it on promptly and safely, although he does not know that it is I who am writing your lordship.

I recently met an English gentleman who has been an intimate friend of mine for a long time and who lives in this Court, a fervent Catholic, and a zealous friend of God's service and the aggrandisement of the Catholic church, who informed me of the diabolical league which the English are secretly making with French and other confederates, together with the King whom they think of proclaiming here when this Queen dies, and I set forth all this in a separate statement which I now enclose. My man tells me that they were driven by contrary winds to take refuge at the isles of Bayona, where they found two pirate ships, one a Frenchman, called the "Printemps" of Rochelle, and the other an English vessel called "The Castle of Comfort," which, between them, had a Portuguese ship they had captured of three hundred tons burden with much brass ordnance and muskets; the crew of which they had killed. My man heard that the crew of the "Printemps" had

* Antonio Fogaza was a Portuguese who had been in the Spanish service in the time of the Emperor, and was probably a dependent of his countryman Ruy Gomez. He seems to have been a spy for the Spanish Court, and lived in London for many years, at first as a Portuguese agent, until certain representations were made with regard to him in Portugal, as he says, by his enemies, but really by Giraldi, the Portuguese envoy, who had been told by Antonio de Guaras that Fogaza was giving information to Spain, when his allowance from Portugal was stopped, and thenceforward he appears to have received his subsistence mainly from Spain. In the present volume will be found a large number of letters to the Spanish governors of the Netherlands giving intelligence from London, which I have no doubt whatever are written by Antonio Fogaza. The original drafts are in the British Museum, and I believe that hitherto no attempt has been made to identify the writer of them. The contents, however, clearly prove them to have been from Antonio Fogaza. It is somewhat curious, as showing the tortuous diplomacy of the period, that some of the other Spanish agents in England appear to have been almost in ignorance that Antonio Fogaza was acting in the same capacity. He was for years in great poverty, and was imprisoned for debt in London in 1580, when, no doubt, the aforementioned draft letters fell into the hands of the authorities.

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landed on the island of Gomera in the Canaries and sacked it. When they had returned to their ship the "Castle of Comfort" arrived at the same island and began fighting with the French crew, but they soon came to terms and joined forces. The captain of the English ship with twenty-five sailors thereupon went in their ship's boat towards the island, but the sea being very rough the boat was swamped and the whole of them were drowned. The two ships then set sail and fell in with the Portuguese vessel which, after three summonses, surrendered to them. They ran short of provisions and had to put into Bayona, where they captured the fishermen on the Vigo coast, and made them provide them with victuals. The ships were still there when my man left. This harbour of Vigo and Bayona is the regular refuge and shelter of the pirates as there is nothing there to resist them. It is most important that some defence should exist there to avoid the ravages these people commit. I expect that it is because his Majesty is not informed of it, and I therefore send herewith a statement of my opinion as to what could be done. For the love of God let some remedy be found, because, not only is it in his service but for the welfare of the King's subjects.

At the end of last month I was informed that the "Castle of Comfort" had arrived at the Isle of Wight, and I at once addressed the Council, who gave me letters for the governors of the island and of Portsmouth. I sent a man thither in haste with the letters, who searched the whole ship but only found two negroes formerly belonging to Don Luis Vasconcellos, who left Lisbon a year and a half ago in the said Portuguese ship to be governor of Brazil. He arrived in sight of Brazil, almost, at the island of Santo Domingo, where he remained for five months and most of his people escaped from him. He sailed from there and was driven by the weather in a very distressed condition to the Canaries, where he and all his people were, as I have said, captured and murdered. The captain, master, and mariners of this English ship are prisoners, but they will let them go as they are daily doing in the case of other similar men. I afterwards received news from Plymouth by a cutter which had arrived there from Rochelle, to the effect that the French pirate and the Portuguese prize remained at Rochelle, and they would not allow any person from land to go on board the latter. No doubt Señor Juan Gomez de Silva will have already seen to this as I advised him about it on the 12th instant.

Since the imprisonment of the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, Lord Lumley, and the other gentlemen, the ambassador has been very suspicious that they might try to arrest him, and truly I was warned, from a well-informed quarter, that his papers should be put into a safe place, and I took a note of his cipher and key; offering my services to the utmost of my ability in his Majesty's interests. My offer was not only of my poor means and efforts, but, if necessary, of my life, which I will cheerfully sacrifice in such a cause; for this is a time for his Majesty's faithful friends to show their zeal, and when many of those who in better days were full of fine promises, now turn away and refuse to acknowledge him. It was no sacrifice for a true Catholic to place his life at the service of the King, for it was but his duty to do so for such

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a Catholic Christian prince, a strong buttress and firm column of Christianity, the Defender of the Roman Church, the promoter of the faith of Christ and the destroyer of the Mahommedan and heretical sects. They subsequently apprehended, by order of the Council, Luis de Paz, a good subject of his Majesty. The business was in the hands of a friend of mine, Dr. Wilson, and, as no one was bold enough to speak about it, the ambassador begged me to do so. By God's grace we managed to get him released on bail, but if he had been taken to the Tower he would not have escaped torture. I will now endeavour to get the bail discharged, and if I am successful, he, Luis de Paz, will leave the country, which is no place now for suspected men.

Antonio de Guaras, a very good gentleman and a faithful and attached subject of his Majesty, has been in the house for the last three years without daring to appear in the streets, which is lamentable. He went out the other day only to congratulate the ambassador on the great victory over the Turk. The discourse here about this victory is set forth in a separate paper enclosed.

Of the prisoners in the Tower who have now to be tried the principal are Sir Thomas Gresham (*sic*) and others to the number of sixteen, besides the bishop of Ross, Sir Thomas Stanley, the brother of the earl of Derby, Sir Thomas Garret, Thomas Cobham, the brother of Lord Cobham, and Pole, who was in Spain.

The Council was desirous of selling, at once, the merchandise belonging to his Majesty's subjects in consequence of the delay in Fiesco's arrival. M. de Zweveghem, the gentleman who has these affairs in hand, addressed them on the subject, but could only obtain a delay until the 21st instant, as secretly, Benedict Spinola, the Genoese of whom you will know, and others like him, were pressing for the sale of the goods in the hope of getting some advantage for themselves thereby. On the day the goods were to be sold news came that Fiesco was at Calais, and had sent to beg the Queen to give him a security against the pirates at Dover. The business is therefore still pending. There are now thirty-five or forty pirate ships in all, large and small, but those about Dover and the Downs are taking but few prizes. M. de Lumbres has gone to France, it is said with fifty thousand ducats which he has stolen, besides the shares of the Prince of Orange and those of the sailors and soldiers. He left his place to another Flemish rebel called Schonvall. I heard a couple of days ago that M. de Lumay, who is called here Count de la Marque, had left for Dover to take command of all the pirates and rebels there, and I heard several times at Court that he was being greatly caressed. If the fleet is to be governed by his talents it will soon come to grief. The four ships belonging to William Winter which went last March to Guinea and attacked Teneriffe have not since been heard of. God grant that they may have been captured. We have no news, either, from Bartolomé Bayon, although Dr. Nuñez and Cristobal, a new resident here who fitted him out, are hourly looking for him.

An English ship of forty tons recently brought into Plymouth a Spanish vessel with a large quantity of hides and other goods which had been shipped in the Indies. The ambassador at once took

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steps in the matter and the ship is placed under embargo. Other English ships that have gone thither (*i.e.*, to the Indies) have not been heard of.

On the day before my man left the Isle of Wight, a French ship of three hundred tons arrived there, well manned and found, and a cutter of fifty tons, both from Dieppe. It is said they were bound for the Spanish Indies, but were driven to the island by contrary weather. Twenty sail of war ships have left Havre de Grace this year, all of them for Guinea, Brazil, and the Spanish Indies. The King has ordered me to leave here, but it is impossible now to get a passage for Spain, so I must wait until January when I will sail. I am afraid to go by land as travelling post sorely maltreats me. In the meanwhile I will send advice of anything of importance that may happen.—London, 22nd November 1571.

3 Dec. **292.** The KING to the DUKE OF MEDINA-CELI.
[EXTRACT.]

I enclose letters from Don Guerau de Spes, by which you will see that he confirms the news that a considerable number of Flemish rebel ships were cruising about the channel, together with corsairs of other nationalities, all favoured and aided by the queen of England. As you will, no doubt, go well equipped and accompanied by a number of troops, I do not expect they will dare to attack you, but, nevertheless, it will be well for you to compare this news with such advices as you can gather on the coast and elsewhere, and adopt such measures of precaution as may appear necessary for your safety and that of the fleet. We will keep you advised of what we hear. The duke of Alba will also send out some cruisers to meet you, as we have given him orders to do, which we will repeat.

Conveys the news of the battle of Lepanto.—Madrid, 3rd December 1571.

5 Dec. **293.** The KING to GUERAU DE SPES.

Your letters of 26th October received, and the duke of Alba has informed me of your intelligence up to the 31st of that month. I am much grieved at the rigour and cruelty with which the queen of Scotland, the duke of Norfolk, and other Catholics of their party are being treated, although I have full trust that God will shield and succour them. You will comfort and cautiously encourage them in a way not to increase the distrust and dissatisfaction with which the Queen and Council now regard you. You will give them no opportunity for any fresh personal insult, and will advise me of what happens by the safest way, keeping up close communication with the Duke (of Alba) and following his instructions in all things.

Our Lord has been pleased that my very dear wife, the Queen, should give birth to a son,* at half-past two yesterday morning, which has rejoiced us, as you may suppose. We have

* Don Fernando, Prince of Asturias and heir to the crown. He died at the age of seven.

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thought well to write to you, in order that you may inform the Queen thereof, if affairs are in such a state as in your opinion to make it advisable to pay this compliment to her. Although, in any case, we expect she will not feel any pleasure in this or any other thing which is advantageous to us, at least it will confuse her the more to see that we treat her better than she deserves.—5th December 1571.

12 Dec. **294.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

Since my last letters relative to the departure of Secretary Smith, who has been ambassador in France before, this Queen has received news from Scotland that the Regent's party, which held a port called Aberdeen, had been expelled therefrom with great loss by the people of the earl of Huntly and other adherents of the queen of Scotland. It was also expected there that Lord Dacre and other Englishmen with some troops would arrive from Flanders, so that these people here have resolved to send four thousand foot and four hundred horse, with eight pieces of battery artillery and some field-pieces, with the intention of taking the castle of Edinburgh and mastering the whole kingdom. The marshal of Berwick will go with this force, leaving Lord Hunsdon to guard Berwick. The garrison there, which was short manned, is being reinforced, and I believe that the marshal of Berwick will leave here before Christmas and the troops will be raised north of the Trent.

The Queen arrived to-day at her house at Westminster, and, although when she left Greenwich, it is said that Leicester and Burleigh assured her that if she wished to press the condemnation of the duke of Norfolk and his friends, the whole matter was now prepared and the opportunity favourable, the Queen fearing to make a mistake in it, has decided to defer the question until after the holidays. George Fitzwilliams came to me to-day to tell me that the earl of Leicester has again urgently exhorted Hawkins and him to be avenged on the Spaniards, and asked him why they did not put to sea. He told them they had better occupy the Indian seas (these were his words) in order that the Spaniards should not come and help Scotland. He promised them favours from the Queen, and also hinted that they should offer him some of the prizes they took. Fitzwilliams was anxious to find some excuse for going to Spain to learn your Majesty's wishes, as it seems that Hawkins and he are firmly fixed on serving your Majesty, and he is afraid of arousing suspicion, which, up to the present, he has not done. They are distressed and surprised that at such a time some decided orders have not been sent as to what they have to do.* I have entertained them as well as I could, but if the decision is much longer delayed they will have to take some other course, as they have incurred great expense in the fleet which they now have ready. I will report what happens further, and also the answer to be given to Thomas Fiesco. All the Spanish

* In the King's handwriting: "Care must be taken that this is not upset for us, like everything else."

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money in the Tower has now been melted down and coined into English silver pieces.—London, 12th December 1571.

14 Dec. **295.** GUERAU DE SPES to the DUKE OF ALBA.

To-day one of the gentlemen of the Council came to tell me that they wished to speak to me, which invitation I accepted, in accordance with your Excellency's orders. When I went was received at Westminster with very little ceremony. Burleigh was the spokesman, and said that the Queen had frequently written to the King and to your Excellency, asking that I should be withdrawn from here, and it appeared as if she were being made a mockery of, as no answer was vouchsafed to her on the point. They therefore wished to know whether I had any orders from his Majesty to leave, and said they were greatly surprised that I had not myself procured such an order, knowing how anxious the Queen was for my departure. I said that I knew nothing whatever about her anxiety, that I was a minister under orders, and, when I received proper instructions to go, I should go, but until I did I should not think of it. He replied that the Queen desired that a certain document under several heads written in Spanish should be read to me. It consisted, if I recollect aright, of statements to the effect that I had written to his Majesty urging him to make war against this country, and also to your Excellency; that I had encouraged the Northern rebels, and was now doing so to the prisoners. I asked them to give me a copy of the document, as the statements in it were false, and I would answer them. They said they would not do so, as his Majesty refused to listen to John Man or allow him to justify himself; whereupon I replied that, at least, they should give me in writing, signed and sealed, what they said about John Man. They refused this, and I consequently replied briefly to the points, and told them to produce the letters that I had written to the King and your Excellency on these matters, when the point could be investigated. I said that I was under no obligation to give them any account of what I wrote, that if I did wrong there were those who would punish me, and I said the same thing with regard to their charges about the Northern rebels and the present prisoners. At last, without giving me any further satisfaction, they told me that I must leave the country within three days; that they would arrange the voyage and have a gentleman ready to accompany me, Henry Knollys, who would remain near me from the present time, which he has done. I asked for permission to send a courier to the King, but they said the voyage was a long one. I then asked for leave to send to your Excellency, but this also they refused. I then said that I could not leave until I had sent to Antwerp to get money to pay what I owed here, and they replied that they would lend me some money, which they could deduct from the proceeds of the merchandise if it was not otherwise paid. I insisted that I must send to Antwerp, but, at last, I had to come away without gaining the point. I will send Knollys to-morrow with a reply to them, but he is a great scamp, and, in the meanwhile, I am getting Thomas Fiesco to send a messenger to Calais with this letter to be

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forwarded to your Excellency, and I beg you will kindly pay the bearer his expenses and send a copy of this letter to the King. Pray send me speedily, instructions what I had better do, and if you think well to send me a letter, not in cipher, to show to the Council it will be well, but send all other letters under cover to Thomas Fiesco. I will see whether they will let me send a courier, for they are certainly much upset. No doubt they have already made sure of the French, although M. de la Mothe, who came yesterday to smooth over the French business, told me that the matter was not so favourable to the English as they thought, and related to me that his master was much surprised at the mode of departure of the ambassador Don Francés de Alava, as matters were not in such a state as to need a similar demonstration. As I did not know what had happened I said it was, no doubt, in consequence of some suspicion which Don Francés had against the Huguenots, who had threatened him for some time past, and I dwelt on the point of friendship as much as possible. But they are all going on a bad road, and Cavalcanti, who is ready to leave, was, I believe, only waiting to carry with him news of the events of to-day. It will be necessary for your Excellency to order Fiesco or someone else to provide me with money that I may pay my creditors.

When I left, Burleigh said he would give me a letter for the King. Your Excellency will instruct me whether I am to take it without seeing its contents first.—London, 14th December 1571.

21 Dec. **296.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.*

I got Fiesco yesterday to send a man to Calais with the letter to the duke of Alba, copy of which I enclose, but I doubt whether they have let him pass as the ports are closed. I therefore send this servant of mine to the Duke to beg him to send me credit enough to get away from here, and tell me what he wishes me to say to the Council on my departure. I cannot stay any longer, as they have ordered me to go to Canterbury and there to await the return of my servant, on the excuse that John Man was served in the same way in Spain, for they are very impertinently harping on this business now. I will do my best to await my servant here, although I am told that Guido Cavalcanti is waiting with his foot in the stirrup, in order to take with him news to the French that I am out of London; which, it appears, they have promised them as an earnest of their bad intentions towards your Majesty. This is the reason of their hurrying me, and in the meanwhile they are keeping Fiesco in suspense without giving a reply, and, indeed, hardly take the trouble to discuss the matter. We both fear the issue, although there is some idea that they may settle Fiesco's matter in order to please the London people. With regard to the rest of the goods and ships to be recovered, it is believed they will negotiate no more. In order to separate me entirely from the business, they are announcing that they are expelling me the

* This and the two following letters were written on the 16th but not closed until the 21st.

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country, but I for my part am pretty sure that they will do nothing good of any sort as their hearts are thoroughly corrupted, and perhaps, when they have made sure of France, they will carry out the extremity of rigour on the prisoners which may be expected from the Queen's own threats.

Besides negotiating so closely with the king of France for the offensive and defensive alliance, they are still sustaining Admiral Chatillon in his action in not surrendering the fortresses to the King, and they will take the present opportunity to try to seize the castles and strong places in Scotland, all of which will cause the greatest injury to the Netherlands and all Christendom. The one idea here is to diminish your Majesty's power, and the business is now really serious.

Robert Huggins, whom your Majesty in your clemency was pleased not to punish, excepting by expulsion from your dominions, is currying favour with the Council, being with them constantly and giving them information how best to injure you. He is now served by a certain Spaniard, and I have found means to get hold of one of his statements taken from his room. I have had it copied with speed and send the copy enclosed. The lad tells me that his master has recent letters from Spain, telling him of the favour your Majesty has bestowed upon the son of the duke of Feria, and reporting that the duke of Medina-Celi's fleet was coming with some design against this island. If I can get hold of any more of his papers before my departure I will do so.

The Council has adopted a new means of conquering Ireland, which is to give the lands to those who go and take them at their own cost, as you will see set forth in the little printed book which I now enclose, translated into Spanish.

I will await the orders of the duke of Alba and of your Majesty. The members of the Council told M. de Zweveghem yesterday that they wished to write to your Majesty the reasons for this sudden order of theirs, although he says he thought they were much confused and very uneasy about it in view of my answer. They would not give me a copy of the four or five complaints which they read to me in Spanish, although I offered to justify myself on all points, as also respecting the reprisal which they said they were making for John Man's affair. I am now trying, by means of this gentleman who is to keep near me (Knollys) to get a safe conduct for the voyage, as they are replying very coolly about my security and escort. In the meanwhile Lord Burleigh is celebrating with great festivity at the palace, the marriage of his daughter with the earl of Oxford. The son of the earl of Worcester is married also to the sister of the earl of Huntingdon, which means taking two families away from the Catholics.

The marshal of Berwick leaves on Wednesday to collect the troops with which he is to enter Scotland, but a gentleman will precede him to give notice to those in the castle of Edinburgh.

I have arrived now at the 18th without having received a reply, excepting a passport for my servant, but the Council will decide after to-morrow both as to my safety on the voyage and as to my leaving the city at once or not. This was because they saw how

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firmly I insisted upon not leaving here until my servant came back.

On Sunday, the Queen, being somewhat freed from these marriage feasts, despatched Cavalcanti, who has now gone, and said to him aloud, so as to be heard by those present, that he was to assure the king of France, the Queen-mother, and Monseigneur that she was desirous of effecting the marriage, that being her determined resolution and the wish of all her subjects, and particularly of her friends the confederate Princes; making a sign with her hand, as she said it, towards Germany. The only thing, she said, which was now awaiting inquiry, was the scruple of religion in which she begged the King and the Duke to be gentle for the common benefit of all, but that, if this were impossible of arrangement, she was quite ready to agree to the conclusion of the alliance which had been carried so far already by M. de Foix and her ambassador. The offensive and defensive alliance, she said, should be an extensive one, and provided with such securities as the King might think fit until it were confirmed by Parliament here. The king of Spain thought he had it in his power to separate her from the alliance whenever he pleased, but however accommodating he might show himself in the negotiations about the property seized, and however ready to agree to terms favourable to the English, she said she would never trust Spaniards again, seeing the trouble they had prepared for her in Ridolfi's plots with the Pope. For his share in the discovery of these plots she warmly thanked Cavalcanti, and said the king of France might see how little she cared for the king of Spain by the way she had ordered his ambassador to be gone without delay. She would like Cavalcanti to have seen him already on the road, but under some excuse or another about money matters, he was here for a day or two longer, though she could assure him he should not stay in the country, and she did not care very much whether another came or not. She begged the king of France to favour and consult the Admiral and M. de Montmorenci, and to expel and punish the Guises, who are Hispaniolised traitors. It behoved him also to notice that the king of Spain was getting more and more powerful, having gained so great a victory over the Turks, and if the queen of Scotland were to prevail and ever reign again, it would be a bad thing for France and should be prevented. She also told Cavalcanti to inform the king of France of the good offices performed here by the earl of Leicester, and how he was hated by your Majesty in consequence. She puffed up Cavalcanti himself with hopes of reward.—London, 21st December 1571.

21 Dec. **297.** Guerau de Spes to Zayas.

You will see by his Majesty's letters and copies the extraordinary news from here, and the evil portents of disturbance. I will follow the orders of the duke of Alba, even though I be sent to the Tower for it. In the meanwhile your worship will favour me much by ordering provision to be made for the payment of my expenses, ordinary and extraordinary. I shall be glad also to learn whether the money I have spent since the date of my memo-

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randum will be paid in Flanders or otherwise. I shall need money there in order to avoid necessity, and I beg you will not fail to remind his Majesty, the Cardinal, and councillors about this, for really my troubles here are too heavy, and not to be believed excepting by those who witness them. The hearts of these heretics are overflowing with venom, and nothing good can be expected from them. They proceed with great artfulness and dissimulation, pending the conclusion of their league. Until then they are ambiguous and cover their designs with some sort of excuse, speaking quite differently from what they act, and *vice versâ*. They have spies everywhere and have changed from braggarts to watchers. They will make themselves masters of the Channel, and at one blow with their practices in Flanders will plunge that country into a dreadful war. It is no use to speak of our lost opportunities as they have gone by, but by one means or another, steps may still be taken to make our enemies weep in their own country, that they may not interfere in other nations. The people here think they have the duke of Florence completely in their interests, although, perhaps warned to that effect, they are now saying nothing about him. As your worship is my friend, in whom alone I can trust, you will pray look to my reputation and advancement, as all shall be used in your service. I do not know who is to have the French post, but I would willingly accept it in order not to have to break off my correspondence with you. I have no letters from the King since September, and my last from you is the 9th of October. *Interim valeo cunctis undiques rabies canibus vale tu et nos ama.*—London, 21st December 1571.

Postscript.—I think that, when I have left here, it will be undesirable to have a Flemish ambassador here in consequence of the close connection between the peoples, but, if there is to be one, I think Zweveghem is about the best, although it would be better to have a Spaniard with the title of agent, who would keep his eyes open. The most fitting man for this would I think be secretary Aguilon, who knows the state of feeling here, and who could go backwards and forwards at the discretion of the governor of Flanders.

21 Dec. **298.** Guerau de Spes to the Duke of Alba.

As I do not know whether a letter I secretly wrote to your Excellency two days ago will have got through, I send this servant of mine to pray your Excellency to send instructions with all possible speed as to what I am to do about my hurried expulsion by the Council. They are extraordinarily pressing to get me gone, and I have not yet been able to learn anything about the safety of my journey. In the meanwhile I will do my best to await here, unless they turn me out by force, as doubtless these Councillors have some strange design either to encourage and reassure the French by this insult, in order to bring them to conclude the treaty, or else to carry out some rigourous executions which they fear the people might resent, and which they would prefer that the Spanish ambassador should not be here to witness. Or they

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may wish, perhaps, to give Thomas Fiesco worse terms than those agreed upon. Both he and M. de Zweveghem, as they write to your Excellency, are now suspicious that they are being deceived. Everything is going badly, and I am afraid some great evil will arise therefrom, for Don Juan's great victory has alarmed them much, and they are trying to counterbalance the effects of it. All the rest your Excellency will see by enclosed duplicate of my last, and I will await most anxiously your reply, and the provision of a credit, as I shall soon have two years' money owing to me, and I must pay over three thousand crowns here. I do not even know yet whether they will make me pay for my passage if it be in a Queen's ship.

If your Excellency thinks well, you might order Thomas Fiesco to pay me the six instalments due, deducting therefrom the two thousand crowns he has given me. I have not received anything for my extraordinary expenses, but will leave that until I salute your Excellency, and tell you verbally what has happened. I again supplicate your Excellency to provide me with the above money, either through Fiesco, or Velutelli, or other, and send back my servant at once in order that these savages may not be tempted to some greater insult.

Your Excellency will kindly say whether I should make a point of insisting that the Queen should send me a copy of the Spanish document, which was read to me by the Council, and of the order given to me to depart within three days, and the Council's remark about reprisal for what was done to John Man.

It is well that you should know that the Admiral has gone to fit out the Queen's ships, and I am assured that the intention is to declare war against his Majesty. They have given Zweveghem and Fiesco very unfavourable answers to-day, as they will write to you. I have told them that they are to dissemble, and pretend not to see the intention of breaking with us, in order to have time to advise your Excellency, and take necessary steps. Whilst I am closing this I am assured that they are arming to prevent the passage of Medina-Celi.—London, 21st December 1571.

24 Dec. **299.** The Duke of Alba to the Duke of Medina-Celi.

Assures him that he may come with his fleet in perfect safety from the pirates, who are all very mean fellows, and dare not attack two armed ships, but have only assailed little packet boats and the like, as they are not the sort of people to run much risk. Since he (Alba) had issued his proclamation forbidding less than eight ships to leave port together, none have been touched. Expresses the utmost impatience for his coming, and begs him, if doubts of the sea hinder him, to come overland with four or five post horses as fast as they can carry him.—Brussels, 24th December 1571.

30 Dec. **300.** The Duke of Alba to Guerau de Spes.

On the 28th in the evening your servant arrived here with your letters of 14th and 21st, with copy of your letter to the King,

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which I will send forward on Monday. I summoned the councillors to show them these despatches, and I have decided to write to the Queen a letter of credence for Zweveghem, to tell her that I beg her to wait for the despatch to reach the King's hands, and for his decision upon the subject to be received, which I have no doubt will give her every satisfaction and contentment; but if she should decline to wait even these few days for you to leave, I beg that she will be good enough to give you the necessary help and safety to allow you to arrive in the King's dominions. This touches her own dignity, as, she being the mistress of her realm, can act at her discretion. Notwithstanding that I should be very glad for you to remain there until the receipt of his Majesty's reply, if this should be against her wish I would request that M. de Zweveghem be allowed to stay until his Majesty sends some other person to attend to his affairs. I have also written telling Zweveghem that if they offer him any letter or explanations he is to take it very willingly, and you should do the same, without asking them for any copies thereof, as such a thing has never been done with sovereigns, excepting for some special object, as was the case when Chapin insisted upon a copy being given to him in order to make the Queen recognise me, or send the letter by a person to his Majesty. Even in the case of a rupture a letter should be taken. You may disabuse your mind of the fear that any rupture will take place, as they have no such intention. It is quite laughable to speak about their preventing the passage of the duke of Medina; in the first place, because they are not strong enough, and in the next, because this is not a time for them to break with us, as I will explain to you when I see you, with other things to the same purpose. If the Queen should still insist upon your departure, you will leave at once without any more dispute, which can only give rise to further trouble, but you will still ask for a safe conduct for your passage. I am writing to Thomas to pay you the six instalments now due, taking into account the twenty-three thousand crowns (2,300?) recently paid. With regard to your extraordinary expenses, they shall be paid here after your arrival, with other things which I do not now mention, in order not to detain your man. I have ordered your servant to return with all speed, and, in case he should find you gone from London, he will at once deliver the letter to Zweveghem. When you have received my two letters, and that of his Majesty, and the other letter to the Queen, informing her of the birth of the Prince, I think you should give the latter letter to Zweveghem, in order that he may hand it or send it to the Queen, as you would have done if you had been on good terms with her.

As regards the negotiation of Zweveghem and Thomas Fiesco I have written to them telling them to await the document which those people were going to give them, because, if their new demands can be met, it is his Majesty's wish to settle the matter as well as possible, and close this incident of the seizures.

You say that Santa Cilia has been so many years in England that it will be better to rescue him, so that he may not lose his soul. You can bring him with you without any fear that

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he will be punished for any past offence.—Brussels, 30th December 1571.

Postscript.—After this had been written an English merchant arrived here post in great haste, bringing a packet from the Queen containing two letters, one for his Majesty, and the other for me. In both of them she excuses herself with very fair words for the order given to your worship to leave the country, and asks that another person should be sent as ambassador, whom she is ready to receive. I have thought well to send the above despatch, which was already written, as I have only to refer you anew to its contents.

301. Relation of the Ambassador, Don Guerau de Spes, respecting English affairs (amongst the papers of the year 1571).

Don Guerau de Spes arrived in England on the 3rd of September 1568 and on that day also Cardinal Chatillon disembarked at Rye. The latter immediately began his efforts to draw the Queen's councillor's on to the side of the French Protestants, and measures were adopted by which the English, the Flemish rebels, and some Frenchmen were to arm and assail, indifferently, French ships and those belonging to your Majesty's subjects. As those belonging to the French were of little value, it was resolved mainly to attack those belonging to your Majesty's subjects, the councillors in the meanwhile pretending that this was done without their assent. They even took certain measures ostensibly for the recovery of the plunder, but these measures were only feigned and were countermanded by anticipation, in order that the property might be delivered to the pirates.

Two months after the ambassador's arrival in the island, four cutters with treasure on their way to Flanders arrived in England, and although the Queen promised a passport and armed ships for its safety, which offer the ambassador submitted to the duke of Alba, pending the reply from the Duke, the Queen and Council, having been assured by Benedict Spinola that the sums on board the cutters were large, determined to seize the money, thinking thereby greatly to incommode Flemish affairs, doubtless with the knowledge of Spinola, who having a commission of twelve thousand crowns for the cost of transporting the money, said that that sum was not enough, and that he had written for a larger commission.

The Queen, notwithstanding her promise and the passport she had signed, which is carefully preserved by the ambassador, seized the money, except that contained in two of the cutters, which, favoured by fine weather, made bold to sail for Antwerp, in spite of the pirates. The Queen thereupon spoke to the ambassador in a very changed tone, saying that the money was not for your Majesty's service but for that of certain merchants. The ambassador sent a full statement of all this, together with copies of the letters of Lopé de la Sierra, captain of the vessel which brought most of the money, to the duke of Alba, who then ordered the detention of English goods in Flanders, but the English having

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been advised in time of this and also given information to those who had ships in Spain, managed to save the greater part of their property. They then detained the ambassador with much arrogance and disrespect to your Majesty for six months, with guards of gentlemen and soldiers over him. They also treated councillor D'Assonleville improperly, he having been sent by the duke of Alba on a mission to England. They then began robbing more publicly than before, furnishing your Majesty's rebellious subjects with facilities for arming and becoming pirates. These latter brought their prizes and prisoners to the country and were allowed to sell and barter their booty with impunity. The insolence of the councillors reached such a pitch that they dismissed the Marquis Chapin Viteli in the way that your Majesty knows.

The principal person in the Council at present is William Cecil, now Lord Burleigh, a knight of the garter. He is a man of mean sort, but very astute, false, lying, and full of all artifice. He is a great heretic and such a clownish Englishman as to believe that all the Christian princes joined together are not able to injure the sovereign of his country, and he therefore treats their ministers with great arrogance.

This man manages the bulk of the business, and, by means of his vigilance and craftiness, together with his utter unscrupulousness of word and deed, thinks to outwit the ministers of other princes. This to a certain extent he has hitherto succeeded in doing. Next after him, the man who has most to do with affairs is Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, not that he is fit for such work, but because of the great favour with which the Queen regards him. He is a light and greedy man who maintains the robbers and lives by their plunder. He is ungrateful for the favours your Majesty has granted to him, and is greatly inclined to the French party, from whom he receives an allowance. The other man who has his hand in the government is the Lord Keeper, or guardian as they call it, of the great Seal. He is an obstinate and most malignant heretic, and, being Cecil's brother-in-law, always agrees with him. The Admiral does not interfere very much in arranging matters, but he is a very shamless thief without any religion at all, which latter also may be said of the earl of Sussex. The latter also belongs to the Council and is a more capable man than any of the rest. He has shown signs sometimes of wishing to serve your Majesty, as he is an enemy of the earl of Leicester. The earl of Bedford also belongs to the Council. In person and manners he is a monstrosity and a great heretic. There are others of less authority than these men, lawyers, creatures of Cecil who only repeat what he says. They have recently admitted James Crofts into the Council; he is secretly attached to the Catholic party and your Majesty's service, but dares not speak very openly.

Two great opportunities have recently offered themselves for your Majesty to master the island, by means of the duke of Norfolk and of the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland. The object of both attempts was to promote the claims of the queen of Scotland, and although the Duke is a prisoner under sentence, which it is now said has been executed, and the Earls with their

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friends are out of the kingdom, the same opportunity will occur again if the matter is handled with care.

It also appears that, whenever your Majesty pleases, you can take possession of Ireland, which will be to open the easiest road to gain and hold England.

If, on the contrary, the English are allowed to continue their robberies, as they have done for the last four years, they will become very rich and the more encouraged to cause disquiet in the States of Flanders, as they have openly tried to do recently.

The English, seeing how they have offended your Majesty, and believing that, even though they returned the merchandise, your Majesty would only await an opportunity to punish them, and provoked also by the fact that much of the merchandise had already been distributed, broke off, without the slightest reason or excuse, the treaty they had made with the duke of Alba, all points of which had been agreed upon excepting a very few. They sold all the merchandise and dismissed M. de Zweveghem and Thomas Fiesco, who were in England for the conclusion of the treaty. All this action of theirs has been greatly aided by the business having been allowed to drag, and the uneasy rumours which had arisen in Flanders respecting the tenths. This rumour was at once taken advantage of by the English and the French, who put themselves into communication for the purpose of forming a league and confederation. The English believing, rightly, that the French were displeased with the aid given by the Queen to the Protestants in France against the Christian king, have been attracted by the bait of a marriage between the duke of Anjou and the queen of England. This has been brought almost to a point, leaving only one small matter of religion open, in order that they may be able to break it when they please, and, in the meanwhile, seduce the French into an offensive and defensive league, making use to this end of Marshal Montmorenci, whom they have created a knight of the Garter, and who is considered an enemy of the house of Guise, to which the queen of England bears great hatred. They have also promised and given great things to M. de Foix who came to England on the business, and, in this way, matters have succeeded with them hitherto, as the French have completely abandoned the queen of Scotland and her party, being now quite reconciled to seeing that poor lady so close a prisoner, her ambassador cast into the Tower of London, and all her Scots servants banished. Your Majesty will already have had detailed reports of the plots which are being woven against your Majesty and your dominions, but, in order the more to gain over the French and ensure their goodwill, the queen of England has expelled Don Guerau de Spes from her country, under the pretext that your Majesty had acted similarly towards John Man. Up to that time the French had asserted that the Queen was cultivating friendship for France with the object only of being better able to negotiate with your Majesty, and she wished by thus expelling the ambassador, to give them an assurance of her sincerity. The league has therefore been concluded and a Parliament is being held in England for the purpose of confirming it. Marshal Montmorenci is expected there, and the Admiral of

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England is to go to France. In the meanwhile, they have planned the capture of Brille and the rising in Zealand. The ambassador had information of the designs against Brille six months before the execution of the project, and duly advised the duke of Alba at the time. All this will convince your Majesty that the queen of England neither loves nor respects you as she ought to do, and as for her Council, they do so still less, as they are only thinking of robbing your Majesty's subjects and overturning your Netherlands, in order to divide them between themselves, the duke of Anjou and the prince of Orange; to destroy the Catholic religion in all parts, keeping the Catholics in England in miserable oppression, do the queen of Scots to death because she is a Catholic, and raise a heretic king to the throne when the Queen dies, with the object of dominating Scotland. Your Majesty has many means of becoming master of Ireland, raising the Catholic party in England, placing a legitimate Catholic king on the throne, and suppressing the pirates, whenever you desire to make use of these means with the energy that so great a business demands. Above all, your Majesty should be pleased to order that the prohibition of trade between the two countries should be re-enacted and most rigidly enforced under great penalties. No ships should go to Spain from Flanders without strong convoys, and the same on their way back, besides being armed powerfully, and with the aid of the ships of your subjects your Majesty would thus be made stronger in those seas than the fleets of English, French, and pirates.

The ambassador gave a full account to the duke of Alba of the advantage to be obtained from John Hawkins and his ships. It was considered at the time to be a very costly project, having in view the terms of the agreement which had been drafted with him. The ambassador thereupon said that he, Hawkins, should be dealt with by other means, seeing the power and will he had to serve your Majesty. The Duke, however, deferred the consideration of it, but, when your Majesty thinks fit to make use of Hawkins, he can be communicated with in cipher, as has been arranged. It also appears desirable that the English gentlemen now in Flanders should be entertained and paid the amounts which your Majesty is good enough to . . . .* them, that they may be able to join your Majesty's service.

302. Document headed: "TRANSLATION from the LATIN of points "submitted by certain of the COUNCILLORS of the QUEEN "OF ENGLAND to DON GUERAU DE SPES."

That the Queen, their mistress, had heard that certain fugitives and rebel subjects of hers had arrived in Spain from Ireland and persuaded his Majesty to give them help to rise, which purpose had been favoured by some of his Majesty's Councillors of State, who had given these men good hope, in order that they might write to the leaders of the rebellion. The Queen, however, could not persuade herself to lose faith in the prudence, justice, and old friendship of

* The paper is torn here.

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his Majesty, nor believe that he would give any such help. The Queen is all the more assured of this because it will correspond with her good wishes toward the King, as she has given him no reason for offence and has done nothing by which his dominions might be disturbed, albeit she has been importuned by many to do so. She has, on the contrary, always been most careful to preserve old friendship and banish the annoyances consequent on the detentions. Having heard from trustworthy sources that Thomas Stukeley, a man of evil life, dissolute habits and a traitor, was in great favour with his Majesty, who was aiding and encouraging him in his preparations, and that an armed force under the command of Julian Romero* was being collected, she had not been able to refrain from communicating this to Don Guerau so that he might advise his Majesty, and the Queen might learn clearly and openly his Majesty's intentions upon the subject.

The Queen had also decided to send one of her servants to represent to his Majesty her feelings on the first subject mentioned and also the sorrow she felt with regard to the second subject, in which his Majesty's action was very different from that which she had expected, and he would also inform the King that, if he had been advised of any armament she was fitting out, she wished to say that the sole object of such armament was to defend herself and her people and only to offend those who provoked her; as it was not fitting that she, being a vigilant sovereign, should be unprepared in the sight of so great a tempest, to defend her dominions and attack those of his Majesty, if he should be so badly advised to appeal to arms rather than to peaceful means to settle difficulties, which she was so desirous of arranging amicably by a general restitution and the confirmation of old alliances. She had hitherto abstained from offensive action, notwithstanding the many provocations she had received.

Lastly, the Queen wished Don Guerau to be informed, in order that he might convey it to the King, that she would persevere in her observance of their old friendship, which it was not her wish or will to break, on the understanding that his Majesty's intentions were similar to her own.

The Councillors requested Don Guerau to give them a safe conduct for Henry Cobham to go to Spain and return in safety.

They also asked him to write to the duke of Alba to say that if he heard that the Queen was fitting out armaments, he was to understand that they were for the purposes aforesaid and not to attack his Majesty, unless she were first provoked thereto.

303. PLAN sent by DON GUERAU DE SPES for the recovery of the property detained in England (amongst papers of the year 1571).

The first thing that seems necessary is a general restitution of the money seized and also of all merchandise stolen and detained, which

* This man had been a soldier of fortune in the service of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. and had distinguished himself in Scotland and elsewhere. He had seen much service and risen to high rank in Flanders. He died in 1577. See "The Spanish Chronicle of Henry VIII." (London, 1889), which gives a curious account of his life in England.

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can be proved to be still in hand, such goods being delivered to the owners with an inventory, in case they should allege that any portion be missing. As the queen of England has taken ships, money and goods to a very much greater value than what is detained in the Netherlands and Spain, and, either by carelessness or malice, a great quantity of this has been stolen in various parts of England, it is necessary that the restitution should first be made by the English, it being certain that the goods and ships detained in the dominions of his Catholic Majesty are, as has been said, greatly inferior in value to the portion which is missing of the goods seized in England. For this reason and for greater security it seems advisable that the restitution should be made as suggested, pending the satisfaction of all claims by the Queen in favour of subjects of his Majesty in this country, from a date subsequent to the arrival of the ambassador. After the Queen has complied with this or assured its compliance by sufficient security from the City of London, in order to avoid trouble to herself or her treasurers, and all parties have been duly satisfied in England as is fitting and just, the duke of Alba and all officers of his Majesty will make an entire restitution of all English property in all parts. On neither side are more costs to be paid than those justly and duly incurred.

If her Majesty, the queen of England, should desire to appoint commissioners for the recovery of the stolen property, she may do so, naming persons of honesty and good conscience and experienced in matters of cargoes and valuations of merchandise, other commissioners being appointed by the interested parties, in order that jointly they may estimate the true value of the property stolen, taken, given, or wasted by the fault of the Queen's officers. The same course will be pursued in the dominions of his Catholic Majesty and, if anything is short of that detained on the other side, his Majesty will make good the value thereof.

Item.—All persons, subjects of either of the two sovereigns, who are under detention in consequence of these seizures, shall at once be restored to liberty and have returned to them their arms, clothes, and money in their possession at the time of their arrest, or the value thereof, in addition to the restitution of the afore-mentioned merchandise. If any such persons should have incurred any cost in their maintenance whilst in prison, this shall be honestly reimbursed to them, excepting what may have been given to them out of charity.

Item.—All persons claiming to have any interest in the recovery of any of these things shall have free permission on both sides to come to either of the said sovereigns' dominions to obtain their property or take such steps as may be necessary; coming and going with all safety or sending other persons to represent them.

Item.—All corsairs both subjects of the said sovereigns or others shall be detained.

It is agreed, in accordance with the maritime law and the treaties now in force between the two royal houses, that all property stolen or appropriated by pirates should be demanded of them by summary process, both by the recapture of goods and ships and the punishment of such pirates and their abettors, and also that measures shall be duly taken to prevent any corsair from arming or taking

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refuge in either dominion, under heavy penalties in addition to those imposed by the afore-mentioned existing treaties.

Item.—If either the queen of England or his Catholic Majesty should demand that commissioners should be appointed on both sides for the purpose of continuing the negotiations commenced at Bruges, this shall be done, and they shall discuss and remedy any abuses which may have arisen in the observance of the existing treaties and shall remove all obstacles to the commerce and friendship between the subjects of the respective sovereigns.

It appears convenient, having regard to past events and the kindness necessary to be maintained between the Queen and his Majesty the King, that such honest satisfaction should be given on both sides with regard to recent matters as may seem desirable to persons of good judgment and intent.

Item.—In order safely to convey money to Antwerp, or wherever else the duke of Alba may wish, the queen of England will if requested provide an armed ship to protect it, the expense of the same being duly reimbursed to her, and no other charges shall be paid in respect of such money except those that are just and necessary.

In order to recover the money which certain private French and English citizens have stolen from private Spanish subjects, all help possible has been given by summary order, and those who may appear to be guilty of such robberies shall restore what they have taken and be punished, or the restoration shall be made by the officers who may have consented to the theft, so that the money in any case shall be recovered; as is just.

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5 Jan. **304.** Extract from a relation furnished by Don Francés de Alava, Spanish Ambassador in France, on his return to Spain.

The ordinary English ambassador (*i.e.*, in France) spoke to me two days before my departure from Paris, expressing in very warm terms of the rejoicing of the Queen and her people all over England at the glorious naval victory, and said that it was evident that God was leading our King by the hand. I said that was visible and palpable, although the Queen, his mistress, would not see it; as she was constantly being filled with absurd suspicions of one who had been so attached to her and had proved it by his acts. The ambassador said, yes, the Queen publicly acknowledged her great obligation to his Majesty, but that ministers (this was the term he used) he saw everywhere were opposing that which was for the benefit both of England and of the house of Burgundy. He then began to exalt Don Juan of Austria and made all manner of inquiries about his looks, temper, and good qualities; and, coming close to me, he said, laughing, "This would seem something like marriage," to which I also replied jocosely, "Let you and I manage it." He replied very deliberately, "If there were not an obstacle in the "way which we all of us know, I would ask you not to make your "journey overland but to come with me to England, and then "perhaps both of us might go together to Spain. At all events, we "might settle the questions now pending, which we have discussed." I said, truly I should like to see these matters arranged, but did not

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reply about Don Juan. He returned to the subject two or three times, but I said that Don Juan was deeply occupied in the service of God and your Majesty, and that before a year was over he (the ambassador) would hear more of the valour of the good prince. I think his mistress would like to brag about this marriage as she has about previous ones. The ambassador dwelt much upon the attachment his Queen had for me ever since she had been told something about me, but I could not get him to say what it was; doubtless something ribald. He asked me how it was the duke of Medina did not come, but he sniggered and sneered so much that I asked him what he was laughing at. He said that if I would give him my word of honour not to repeat it until I was out of France he would tell me. I promised him, and he asked why the Duke was bringing in his ships, gabions, woolsacks, and other things for fortifications. I asked him whether he would promise me to keep secret what I was going to tell him from everybody but the Queen, and he said he would. I told him that this was all nonsense, and that it was just this action of his Queen in allowing herself to be edified by such tales, and worse, that prevented her from understanding your Majesty thoroughly. I derided his assertion about the gabions, &c., which he said he had received from very trustworthy persons, some of whom had only recently come from Spain.

7 Jan. **305.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

An hour after the despatch of my letter to your Majesty taken by the servant I sent to the duke of Alba on the 21st ultimo, of whom I have yet received no news, the Queen and Council (or rather Lord Burleigh, who does everything) sent one of the secretaries of the Council and Knollys, who never leaves me, to say that they were greatly surprised at my delay, and that I was to leave London on Monday, Christmas Eve. They repeated to me very violently the remarks about John Man. I answered as was fitting, in the presence of witnesses, and obeyed the order, coming to stay at Gravesend for nine or ten days, and ordering everything I had in the house to be sold to pay my most importunate creditors.

Hawkins and Fitzwilliams came to Gravesend by order of the Queen to take me in one of their ships to Calais. Hawkins being very desirous of serving your Majesty gives me great facilities; Knollys, being a terrible Protestant, and communicating almost hourly by post with Burleigh. As the Queen is desirous of having the duke of Norfolk tried with other prisoners this week, I have been hurried on to Canterbury in a way that has never been seen before. They wished to embark me at once, but I told them that until I had your Majesty's orders, or at least those of the duke of Alba in your name, I would only go by force. So I am here in this place, posts running backwards and forwards still, and Burleigh wanting to make out that I am trying to evade my departure so as not to leave. Burleigh is so much alarmed that there is no reassuring him, and, as he has received certain threatening letters, he informed the Queen that if I was here

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during the trial of the prisoners, the country would rise up in arms, and he, timid, contemptible fellow that he is, is therefore committing so many absurdities that the people are quite astonished.

They have told Zweveghem and Fiesco that they could return home, but the former said he could not leave until he had consulted the duke of Alba. They have been informed that the Queen has ordered all the merchandize to be sold, and if your Majesty or the duke of Medina-Celi would send persons with larger powers they would be listened to, but in the meanwhile the sale would go on, as the duke of Alba had taught them the way.

All this is being done to your Majesty's prejudice, and it is now certain that nothing will be recovered at all. If the league with France were concluded they would treat us worse still. Fiesco and Zweveghem write to me hourly what is going on, and themselves are somewhat distrustful. They write to me by this post that the courier is to come back secretly with leave for them to depart, which will be the best course, as their presence here is only a further loss of dignity. If it is necessary for anyone else to be here to spy out what is done, a servant of mine can come for the purpose. In the meanwhile we shall see what is done at this trial. The earl of Shrewsbury has arrived and is to be Constable (Lord High Steward) for the occasion. The Queen has created a new earl of Kent* to ensure his vote, although Burleigh tells those who are to be judges that the Queen only wishes to vindicate her honour in the condemnation of the prisoners, and will exercise her clemency afterwards. They have postponed the trial for next week.

Couriers are going backwards and forwards daily to France, and that King has written to the Queen saying that he will be glad of the offensive and defensive league with her, although they have not yet entered into particulars, Secretary Smith, who went from here, being expected at Amboise, according to a kinsman of Hawkins, who met me at Gravesend with a despatch from Walsingham. Hawkins informs me of everything, and communicates all the Council's letters to me. The league has not yet been made, and may well be prevented if his Holiness intervenes, or if it be concluded there are several ways in which the English may be made to bear all the burden.

I received at Gravesend two packets from the duke of Alba, one dated 19th ultimo, with letters from your Majesty, and the other dated 30th August, which had been detained in Flanders. By your Majesty's letter of the 5th I learn the most happy news of the birth of the prince, the greatest mercy to all Christendom and to your Majesty's subjects, which God could send. With this the Duke sent me a letter for this Queen, giving her the happy news, and, as your Majesty orders me, I should have conveyed it to her only, as the Duke did not know how things were going when he wrote the letter, and the letter itself was taken from me on the road, I did not do so. I thought it would only increase the

* Reginald Grey.

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insolence of these people excessively, and I await the return of my servant before doing anything in this.

The Queen received the news through France on the same day that I did, and it may possibly have the effect of moderating the French somewhat. There is news, however, that the King of France was providing Fleming with money to take 300 men to the castle of Edinburgh, he not wishing to break with the Scots entirely until he has completely settled the alliance with England.

I, being on the road and watched by so many eyes, have no means of letting the prisoners know that your Majesty will not fail them, but I will find means to do so presently, and in the meanwhile I shall know which of them are free and what their feelings are. As soon as I am out of here I will write at length to your Majesty what I think needful for the punishment or rehabilitation of this country and the best means to be adopted with these people, particularly to separate the French from them, or in case of a rupture to carry the war into this country (I am writing this letter hurriedly and under suspicion). The Queen has had all her ships overhauled, but has not yet ordered any of them to be put into commission, although at the time of my departure a general arrest was made of all ships in the country, and the captain of the Isle of Wight, who was at Court, has been ordered to repair to his post as well as other officers of the coast, in order to detain and lay hands on all the ships they could of the fleet going from Flanders to Spain, which was at that time off the coast. I do not know what effect these orders have had.—Canterbury, 7th January 1572.

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306. EXTRACTS from a SUMMARY of LETTERS from THOMAS FIESCO to SECRETARY ALBORNOZ, dated 7th, 8th, 18th, and 21st January and 4th and 6th February 1572.

In accordance with the disinclination of the Queen of England and her Council to do anything honest or good, after many demands, replies, and retorts carried on by the councillors in a most unworthy spirit, they sent a Secretary to him (Fiesco) and Zweveghem to tell them that the Queen had been induced to order the sale of the goods detained, for four reasons. First, that our goods should not be further damaged; secondly, to follow the example of the duke of Alba; thirdly, to pay the claims due in consequence of the duke of Alba's action to her own subjects; and fourthly, because neither Fiesco nor Zweveghem had powers to arrange. When it was the King's will to send a person with proper authority, they would carry through the settlement of the treaty, but this compliment, it is quite certain, they only added because their alliance with France is not yet completed.

When his Majesty should think fit to re-open trade and permit a reconciliation, in spite of so much injury and insult, it will be necessary, first, that the Queen should refrain from helping and receiving his Majesty's rebel subjects, in which case this sale might be passed over as there are three hundred thousand crowns belonging to Englishmen, in Flanders and here, *i.e.*, Spain, and

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seeing the large quantity of our merchandise that is lacking altogether and the damage which is being sustained by what is left, it is just as well that the sale should go on, as with the aforesaid three hundred thousand crowns the King's subjects can be much better recompensed than by restitution. In this way, the princes and peoples might be mutually satisfied as regards the arrests and the question of re-opening trade might be approached later.

Don Guerau was obliged to leave without waiting for the Duke's reply, and seeing the vile state of things here and that his Majesty and the Duke were being disregarded, Fiesco suggests that they (he and Zweveghem) might go over in the same ship as Don Guerau as there is nothing more for them to do there. Burleigh and the Council are making great efforts to persuade the people that they are proceeding in the sale of the merchandise through our fault, and, it is believed, that they will not fail to publish some document to persuade them the more to this, and Fiesco thinks that we ought to send another document on our part setting forth all that has happened in the matter, because it would not only be a consolation to those concerned to know where the fault really lay, but would also annoy the Queen and Council for their mean actions to be made known to the people. The Council having summoned some of the merchants to obtain their opinion respecting the sale of the merchandise, the latter replied that the goods should be kept for a month longer, in order to allow the owners time, in accordance with the permission already given, to come and buy their own goods at a stated price. Fiesco, however, believes that the owners will not come, nor would the Duke allow them to do so, as he would gain no honour and they no profit thereby.

When the agreement with Portugal was being discussed this point was submitted to the King, and, he having allowed the owners to come, these people think that his Majesty should do the same. It is most desirable, however, both for his Majesty's own dignity and the indemnity of his subjects' loss, that more rigorous measures should be taken. He, Fiesco, advises that, in addition to the hindering of the treaty with Portugal, all subjects of his Majesty should be prohibited from any communication with England and the use of English goods. This will not be sufficient if our ships are not also protected, and it is needful that there should be six or eight armed ships on the Biscay and Flanders coasts, kept at the cost of the merchants with some help from the King; the expense of which will be a trifle in comparison with the advantage derived therefrom. With these three points fulfilled, the English will be reduced shortly to such misery that they will easily be brought down to the same position towards his Majesty as, for the last three years, his Majesty has occupied towards them.

They have brought from Canterbury a prisoner, Borghese, the steward of Don Guerau, and though Fiesco had used his influence for him, he had done so without success, and he was thought to be in danger, as they said they had many proofs against him of his having tried to kill Burleigh in union with two other gentlemen, Englishmen, whom they took at the same time, both of whom have been condemned and one of them accuses Borghese.

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8 Feb. **307.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.
[EXTRACT.]

I believe that the men sent by the Duke of Alba to your Majesty at the beginning of January were robbed near Chatelherault of four despatches, some for your Majesty, two of which I gave to them here and two which Secretary Aguilon writes me that he gave them. Your Majesty will, therefore, not have fully understood the insolence of the queen of England and the Council in sending me away without allowing me to await your Majesty's orders and insisting upon my sailing in bad weather, besides detaining my steward, to whom Lord Burleigh is putting a thousand strange questions. Little will be got out of him, however, although they may put him to the torture and trouble him, seeing how disturbed and arrogant they are. In the meanwhile, I believe they will have sold the merchandise, as the month they allowed for the owners to come and buy it, is running out.—Brussels, 8th February 1572.

18 Feb. **308.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.
[EXTRACT.]

My departure from England had been decided upon by the Council for a long time to my knowledge, although I did not think they would have expelled me until their league with France was more assured. In order to conclude this league without any hindrance from me and to prevent their machinations and plots being so easily understood, and also to enable them to condemn the duke of Norfolk without misgiving, they hurried me in this violent way to leave the country, without allowing me to await your Majesty's permission. Before doing this, Burleigh supplied himself with declarations to inculpate me if at any time it was necessary to be friendly again. He had been getting these together for a long time past and retained my steward against all international rights.

In all the conferences that I had with the Council or with Secretary Tremaine, and even when they spoke to Zweveghem, these English were for ever bringing up the question of John Man's treatment in Spain.—Brussels, 18th February 1572.

24 Feb. **309.** The KING to GUERAU DE SPES.

Having received all the letters you wrote to me in December and that from Canterbury on the 7th of January, as well as letters from the duke of Alba, informing me of your arrival in Bruges, I was glad to hear that, since the Queen decided to treat you as she did, you should have got safely out of the country. There is nothing to say about things that are already past, but, as regards to your staying in Flanders or coming hither, you will follow the Duke's instructions as I will write to him what I desire. He will also provide you with money on account of your salary which will run until you arrive here at the same rate as you were paid in England. As to all English affairs, and particularly as regards Hawkins and Fitzwilliams, I refer you also to the Duke.—Madrid, 24th February 1572.

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24 Feb. **310.** The KING to the DUKE of MEDINA-CELI.

I learn from the duke of Alba that he had sent advising you not to put into an English port, and, as the sea is so uncertain and the weather so bad that his letter may not have reached you, I think well to repeat the advice to you, and to tell you the reasons why those people (the English) are not to be trusted. In order that no minister of mine might be near the Queen to witness her bad proceedings about religion and government and to watch her opposition to my interests, she invented some colourable pretext for expelling from her realm my ambassador Don Guerau de Spes, who is already at Bruges, although they still kept in prison his steward, on I know not what suspicion in connection with the restitution of the embargoed goods, so that the Duke considered negotiations now quite broken off. Besides this, they have just seized three more ships belonging to subjects of mine, and there are many indications that the negotiations for a league with the French were proceeding; all of which proves that there is little desire to be friendly with us. By certain steps the Duke has recently taken we shall soon learn all there is to be known, and I will advise you, as soon as I receive his news, what is best to be done. I have said enough to put you on your guard not to trust the English nor touch in their country. I am writing to the same effect to my officers on the coast and elsewhere, in order that ships leaving for Flanders may be warned.—Madrid, 24th February 1572.

14 March. **311.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.
[EXTRACT.]

They released my servant in England* after a very cautious interrogation, and having detained him a month longer by threats and promises, and, still finding him firm in his declarations that he knew nothing about any plots against them, they have let him come away before the duke of Alba's letter to the Queen about it was delivered. I learn from him the danger in which the duke of Norfolk now lies, the Queen having already ordered his execution and on the following day again postponed it.

The Queen has given orders under her patent for certain Englishmen and Flemish rebels to falsify crowns and other coins of your Majesty's States. Most of this false money is being coined in Ireland.—Brussels, 14th March 1572.

17 March. **312.** The KING to GUERAU DE SPES.

I have learned from your letters and from the copy of that of Zweveghem to you, and the relation you gave to the Duke about England, of the state of things in that country, which certainly is bad enough. The proceedings of the Queen and her friends prove

* Borghese, the ambassador's steward, had been arrested at Canterbury when with his master, on the charge of plotting to murder Cecil. He was probably the same man who was secretary to the former Spanish ambassador, the bishop of Aquila, and the story of whose treachery and betrayal of his master's secrets is fully detailed in Vol. I. of the present Calendar (Spanish—Elizabeth, 1559—1567). Another servant of the ambassador, Damian Dela, the Valencian tailor, was also arrested.

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their bad intentions. This has been no news to me, but although I cannot give precise orders from here respecting events which vary from day to day, as the Duke has them in hand I am quite confident that he will do what is best. You will obey his orders and tell him all you learn, and you will also follow his instructions with regard to your coming hither.—Madrid, 17th March 1572.

18 March. **313.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

I have received your Majesty's letter of the 24th ultimo, and in conformity therewith will remain here and follow the orders of the duke of Alba.

I have letters from England of the 9th instant, on which date nearly all the merchandise had been sold, but at such high prices that you Majesty's subjects could not buy it, and the English have therefore been able to get it all, the Queen giving them facilities with regard to the payment.

A copy of the arrangement being made with Portugal by the Chevalier Giraldi is enclosed, as is also a copy of the new proclamation of the Queen of England against the pirates, at the instance, as I am told, of certain Easterlings who complain that their goods are stolen, mixed up with others. The effect will be the same as that of the six or seven other proclamations which were issued when I was there. I will report everything to the duke of Alba.—Brussels, 18th March 1572.

26 March. **314.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS* to the KING.

Hoping that my boldness will not offend your Majesty, I send this report for your Majesty's information of present events here. The disorder in which this is written is for greater obscurity in the cipher. I write to the duke of Alba to the same effect. The substance of it is that, two months ago, a third person came to speak to me several times, saying that it would be a great service to God and a benefit to your Majesty's dominions, as well as to this country, if some agreement could be arrived at respecting the present dissension, and he was certain that this discord was in a great measure owing to there being no one to undertake the necessary good offices. He said that the Queen and Council were quite willing to come to an agreement, and I, greatly praising his good wishes and opinion, told him that I believed your Majesty also was willing and there would be no falling back on your part.

* From the expulsion of Don Guerau de Spes until the coming of Don Bernardino de Mendoza, early in 1578, there was no resident Spanish ambassador in England, and Antonio de Guaras was apparently instructed to watch over Spanish interests informally. He had lived in England for many years as a merchant, and was a leading member of the Spanish community in London, at least as far back as 1549 and probably earlier. His letters were usually addressed to the Governors of the Netherlands and to Gabriel de Zayas, the King's secretary, but, as may be imagined, are neither so full or so frequent as those of a regular accredited ambassador would have been. They are altogether missing from the archives from the end of 1572 to the end of 1574, and an attempt has been made in the present Calendar to supply their place partly from other sources. All that is known of Antonio de Guaras has been recently embodied in an interesting monograph entitled "Antonio de Guaras," by Richard Garnett, LL.D. (London, 1892).

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At the same time the person always told me that, if I would convey this good feeling of the Queen and Council to your Majesty or the duke of Alba, he, for his part, would also inform Lord Burleigh of my willingness to render good offices to the same end. As your Majesty knows, it is Burleigh who rules the whole of this country. I invariably replied that I would give no advice of this matter until I was satisfied that there was some good foundation for his assertion, and thereupon this third person arranged that Lord Burleigh should summon me, as he did yesterday, and after he had mentioned many matters in justification of the Queen and Council in the past dissensions, I, replying, throwing the blame upon them, which he seemed to take in good part, he declared, without any dissimulation or hesitation, the willingness with which the Queen and Council would enter into negotiations for an agreement. He seemed to me to say this with every appearance of truth and earnestness, and, however disingenuous their previous offers had been, the present one was made apparently with all sincerity and with a desire for tranquility and repose. He spoke of your Majesty's person with due reverence, confessing to me that they had always hitherto feared and suspected greatly that the duke of Alba, being a declared enemy, might oppose an arrangement, but they had since been informed that the evil did not arise with him entirely, but from certain people in your Majesty's Court, mentioning the late duke of Feria, who, he said, was ostensibly a good friend to the Queen, but was in matters of State her enemy. I said that in your Court, in Flanders and here, he, Cecil, was much looked up to in affairs, and consequently was the more bound to conduct them to a good end, as he could do if he pleased, whereupon he answered me with an oath that if it had not been for him the late suspension of relations would have ended in an open rupture, and Flanders would have felt the effect in acts rather than words. As I saw he was not displeased to listen to me, I told him my opinion on the matter, and pointed out the great advantage to them which would accrue from the preservation of peace with the House of Burgundy, saying that he was not ignorant of the attitude which should be assumed towards so potent a prince as your Majesty, who was not only master of great kingdoms and revenues, but had the command of the fortunes of many people by means of your credit. I said that all princes valued the success of your Majesty's affairs, and that the confidence which the English were placing in Frenchmen and in a party of the Scots was generally believed to be unfounded. He replied, amongst other things, that, if the business came to an open rupture, the queen of England would display an amount of strength that would surprise some people, but he assured me that the Queen and Council being desirous of quietude, if I conveyed this good feeling to your Majesty and the duke of Alba, I should find that I had not acted lightly, but with all the weight that his word could give me. All this and other things to the same effect he expressed with an appearance of much kindness and goodwill, saying that he hoped that I should exercise my good offices in the matter. This conversation took place in his own room, no other person being allowed there to overhear us, but during the course of the inter-

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view the French ambassador came and disturbed us, when Cecil said to me, "I will send you word by the third person when I want to see you." I asked him whether I should write before I saw him again, to which he replied, "You may well write." This is almost word for word what passed with Burleigh, but, in the course of talk, he also said that, though tranquillity might result from this conversation, if anything to the contrary fell out, they were ready to put themselves on the offensive and defensive; and that, from letters which had been taken from Beaton, a Scotch noble, on his way to Scotland, he, Cecil, had intelligence of the understandings with the duke of Alba. He also said many things about the Queen being much offended at your Majesty having placed Stukeley in such a high position, they having been informed that you gave him a great daily allowance for his expenses, had made him a knight, and done other things to the Queen's prejudice. He said that on another occasion he would speak to me more at leisure, and I took leave of him. I will advise your Majesty and the duke of Alba of what else occurs with him.

So far as my poor judgment goes, I feel sure that they really desire peace, as he expressed grief at the time which must necessarily elapse before your Majesty or the Duke received the information, and could send a reply, for which he seemed impatient. The best way to please or cajole them would be to let them have a reply quickly. There is every reason to believe that in past times they did not desire peaceful terms, because they were persuaded that France would be a better friend, and that Orange and his party could do much, whilst they thought that the Granada business would not easily be settled. As they now, moreover, are in some fear of the people in consequence of the imprisonment of the duke of Norfolk and his friends, it is plain that they desire peace, and are in much fear of war. I recognise that the said third person had been sent to me by Burleigh for these reasons, and especially because of the glorious victory over the Turk, and other similar victories which may be hoped for with God's help. What is most perplexing to them is your Majesty's silence in the face of so much offence, and so many opportunities. In short everything tends to the belief that Burleigh's declaration is sincere, and the conclusion may be drawn that it is now in your Majesty's hands, either to agree to an arrangement, or the contrary, if such shall be to the interests of God and your Majesty. There is a general muster of troops through the country on the 1st May, and they are arming ten of the Queen's ships.—London, 26th March 1572.

28 March. **315.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

I consulted with the duke of Alba respecting what your Majesty orders in your letter of 24th ultimo, and he thought it would be best to await your Majesty's reply to the special messenger sent.

Letters from England of 13th and 18th report the continuation of the sale, and that the Queen had shown certain letters in cipher to M. de Croc, the French ambassador, who has gone to Scotland

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which she said were from the duke of Alba, informing the queen of Scotland that he had given orders to certain men to kill the queen of England, a great fiction invented to ingratiate herself the more with the French. They also report that the pirates have again been capturing ships belonging to your Majesty's subjects, notwithstanding the proclamations against them. The English are again arming furiously, and the Queen had given orders to fit out ten of her ships.

I conversed to-day with the duke of Alba about Hawkins, and set forth the service he could render. I will advise your Majesty what is decided on this and other points.—Brussels, 28th March 1572.

3 April. **316.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

Since my last letter advices have come from England that the Queen is raising 10,000 men, and is pushing forward the arming of the 12 ships. These preparations are announced there to be for the defence of England and Ireland, and it may be that an alliance with France has been concluded, although the duke of Alba and Aguilon tell me that, though they suspect it, there is no certainty. The fleet being fitted out in France is in my opinion rather to molest the Indies than anything else, as the French have had the project of troubling you in those parts for a long time past. I do not know whether they will attempt anything here with the help of English and Danish ships, encouraged somewhat by the uneasiness in these places. The French have already done much harm here by the placard, of which I send a copy enclosed, although doubtless your Majesty will have received it through other channels. It would appear advisable to counteract this by other placards, or to have this revoked, as it is instrumental in ruining this country.

As regards the restitution of the money, it looks as if the Queen, was playing with Thomas Fiesco, when she asks for three years' time, without binding herself by deed or surety. As to the wools, they will allow them to be brought hither, but only to be sold at a high price for cash, and they are giving themselves great airs about their riches, as the duke of Alba will write fully to your Majesty. I gave the Duke the agreement that Hawkins had arranged with Feria, and he thought the cost was very heavy. As it is important in your Majesty's interests, I told the Duke that the Captain might be utilised, when your Majesty wished to undertake English affairs, on services of less onerous cost, and would serve against the pirates, or against the Queen's fleet, or for the capture of some port, as might be desired. When the Duke decides I will send and ask Hawkins in what way he can best serve your Majesty.—Brussels, 3rd April 1572.

7, 8, and 11 April. **317.** Antonio de Guaras to the Duke of Alba.

By Tusan, the special courier whom I sent to your Excellency, I received your reply of 26th ultimo yesterday, the first day of Easter, and, immediately on receiving it, in conformity with the

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arrangement made with Burleigh, to let him know when the reply was received, I at once went to the Court to inform him, and to learn when he wished to see me. As Burleigh was very ill, I could not speak with him, but the third person went after midday, and I myself waited at Court so as to be near at hand if there was a possibility of an interview, but the third person was unable to see him, in consequence of his serious illness. It was said yesterday that he was in great danger, and the Queen had been to visit him with most of the Councillors. I have heard that last night he was with somewhat better hopes of recovery, but as his state has been so perilous it has been impossible to communicate to him what your Excellency orders. If he gets better I will do it to the best of my ability, and certainly, if this man dies, it will be very unfortunate for the purpose which he declared to me, as I advised your Excellency in my letter of the 26th ultimo. It is true that hitherto he has undoubtedly been the enemy of peace and tranquillity for his own bad ends, but I am convinced, as I wrote to your Excellency, he is now well disposed, which means that the Queen and Council are so, because he and no one else rules the whole of the affairs of State. God grant that if it be for His service he may live. I will advise your Excellency if he does so.

8 April. **318.**

This courier has been delayed, and I therefore write that, in order to lose no opportunity, I have been at Court all day to-day, in case Lord Burleigh should be better able to speak to me, and although, in consequence of his illness, he is not attending to any business, as soon as he heard that I was in his lodgings, he sent out word that I was not to go as he would receive me. He did so, and I, to the best of my ability, informed him of the things your Excellency ordered me to tell him. He was very weak and feverish, but seemed to take it all in good part, and to be greatly pleased at the goodwill of his Majesty and your Excellency towards a friendly agreement, although he said in reply to your Excellency's remarks that, from the beginning of the dissension, they had been receiving advices which led them to believe that preparations were being made to the injury of the Queen and Council, and, indeed, that letters from the English rebels (as he calls them) in Spain had been captured, saying that his Majesty and your Excellency were certainly intending to conquer England. These letters particularly mentioned that the Marquis Chapin Viteli was to land in this country with a strong force. I told him that any such thing written by the people he said, could be nothing but a joke, because, as your Excellency says, there was never any other wish on our side but for quietude and peace, and that it is not safe to found opinions upon mere reports and suspicions. He said that it was not desirable to spend time in discussing the causes of past dissensions, but it would be better to embrace with much affection and goodwill everything which tended to peace and amity, and again repeated his assurance that this was the Queen's wish, as she regarded his Majesty with so

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much reverence that she was annoyed with what had passed, regarding him, as she did, in the light of her true ally and elder brother. All this he told me with such an appearance of affection and kindness that I am sure he and the Queen are sincere, as I hope they will prove later on. As Lord Burleigh did not appear to be unwilling to hear my humble opinion, I told him it was clear that the preservation of the Queen's old friendship with his Majesty would assure her against all her rebels, as he calls them, who are now abroad, and their friends here, as it would also against the French and Scots, to their great dismay, and that of others who were anxiously hoping that these negotiations for friendship would fall through, which God forbid. On our side, too, we recognise that England was potent for her defence, and that the French and Scots and others in case of a rupture would be on their side, for their own ends and out of no friendship for them, although I could assure him that neither his Majesty nor your Excellency ever thought of anything but concord. He replied that it was certainly quite natural for friendship to exist between England, Spain, and Flanders, and, entering more into detail on the question of the origin of the dissension and the remedies therefor, we spoke of this, much to be desired, concord being established after the most just possible restitution had been made, the rebels from Flanders cast out from this country and from off the seas, the English rebels, as he called them, expelled from Spain and Flanders, or after a general pardon on all sides, the re-opening of trade, and the restitution of all things to their previous position, with the confirmation of all old treaties mutually. I made some of these suggestions, and Lord Burleigh others, and on my informing him of what your Excellency says with regard to proceeding as Lord Burleigh thinks best, he appeared greatly pleased and gratified, saying generally to this and the rest of my discourse that, after they had heard M. de Zweveghem, I was to send the third person to him, Cecil, by whom he would let me know when he wanted to see me. I told him very emphatically, as your Excellency orders, that the answer to be given to Zweveghem would prove in a great measure their goodwill and desire for an agreement. I will advise your Excellency of whatever else happens. This is in substance what passed with Lord Burleigh.

When I had left his room and was going in a boat with the third person to my house, I saw the Queen approaching the landing-place of the palace in her barge, in which, the day being fine, she had been taking the air in company with Lord Leicester and many other gentlemen, and followed by a great number of boats filled with people, who were anxious to see her Majesty. We, being amongst the other people, stayed our boat to see her, and when I made my bow like all the rest, the Queen as usual saluted the people, and noticing me, either because she knew me, or because some one told her my name and that I was a foreigner, to the surprise of every one, I being such a humble person, called out to me in Italian, my boat being somewhat distant out of respect for her, and asked me very gaily and graciously if I was coming from the Court, and if I had seen Lord Burleigh. I knelt, as was my duty,

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and replied, "Yes, my Lady, at your Majesty's service." As the boats approached the landing-place her Majesty's barge was delayed a moment, when she smilingly seemed to desire to say something more to me, whereupon I endeavouring to bring my boat alongside the Queen's barge, she turned to me and said, "When were you with Lord Burleigh?" To which I replied, "My Lady, I have just left him;" whereupon she said, waving her hand several times, and apparently with great pleasure, "That is all right," and her barge then proceeded, she bidding me farewell with so many signs of pleasure and favour that people noticed it much, and I most of all, surprised to receive these favours from the Queen, to whom I had never rendered any service. All this confirmed the certainty that the Queen and Lord Burleigh are in accord in their desire for an amicable settlement, and her behaviour on this unpremeditated occasion is a further proof of her good intentions. She very often visits Lord Burleigh, and no doubt has communicated with him on this affair, and has been informed that I had conveyed to Lord Burleigh by your Excellency orders the assurance of your good offices and efforts to preserve the old friendship between the two sovereigns, which has always been the desire of our King. No doubt every day will also strengthen the good purposes of these people, which God grant, until we see the much desired and looked for result of a firm and faithful friendship.—London, 11th April 1572.

11 April. **319.**

The courier who is to take this has again been detained, and I now have to add that, in accordance with my understanding with Burleigh, when I heard that M. de Zweveghem had been with the Queen yesterday I sent the third person to Burleigh to ask him whether he wished to see me. The third person came back in great sorrow, saying that Burleigh had told him that he had been much annoyed because the Queen, after her interview with Zweveghem, had told him (Burleigh) that she was greatly astonished at the indiscreet way in which these matters, that had been communicated to me, had been managed. Zweveghem, she said, had told her in the course of conversation that she (the Queen) and Burleigh were those who were so anxious for peace, adding that he knew Burleigh had sent for me as if to beg and solicit it. Burleigh also told the third person that he heard that Zweveghem said that he had in his possession copies of the letter which I wrote to your Excellency, and of your Excellency's reply to me. Burleigh also said to the third person, as if he were annoyed with him: "If "Antonio de Guaras wants to come and see me, let him come, or "do as he likes." He also said: "If the duke of Alba on the one "hand pretends to be willing for peace and concord, as Guaras told "me; whilst on the other hand, through Zweveghem, he treats the "matter in an entirely different spirit, it is clear that, however "good our intentions may be, theirs are not so." He said, moreover, "I was just drafting the clauses of an agreement in the most "impartial way I could, in accordance with the message that "Guaras brought to the effect that the duke of Alba would leave

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" the bases of agreement to me, which I had looked upon as a " compliment; but now I see that the whole business is spoilt." This happened yesterday, the 10th, in the afternoon, and when I heard, to my surprise, what had been said, I decided to go this morning to speak to Burleigh, which I did, and he repeated to me verbally, almost word for word, what he had said to the third person, although he did not mention anything about drafting the clauses, nor did I. He said that, knowing the willingness of the Queen for peace, and his own desire, they had treated the matter in all sincerity, after they had heard from me that his Majesty and your Excellency were also favourable, and he felt certain that if any persons were trying to obstruct the good objects in view, they were doing it with a sinister intent. He also said: " If you think " well to persevere in your representations to the King and the " Duke as to the willingness of the Queen and myself for concord " in the interests of God and the common welfare, I think you will " be right in doing so." All this he said as if he had been grieved with what had passed. As your Excellency had not directed me to communicate with M. de Zweveghem anything of this I have not done so, nor has Zweveghem mentioned the matter to me. I therefore supposed that it was not your Excellency's wish that I should communicate the matter to him, and I can only believe that Zweveghem must have said what he did for some good reason, of which I am ignorant, and which, no doubt, he will be able to satisfactorily explain.

As your Excellency will learn, Parliament is to be opened here on the 12th of May, it is believed, for the sole purpose of appointing a successor in case of the Queen's death without children. It is believed that they will choose the son of the earl of Hertford, who is ten years old, and is the son of Catharine, the daughter of Frances, and grand-daughter of the queen of France, second sister of Henry VIII. This Catharine was the sister of Jane who was beheaded in the time of our lady, Queen Mary of glorious memory.

It is to be supposed also that they will discuss the alliance which they are now arranging with the French, in order that Parliament may confirm the same, and will persuade the people to adopt defensive measures in case they are attacked by enemies from abroad, especially pointing to his Majesty. It is presumed for certain that they will make such preparations in consequence of their suspicion of us, it being sure that if they could be satisfied of our friendship, they would not take any such steps as these, since there is nothing the Queen hates more than to appoint a successor, to ally herself to France excepting under pressing need, and especially to undertake a war, above all against our King.

In order not to waste time, which I might pass at Court in the interests of affairs, I do not write this with my own hand, but it is written by my man, who is faithful and true, in the hope that your Excellency will not be offended thereat. There was an intention to-day to carry out the execution of the duke of Norfolk, the officers of justice and the people being already collected. But the Queen sent an order to suspend it, which is the third time she has done so.

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The last time I was with Lord Burleigh he told me, with great apparent desire for secrecy, not so much by expressed words as by indirect hints, that there were some members of the Council who were opposed to the desires of the Queen and himself on this matter of concord, and almost said that it was in consequence of their affection for the French. He said that there was a suspicion that some of such Councillors secretly received pensions from the king of France, which he deprecated, and justified himself by saying that his only desire was duly to serve the Queen. In this connection I said that the earl of Leicester was publicly noted for his tendency towards the French, whereupon he smiled but said nothing; and afterwards, continuing the conversation said, that although it would be troublesome to persuade some of the Councillors who were of this way of thinking, he believed nevertheless that he should be able to do it, as the Queen was entirely of the same opinion as himself, and added: "I and the others shall be strong enough." Of the 12 persons who ordinarily meet in Council, five of them, namely, the Chancellor, Burleigh, the earl of Sussex, the Lord Chamberlain, and Sir James Crofts, the Controller, will be of the Queen's opinion, whilst the earl of Leicester, the earl of Bedford, the Admiral, Sadler, Knollys, and another* will be on the other side, and friendly to France. When I was with Burleigh subsequently he was told that Knollys was coming up to speak to him, and he said to me, "Go out by that secret door so that Knollys "may not see you, for he is of the other way of thinking, which I "was mentioning, but I expect we shall be quite strong enough to "have our way, as I have said." He said this as if he had forgotten his previous annoyance.—London, 11th April 1572.

11 April. **320.** Antonio de Guaras to the King.

On the 26th ultimo I wrote to your Majesty in cipher, and I now write this openly, as I am told from Flanders that I may do, as my letters are entrusted to safe hands. My object is to enclose for your Majesty's information, copies of my letters to the duke of Alba. In order not to lose the time that otherwise I might pass at Court in the interests of these affairs, I do not write this with my own hand, but it is written by my man, who is faithful and true, whereat I hope your Majesty will not be offended.—London, 11th April 1572.

29 April. **321.**

The above is a copy of my note appended to the copies of my letters to the duke of Alba of 7th, 8th, and 11th, and I now enclose another copy thereof, writing all subsequent intelligence to the duke of Alba.

15 April. **322.** Guerau de Spes to the King.

After receiving your Majesty's letter of the 17th ultimo, I consulted the duke of Alba as to whether I should stay here or go to salute your Majesty. He told me that it would be better that I

* Sir Walter Mildmay.

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should go as soon as I could, in order to inform your Majesty in detail of events in England and here, for which purpose, he said, he would provide me with the necessary means. In accordance with your Majesty's orders and those of the Duke, therefore, I shall leave as soon as possible. I have now to say that since the coming of these few Gueux, who have fortified themselves in Brille, on the island of Voorn, the disturbed state of feeling among people here is becoming manifest. In Flushing, which was very obedient during the last troubles, people are obstinate in refusing to allow a fortress to be established, and they have badly wounded, without any provocation, Captain Isidro Pacheco. They are howling out that if they are pressed very hardly they will spoil the rest of the island, and all the townsmen will go over to England. The same thing has been attempted at Bergen-op-Zoom, although it did not succeed; nor did the people at Rotterdam, thanks to the industry of Count Bossu. The Gueux have already received some punishment at Delfthaven, which they attempted to occupy and fortify with the intention of attacking Delft. They have about 26 ships, mostly small, and many of the rebels are wearing their collars hung with the new coins, in which they say the tenth is not to be found. At Vera (Voorn?) and adjoining islets they have seized all the victuals and ruined the churches, many of the good people being obliged to fly. It is true that many of the people of the country are helping willingly, as they are Anabaptist heretics. This is the island which I learnt in England they were about to take, and had reconnoitred with that object, particularly the town of Brille. This was done by a Gascon captain, who is probably the man who is now with them (the Gueux). There are about fourteen hundred of the rebels English, French, and Flemings, and it is said that M. de Lumay and Frelon, whose father was formerly governor of Brille, are the leaders.

News from England is that the Queen has entirely recovered her health, and that the troops which have been raised are being divided into regiments so as to be ready when wanted, they remaining at present at their own homes learning to shoot their harquebusses. Only three ships have been armed hitherto, and the merchandise was being sold. The duke of Alba informs me that he has heard through a Spanish merchant that they have played a trick upon me and have no treaties afoot. This is no doubt to sound the Duke, and perhaps to put him off his guard, for I believe, as also does Secretary Aguilon, that the league between the English and French is concluded and Marshal Montmorenci is expected from (in?) London for the final settlement. I have learnt here that M. de Refuge, a servant of the duke of Longueville, and M. de Premorus, a servant of the duchess of Vendome, come frequently to these States to sell the timber from their masters' woods, or at least that is their ostensible object. I am advising the duke of Alba of this.

The preparations which are being talked about for great festivals near St. Quintin, for the marriage of the prince of Vendome, are being looked upon here with much suspicion, as so much armed cavalry with Hans Casimir will be there.—Brussels, 15th April 1572.

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26 April. **323.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

I gave your Majesty information that the rebels had taken possession of Brille, and that help had come to them from Embden and England. Many men are flocking to them and their numbers are increasing. The Flushing people have joined them and raised the banners of the prince of Orange. All this is of the greatest importance, particularly in view of the detestation of these people to the tenths, and if their turbulence be not allayed great evil may result to your Majesty's interests.

I write this openly as it is highly necessary that your Majesty should be informed of it in order that steps may be taken. I hope shortly to speak to your Majesty personally upon the subject, as the duke of Alba tells me that I had better go to give your Majesty an account of English and Flemish affairs. I will therefore leave for the purpose without reporting my passage through France.

From England letters, dated the 17th instant, report that the Queen had four thousand foot soldiers near London and some others, ready to join these Gueux, with the determination of helping them in any case. The sale of the merchandise was proceeding. The league with the French is said to be not entirely concluded, although, seeing the preparations on both sides, it may well be believed that it is.

The [fleet from Rochelle was always believed to be destined for the Indies if the present events in Zealand do not tempt them to come and amuse themselves here. The English Parliament opens on the 8th instant; the earl of Leicester and Burleigh would like to get the duke of Norfolk executed before that date. The Queen has ordered the execution three times, but has always countermanded it.—Brussels, 26th April 1572.

5 May. **324.** GUERAU DE SPES to the KING.

I am only delaying my departure as the duke of Alba wishes me to make some arrangement to receive intelligence from England. This I will do by means of ciphers, which I have left there with some private persons desirous of serving your Majesty.

M. de Zweveghem has written saying that the Queen had sent him orders to prepare his departure at once, which he was doing. M. de Foix was expected in London for the conclusion of the league and the French think that they will thus obtain possession of the queen of Scotland. These treaties will certainly be carried through now they have gone so far, particularly as the disturbances in Zealand have so greatly raised their spirits. The rebels are still increasing, and are now pressing Middleburg closely. If this is lost very great evil will result. The duke of Alba is raising his army, and the fleet will soon be ready, but I am in great fear of these people, seeing how dissatisfied they are, as I will verbally explain to your Majesty.—Brussels, 5th May 1572.

325. Document headed "INFORMATION which DON GUERAU DE SPES obtained in England, and related on his coming to Spain" (amongst papers of 1572).

The queen of England, being so much attached to heresy, has always attempted to injure the interests of the King, as he is so

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Catholic and powerful prince, whom she has deeply offended and whose anger she fears. She promoted the revolutions in Flanders in the time of Count Egmont and the prince of Orange, aiding by means of money, ships, and stores, and receiving rebels in such numbers that there are at least 20,000 there at the present time. She provides them with all that is necessary to arm and assail the Netherlands coasts and those of Spain and the Indies. At the end of 1568, when Don Guerau arrived in England as ambassador, Cardinal Chatillon came thither on the same day, and it was arranged between him and the Queen that our rebels and the armed Englishmen should seize all the ships belonging to his Majesty's subjects which passed through the Channel, in order to enrich the Queen with the booty and help the French Huguenots, who were then, for the third time, in arms against their King. This was done, and 14 or 15 very valuable ships were immediately captured, although the ambassador was assured that this was not in accordance with the Queen's wish.

At this time money belonging to his Majesty and the Flemings arrived there in four cutters and a ship, to the amount of about 800,000 ducats, and, notwithstanding her signed passport and faithful promise given to the ambassador, the Queen with great artifice seized a part of this money, the rest being saved by two of the cutters boldly running through the pirates.

Thereupon the Duke ordered the seizure of goods in Flanders, sending M. D'Assonleville to beg the Queen to restore what she had taken and he would do the same. D'Assonleville, however, was not allowed to see the Queen, and the ambassador himself was detained and surrounded by armed men for six months. The Queen shortly afterwards became more openly inimical to the King's interests; forming a league with the French and Germans and ignominiously dismissing the Marquis Chapin Viteli, who came to confer with her, as she also did subsequently to the ambassador and M. de Zweveghem and Thomas Fiesco, who had gone to England on the matter of the merchandise. She pressed the Catholics with intolerable cruelty, ordering the most atrocious death penalties, to such an extent that Northumberland, Westmoreland, and other northern gentlemen took up arms against her 'war of edicts' on God and the Catholic Church. As they were not helped, they were obliged to scatter and some of them were lost. The duke of Norfolk also renounced his allegiance to the Queen. This nobleman may be called the Campo de Rosy of that country, powerful enough to bring it into submission to anyone he pleased, and to restore the Catholic religion there. This he offered his Majesty and His Holiness to do, asking for very little help, but the whole project was delayed and disconcerted, and the queen of Scotland, who is the true heiress and a Catholic princess, has been for the last five years a close prisoner in England, she having taken refuge there peacefully, and at the Queen's invitation.

The queen of England has a Council well adapted for such work as this, composed of heretics and badly disposed men who have enriched themselves by the plunder of our people, and who are bitterly determined to disturb the dominions of our King and

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abate his grandeur. They therefore never lose sight of opportunities for disturbing the Netherlands, having gone so far as to attempt the capture of the isles of Zealand. They also are continually attempting to trouble the Indies, robbing the ships that come and go, and endeavouring to discover the passage by the channel, which is presumed to exist at the north of the Indies, in order to get into the southern seas and molest Peru and the islands. In short, they try all they can with artifice and persistence to damage the crown of Spain.

It will be easy to pay them back in their own coin both in Ireland and in England, as the Irish are Catholics and wish to shake off the yoke of the English who cruelly tyrannise over them. The principal persons in the island have sent to his Majesty to offer their submission to him. The task is an easy one, and with three or four thousand men and a competent fleet the island would be mastered, as his Majesty has been informed by a detailed report. All this must be arranged with dissimulation, so that it may be put into execution in the spring. There are persons ready who are well fitted for the task, and there never was such an opportunity as this. There are facilities also for the English enterprise if the duke of Alba would look into it or at least countenance those who would undertake it. This he has, for certain reasons, refused to do hitherto, but if Ireland were ours first, it would afford great facilities for the subjection of England, although, if the duke of Alba will take the matter up, it will be easy to do both things. It will be necessary with this object to bring forward the name of the queen of Scotland as the legitimate Queen, with the object of marrying her to Don John of Austria, or another person of this house, in order the more to assure the allegiance of people in the countries. When his Majesty may be pleased to consider the matter all his scruples shall be satisfied, and in the meanwhile this is submitted for the consideration of your Lordship.

326. Guerau de Spes to the King.

[Incomplete, but apparently written in France during his journey to Madrid.]

Although your Majesty will have reports of French affairs since the events of Valenciennes, I have thought well to write, before myself saluting you, to say that the preparations being made at Bordeaux, Brouage, and other ports near Rochelle, are very great. There are twenty-two great warships with five or six thousand harquebussiers and many gentlemen, some of whom belong to the chamber of the Christian King, the flower of France, both Catholics and Huguenots. Three great galleys are being built at Bayonne with all speed to accompany this fleet, and three similar galleys are probably now finished in Havre de Grace. From this it is deduced that this fleet is to assail the Netherlands, because galleys cannot be used in the Indies, and in former times they had been employed in the canals of Zealand. From what I hear from Catholics and Protestants, I gather that these heretics wish to gain the goodwill of M. d'Alençon, who is not satisfied with his share of the partition, and they wish to make him believe that the Flemish portion may

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be improved. He therefore consents in these undertakings and personally encourages those who are going. I have said nothing about it to Don Diego de Zuñiga* until I learn your Majesty's wishes, or if it was advisable that this captain† should have a post on one of the frontiers so that he might serve your Majesty when you thought fit to accept his service. I can say nothing more positive about France or England, except that they proceed with all diligence and artfulness to injure your Majesty's interests, as I will verbally report when I appear before your Majesty.

If the force being raised by the duke of Alba is small, they (the English) will at once go to the aid of the rebels; if it be large, they will temporise on land but continue to molest us at sea, succouring the Zealand people at their pleasure. I am told that, with this end, M. de Montbrun was raising nine standards in Gascony, and others were being raised in different parts of France. The French in this are fulfilling three objects: first, pleasing the Turk by diverting your Majesty's forces, causing you great expenditure whilst keeping your States in turmoil, standing as they think, perhaps, to win, but running no risk of losing, because they think your Majesty will not openly declare war if the Christian King make some sort of apology. The Protestants think that Admiral Chatillon will undertake the relief of Mons, in the name of himself and his accomplices, for which purpose it is said he is raising troops in Germany. The sooner your Majesty's forces are ready in Flanders, and Mons be strictly blockaded, the better. As regards the Irish affair, which is already so advanced, your Majesty's fleet must be sufficiently large in those seas to overawe the English and bring the Queen to her senses. I told the Viceroy of Navarre that it would be well that the Biscayners, who are with the galleys in Bayonne, should be secretly summoned and that they should burn the galleys. I do not know whether he has written to your Majesty about this, but he approved of it. I also told him what a small garrison there is in Bayonne. . . .

12 May. **327.** Antonio de Guaras to the Duke of Alba.

I wrote to your Excellency on the 29th ult. by M. de Zweveghem, and have since then heard nothing of Tusan, the courier I sent to your Excellency on the 11th ult., nor have I received anything from your Excellency. I trust both letters will have been safely delivered.

Having heard from the third person that the Queen and Lord Burleigh were greatly surprised that Tusan had not returned, and that the matter respecting which I wrote was being so long delayed, I went to see Lord Burleigh four days ago, and told him that I was hourly expecting an answer, and thought that your Excellency was delaying it until you had heard from Zweveghem verbally the particulars of the answer which had been given to him here, and that being the case, the courier would not be much longer delayed. He answered shortly, as if not well pleased with the delay, "Very well."

* The new Spanish ambassador in France. † Hawkins?

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On the 8th instant the Queen went with the ordinary ceremonies to open Parliament. She looked well in her robes and wearing her crown, which I never have yet seen any prince here do in Parliament. It is said that the principal business will be the justification of the proceedings against the duke of Norfolk, in order that all the country may see, if he be executed, that it has been for just causes, as they say, and with the consent of all estates of the realm. It is greatly suspected that he will not be pardoned, and that the prisoners in the Tower will be proceeded against, they being, as the saying is, his companions in the same crime.

It is also expected that the Parliament will deal with the succession to the crown and the alliance with France. Montmorenci is expected here and lodgings have been prepared for him in the earl of Leicester's house. It is confirmed that the Admiral of England will go to France on the same business.

For the last ten days the Flemish rebels here have been busy again collecting arms and money from their friends to send troops to Brille and Flushing. The men who are busiest in this are two brothers, heretic rebels, called the Palmas of Middleburg, who are trying to convince these foolish people of the goodness of their silly plans and are sending more troops every day.

There are two young German gentlemen constantly at Court busy in some negotiation, and yesterday they received a reply which seemed to please them, as I noticed that they left the Court in great rejoicing. It may well be supposed that these people, not being satisfied of our friendship, are providing themselves with German friends.

The last time I was with Lord Burleigh he told me he would send me the document which I now enclose respecting Zweveghem's business. This he did to-day and asked me to forward it to his Majesty, which I said I would do if he would give me another copy to send to your Excellency for your information. He told me that he was too busy to give me another copy, and that I might send this to your Excellency for transmission to his Majesty after perusal. When he gave it to me, therefore, he did so with all reverence, kissing the paper.—London, 12th May 1572.

12 May. **328.** Antonio de Guaras to the King.

Confirms aforegoing letters (that of 29th being taken by Zweveghem). Encloses copy of letter to duke of Alba of same date.—London, 12th May 1572.

18 May. **329.** Antonio de Guaras to the Duke of Alba.

I last wrote to your Excellency on the 12th, by an English courier, and I send the enclosed copy as there is no certainty of the English couriers delivering letters safely. By him I sent also the document given to me by Lord Burleigh, and I have since received no letters from your Excellency nor has Tusan returned, although the letters I sent by Zweveghem will have been received and those of the 12th which went under cover to the Postmaster-General of Antwerp.

I have little to write now, excepting that the third person is continually asking me whether I have not received any letters

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from your Excellency. In the meanwhile I do not go to Court and Lord Burleigh sends me no messages.

Parliament is proceeding with great vigour against the queen of Scotland, and it is confidently believed that they will place her in sore trouble and even peril, as it is said that they have proofs that the said Queen had persuaded many persons who are now in prison that she was the lawful Queen, and that the present Queen was a usurper. They will therefore proceed against her, and doubtless condemn her and the other prisoners; in the first place, because she and her husband in France adopted the style of king and queen of England, coining money stamped with the arms of England and France together; and secondly, because she wished to marry the duke of Norfolk and entered into many plans and plots, prejudicial to this realm. Up to this time nothing else has been discussed in Parliament, not even the question of the succession or the French alliance, and it is to be supposed that their action on these two latter points will be governed mainly by the amount of friendliness they find in us. Montmorenci is expected here in about a fortnight, and it is said that he will come with a great following. Although they have agreed for mutual defence, it is believed to be all nothing but compliment and dissimulation on both sides, and at the least thing, all their leagues and alliances will turn out illusory.

By letters of the 14th we learn of the heavy blow that has been dealt to the rebels at Ramua, and their friends here are panic-stricken, as they expected a better result. They still think those at Flushing and Brille are invincible, but, please God, they will come to the same end as their companions.

Every day, lately, boats have been going over with rebels to Flushing and Brille with all the arms, victuals, and money they have been able to get together. Some Englishmen go amongst them, although it is to be believed not by orders of the Queen and Council, but rather as people led astray by our rebels.

24 May. **330.**

This courier has been delayed, and I now write to say that the passion shown by our rebels here is quite incredible. They are with all solicitude sending munitions and money to Flushing and Brille, besides many troops, and they even persuade large numbers of Englishmen to go. The boats after carrying them over return for others, and ship gunpowder, arms, beer, and other stores in great quantities, as well as taking over from here and elsewhere grain and other provisions.

A rich English merchant named Pointz, well known in Antwerp, has gone to Flushing with all the money he could collect from the heretic congregations, as well as quantities of arms and munitions. He writes every day to the rebels here to send more help, which they do.

An Englishman named Captain Morgan has enlisted three hundred English soldiers (although without drum and standard), and is ready to leave with them, the citizens of London guaranteeing them their pay, which the Flemish rebels here have undertaken to provide. It is said that many more Englishmen will go, and all

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this is done so publicly, that one is bound to believe that the Queen and Council willingly shut their eyes to it. No doubt great aid will be sent from here daily. God grant, at least, that such aid may not be publicly declared by the State.

News comes from Rouen and Calais, dated the 19th instant, that there are great flocks of Frenchmen who were believed to be coming to Calais for the purpose of embarking for Flushing and Brille. If the king of France is allowing it you will know better on the other side than we can here.

In order to encourage the English and these pernicious rebels, the false and traitorous manifesto of that rogue Orange has been sent here; although it is stated on it to have been printed at a distance, it is believed that these rebels have had it printed here, and it was being sold publicly yesterday with great noise and rejoicing, as if all the lies in it were true. This has had the effect of increasing the help sent, and, as nothing hinders them, this help will go increasing from day to day.

I am informed by the third person that the sorrow of the Queen and Lord Burleigh is very great at the delay in the reply to the matter respecting which they spoke to me, and, in despair of a favourable answer, it seems as if they were tacitly allowing this public helping of the rebels, persuading themselves that thereby Flanders may be plunged into disturbance to an extent that will compass the end they have always longed for, namely, that the Spanish power may be expelled from there, which God forbid. Your Excellency has been informed for the last three years that this is the point to which their desires tend, and your Excellency may be certain that, if they treat for concord, it is with the principal wish and demand that Flanders should be denuded of troops, which demand seems to be unworthy even of consideration or reply. As they see this, and are convinced that the agreement will not be carried into effect, they have apparently changed their tone since the other day, when they expressed willingness for harmony, being now offended by your Excellency's silence, and encouraged with hopes of trouble in Flanders and friendship with France. They see a strong feeling against us amongst the people, and great lamentations are heard in the streets for what they say has happened at Ramua,* to the effect that not only were all the men put to death after they surrendered, but the women and children were also killed, and as all Englishmen believe this, the best word they can apply to us is that we are tyrants.

In this Parliament great efforts are being made, especially by the men they call bishops, to urge on a declaration of war against his Majesty, the matter being discussed with great vehemence. It is difficult to say what decision will be arrived at.

The principal thing upon which Parliament has been busy is the proceedings against the queen of Scotland, and they have sent two personages to her to obtain her reply to the criminal accusations made against her. They will trouble her sorely, as I have already written.

* Probably the massacre of Naerdin is here referred to.

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Parliament has also dealt with the accusations against the duke of Norfolk, in order that the estates of the realm might consent to his condemnation and execution. As, however, he is extremely beloved by the people, the majority have decided to record no formal confirmation or judgment, but to refer the matter to the Queen's clemency, whereat the Queen was displeased, and the matter is still under discussion.

All the Queen's ships have been ordered into dry dock to be caulked and tarred, but nothing yet has been done towards arming them, nor is there any noise of collecting seamen, but they want to have the ships ready.

The Queen is leaving for Hampton Court to receive Montmorenci, and the Admiral* is leaving for France, he having been created earl of Lincoln. It is arranged that he and Montmorenci shall cross the Channel in opposite directions on the same day, in order to keep up appearances.

It is generally asserted that when Parliament closes the duke of Norfolk will be executed. The bishop of Ross, the queen of Scotland's ambassador, the earl of Southampton, son-in-law of Lord Montague, two sons of Lord Derby, and Lord Lumley, son-in-law of the earl of Arundel, are still in prison, the earl of Arundel himself being under arrest in his own house, and Lord Cobham under guard at Burleigh House. Thomas Cobham, brother of Lord Cobham, is in the Tower with over thirty other gentlemen of high position, all of them for being concerned with the queen of Scots and the duke of Norfolk. The queen of Scots is being guarded very closely in a castle eighty miles from here by the earl of Shrewsbury and Sadler of the Council.

For the last two days it is said that the matter of the succession has been brought up in Parliament, and it has been objected that the eldest son of the earl of Hertford by his pretended wife Catharine is not legitimate, by reason of the marriage not having been published, both the Earl and his wife having been kept in prison in consequence for many years, until her death, he being fined as well eight thousand shillings. It has been claimed that the second son is the heir to his father, as his parents were married before he was born with the consent of the Queen and Council, and in this light the second son would be the successor to the Crown, but it is thought that no more will be done about it in this Parliament.

Seeing the public aid being sent by Englishmen to Flanders, and the impunity with which our rebels carry over arms and victuals in so open a manner, I got the third person to say to Burleigh, as if from me, that this would be likely to hinder the good object of concord which had been suggested through me. It is to be believed that he mentioned the matter to him, but as he told me that he had not been able to see him, I went yesterday to his, Burleigh's, chamber, and when he learnt that I wished to urge him not to allow this aid to be sent, he refused to see me, and upon my waiting for him to come out of his chamber, he

* Clinton.

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saw me but pretended to be in a hurry. It is very clear that these people are naturally inconstant.

Pointz, the Englishman, came from Flushing yesterday with four other men who call themselves Flemish captains. They were secretly with the Council for a long time, and it is said that their business was, so far as is known, only to report the state of Flushing and Brille. It is rumoured that a place of great importance in Gueldres has risen, and much help will be sent from here and elsewhere to the rebels.

I have only to add, that I have not been able to obtain more than one copy of that traitor's manifesto, and consequently have to beg that you will forward the one I enclose to his Majesty, after reading it.—London, 24th May 1572.

29 May. **331.** Continuation of aforegoing letter.

B. M. *Add.* 26,056*b*.

Gives an account of the duke of Norfolk's execution.

He said to the people that he had never willingly offended the Queen, but acknowledged his error in wishing to marry the queen of Scots without his Queen's permission. He never paid any attention to what the Italian Ridolfi had said or the letters from the Pope he had shown him, and his only fault had been in not denouncing it. He had, moreover, never had any leanings towards the Pope or his creed, but had always been a conscientious Protestant. And so this unfortunate man died confessing his schism, although some people have declared that he said this in the hope of pardon, because when he was at liberty he sometimes showed signs of differing in opinion from the heretics.

Nothing is being discussed in Parliament since then but the queen of Scotland affairs, and it is said that Parliament will declare her excluded from the succession to the throne, and that she will be proceeded against criminally like an ordinary person, as they say there are grounds for her condemnation, and it is believed that she will be condemned.

The news from Flanders is producing incredible joy in our rebels and amongst nearly all these people, and the least thing they shout on 'Change and in the street is that the States are utterly lost to us, and that your Excellency and the Spaniards will have to leave. God grant that the troubles are permitted now by Him, in order that the ungodly may afterwards be more completely confounded and punished by your Excellency. It is to be hoped that the arrival of the duke of Medina-Celi and his forces may frighten the heretics, who will thus see those who are to confound them.

Parliament has now decided to send an archbishop and two bishops, as they are called here, and six councillors to proceed against the queen of Scots, and it is believed that she will be in great peril.

It is announced that the Scots have delivered to this Queen the earl of Northumberland and five or six other English gentlemen prisoners. They will doubtless be executed without mercy.—London, 29th May 1572.

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29 May. **332.** Antonio de Guaras to the King.

Encloses copies of all the aforegoing letters to the duke of Alba.

9 June. **333.**

Another duplicate sent of the aforegoing.

23 June. **334.** Document headed, "News from England" (from Antonio Fogaza to Ruy Gomez?).

B. M. *Add.* 26,056*b*.

The principal reason for the risings in Zealand are the letters (bills?) given to the rebels by the merchants of Antwerp, some of the richest of these having given such letters. I have just discovered a matter of the highest importance, especially if the duke of Alba should not hitherto have heard of it, namely, that these Antwerp men, through their agents here, are really finding the money for the continual succour sent from here. In order that this wickedness may be punished, I enclose herewith the names of these agents and their principals in Antwerp. There are still some whose names I have not yet discovered, but will duly advise all I can learn. The admiral of France has sent a gentleman hither to see the Queen, and tell her that he was forced to surrender the lands to the King before the time agreed upon. The letter did not dwell upon other things, except to say that, as they could not be entrusted to paper, the gentleman himself would declare them.

I will go for three or four days to Kingston, to learn what these Frenchmen are up to, as, from what I hear, I do not think I was wrong in my opinion expressed on Montmorenci's first coming. Foix had Burleigh in his house the other day, and praised him highly for his great prudence, and said he was esteemed everywhere. He said his wisdom might now be made manifest to all the world, as he (Foix) had special instructions from the Queen and King to point out to Burleigh how advisable it would be for the two Queens to join together and make war in Flanders, where public feeling was fully prepared for it, as he could prove to him by many letters received from Flanders, which he showed him, pointing out how easy and profitable the enterprise would be. Foix could well do this, as he is a most diabolical person, and a great rhetorician. He added, that the territory they conquered could be divided between England and France. Burleigh listened willingly to this, as he is the inventor of the alliance, and a mortal enemy of Castile. Foix afterwards broached the subject to Leicester, but he did not take it so readily, nor did the Queen. This was the matter which Montmorenci was to convey to the Queen in the Admiral's name, but I am told he did so in the name of his prince.

So far as can be seen the Queen does not trust overmuch to these offers and fine words, but wishes to have some sort of security in her hands—thinking of Calais—and this may be managed if Burleigh is favourable. It is more likely that this may be the outcome than anything else, as I do not see where the Queen has any money for a rupture of so much importance. I hope to learn more, and will advise,

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25 June. **335.**

After closing this letter ready for despatch I was obliged to stay for two days longer to assure myself further about the negotiations between the English and French. I am told that nothing will be settled until the arrival of a courier from France, who was sent from here in great haste. It is thought that the Queen demands sureties or hostages before she entertains anything. By the answer sent we shall know what the decision will be, and I will be vigilant, in order to advise your Highness, sending you if possible a copy of the agreement.

I am told on good authority that orders have been secretly given for all sorts of warlike stores to be got ready. There is no suspicion that they are arming, but they are really doing so actively. I am nevertheless assured that no fleet could be got ready in less than six weeks.

News comes from Scotland that there is a cruel civil war there between the Catholics and the heretics, who are killing each other without respect or mercy. This was not the case before, but only since Croc has been there. He is doing more harm than good.

27 June. **336.**

After having closed my letter a second time I was told that I should have some important news about the French alliance with the heads of the agreement, and kept back the bearer. I send enclosed the rough heads by which your Highness will gather the substance, and will send the full text as soon as I can get it, the document being very long.

The expected reply from France arrived on the night of the 25th, and a letter came also from the King to this Queen in answer to one she had sent to him, through her ambassador, about the negotiation broached by Montmorenci and Foix in his name, respecting a joint war in Flanders. The answer was quite different from what was expected, it having been found that the business had been carried very far on slight grounds, to her (the Queen's) very small advantage. She dissembled as well as she could, and went to the Council next day in person. Montmorenci and the other two were there, and the Queen said to them, loudly, that on no account would she break with the Catholic King. This declaration was made very emphatically, and Montmorenci replied that her intentions were much changed, as M. de Lumay had gone from here with her consent and aid to rob the isle of Brille. The Queen at once admitted it, but said it was a very different thing, and protested that she desired to keep friendly with the house of Burgundy. She tried hard to convince the Council that this was her intention, as they were not in the secret, as Burleigh, Leicester, and Bedford were. At last Montmorenci and Burleigh privately agreed that, if the King consented to the draft treaty sent, this Queen would do so. In order to lose no more time Montmorenci decided to leave two days before he had intended, so as to get the King to agree to the conditions.

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These people are very desirous of securing themselves in case the treaty is agreed to, and Montmorenci is so desirous of carrying it through that the point becomes less difficult. He, Montmorenci, fears the Guises may have been at work to cool the King somewhat in the matter.

News comes from Scotland that Croc had reconciled the Catholics with the heretics.

The night before last three ships left this river for Flushing, with 1,500 men, mostly English, four cannons, two bronze culverins, and some cast-iron ordnance, as well as much warlike stores. The troops are raised secretly by Burleigh's orders, and at the cost of the Flemings here.

28 June. **337.**

Montmorenci left this morning. The train he brought consisted of 540 persons in all, amongst whom were 62 Monseigneurs, most of the rest being gentlemen and captains. A ship from Flushing arrived here this morning with news that the Castilians had taken a fort a mile distant from the place, with losses on both sides, and that Mons was surrounded by the troops of Chapin Viteli and Don Fadrique (de Toledo).—London, 28th June 1572.

30 June. B. M. *Add.* 26,056*b*. **338.** Document headed, "POINTS of LETTER from ANTONIO DE GUARAS to the DUKE OF ALBA."

That the queen of England had told Guaras, when he handed her certain letters from the duke of Alba, that the Flushing people came daily to offer to deliver the place to her, and, if it were to the interests and the wish of his Majesty, she would accept it and hold the town by means of the English who were there, and those she would send for the purpose, with the object of, at once, surrendering the place to the duke of Alba, or his representative.

22 July. B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. IV. Original draft. **339.** UNSIGNED LETTER of INTELLIGENCE from London to the DUKE of ALBA.*

I wrote to your Excellency on the 12th by Juan Medinal, who is the only person whom I trust with letters.

The news since then is that Sir H(umphrey Gil)bert, who, I wrote in my last, was being sent as general to Flushing, has entered the town quietly with his troops, and has been well received by the inhabitants.

Captains Chester and L(ane) left here last Friday with their men, about 600, it is said for Flushing and Caunfer. Another

* The series of letters thus headed, which will be found in the present volume, some of which to a certain extent supply the lack of correspondence from Guaras during the two years from the end of 1572 to the end of 1574, exist, as will be seen by the marginal reference, in the Cotton MSS. at the British Museum. The writer has, I believe, never hitherto been identified, and most of the letters are catalogued as from Don Guerau de Spes, which is certainly incorrect, as he had left England before the date of the first letter so catalogued. I have no hesitation whatever in saying that they are written by Antonio Fogaza, a Portuguese, to whom reference is made on page 351 *n* of the present volume. The letters in the British Museum are original drafts in Fogaza's own handwriting, and are full of arbitrary and private abbreviations, which render their meaning sometimes obscure, in addition to which they have all been much damaged by fire.

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captain, named Pearce, went with them, who had raised 300 men since my last letter. He is going to Brille. A gentleman named Pelham is going as chief of the whole force. He is lieutenant of ordnance to the Queen, and is thought very much of for his great knowledge of war and fortifications, having fought in the Emperor's wars. He is a man of 50, tall, dark, with grey hair. The object of his going is to inspect Flushing and Caunfer with a view to their being fortified; and generally to ascertain what forces and stores will be required for the war. He will return with his report and send over what he may consider necessary. He is taking with him 24 pieces, namely, 8 battery guns, 12 culverins, 4 . . ., harquebusses, corselets, pikes, 100 barrels of powder, and a great many other stores, besides what Sir Humphrey Gilbert has taken. 10 or 12 ships are to be loaded with these stores and the rest of the troops. The four ships which I mentioned as coming from the west country with 1,000 men have since arrived here, and have left for the States. Twelve or fifteen other ships are being equipped in various ports in addition to these, for the purpose of taking more men to the States, and it is estimated that not less than 5,000 or 6,000 men will be sent before the end of the month, from London and other ports. The men who have already gone from here, the west and north, and elsewhere, must have reached 9,000 to 10,000, as they are going from all parts. In this city nothing is seen or heard of but soldiers and arms. Seven of the Queen's ships are being fitted out, and Sir Ralph Sadler, one of the Queen's councillors, has gone to Rochester to superintend the shipment of warlike stores. Great quantities of meat, biscuit, &c., are being prepared in the ports, and this gives rise to the opinion that many more men, in addition to the 10,000 already gone, are to be sent. It may also be concluded that the ships that are to take them will be well armed, and will remain off the places they take them to, whilst the Queen's ships guard the channel and prevent an enemy passing.

Captain William Winter, the vice-admiral, who is a very important and experienced mariner, whom your Excellency knows, was ready to go over, as also was Captain John Hawkins, but the Council has ordered them to remain behind for the present, no doubt that they may go in the Queen's fleet.

The design is understood to be the capture of Middleburg and . . . in order to get possession of all the island of Zealand. They also desire to take an island adjoining Zealand called Tregus, as they think they may thus stop relief being sent to Zealand by your Excellency, and so strengthen their position in both places. They think, by this means, to get a footing on the continent opposite Flushing, whence they may command the approach by sea, and so stop all communications, extending their power as far as Bruges and Ghent. The earl of Warwick will be sent on this enterprise with a large force. He formerly commanded at Havre de Grâce.

Your Excellency may be quite sure they would not enter into such an undertaking as this, unless they knew they were going to be backed up by France, but the main reason for their taking it in

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hand is the certainty they possess that, if once they can get hold of Zealand, very many Netherlanders would throw off the mask and show their bad spirit. There is a Florentine gentleman in the service of the Queen called Portinario, a great engineer, who has been here since King Henry's time, and receives a salary of 200*l.* a year. He is a man of 70 years, but robust, a great Catholic, and much attached to the King (Philip). He was summoned last Wednesday night by the Queen, who told him to go to Flushing and the other forts for her service. To this he replied: "Madam, "I will gladly go if your Majesty orders me, but, as there is no "war declared between England and Spain, those who go thither are "carrying on an unfair war, and are liable to be hanged if captured, "so that, saving your Majesty's orders, I would rather not go." The Queen laughed and said, "All right, Portinario, stay at home then, but hold yourself in readiness."

Melchisedec Maleri, who I said in my last was going to the States as a spy for Lord Burleigh, left last Thursday. He is to have 100 marks a year. There recently left here also a Frenchman, named Cl . . ., a great heretic, who is sent secretly by the Flemish rebels here to hatch some plans against his Majesty in Gravelines, St. Omer, and other places.

They are fitting out three war ships in this river, of which the command will be taken by a Captain Prilberton (Pilleton?). They are going towards the coast of Spain as far as Cape (Finis)terre and St. Vincent, in order to rob all ships that fall in their way, and do as much damage as they can.

The Queen left last Tuesday for a two months' progress, and, on the day before, she gave away many vacant offices in her court, namely, to Burleigh (who was Cecil, her secretary) she gave the Lord Treasurership and Chancellorship, the greatest place in the country; she made Lord Howard the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Privy Seal; and the earl of Sussex, Chamberlain. Sir Thomas Smith, who went to France, was made principal secretary, the place formerly filled by Cecil, although the new man will not have so much power as he had; and other offices were granted.

I said in my last that Benedict Spinola had bought all the wools that had been arrested in this country, the property of his Catholic Majesty's subjects, at very low prices, to the great loss of the owners, and I now have to add that Benedict Spinola had arranged with Montmorenci, when he was here, that if these wools were sent to France they should not be arrested on account of the owners, but should be allowed to be freely sold.

After I had written the above, and was about to seal this letter, I received advice that the Council had ordered Pelham and all his forces, which, to a great number, are in and about Gravesend, not to sail for the States until further orders are sent. This sudden decision is doubtless because they have had news that your Excellency's fleet is about, or some other intelligence of a similar sort, which has also caused them to order that all ships and men being prepared in the west and elsewhere on the coast are to come hither at once, no doubt with the intention of attacking your Excellency's fleet with this strong force. Gravesend and the places near it are

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full of troops, and the ships are quite ready to sail, so that if they hear they can go without danger (which news they are expecting from hour to hour) they will leave at once without waiting for the ships from the west and elsewhere.—London, 22nd July 1572.

7 Aug. B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. iv. Original draft.

340. Letter of Intelligence from London (unsigned) to the Duke of Alba, Governor of the Netherlands.

I wrote to your Excellency on the 21st by Tassis, and have since received, by Juan Medinal, your Excellency's letter of same date, by which I see that you had received all mine up to the 12th ultimo. I thank your Excellency for all your favours to me, and for the news of the glorious victory achieved by your forces, for which God be praised. I am greatly favoured by your Excellency's commands that I should continue to serve here, which I will do. I wrote in my last that Pelham, the Queen's Lieutenant of the Ordnance, who was ready with his troops to go to Flushing, had been ordered to stay his departure, but he afterwards sailed, and, from my connection at Court, I learn that some days afterwards Sir Ralph Sadler, a very important person, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and a Councillor, secretly followed him. I said in my last that he had gone to Rochester to see the stores embarked on the Queen's ships, but it seems he went on from there to Flushing to take possession of it for the Queen, and, at the same time, to consider with Pelham the best way of fortifying the place. If he finds that it can be strongly held he is to inform the Queen of it at once, but if the place cannot be well fortified, then Pelham will take the best means for gaining admission into Flanders, and, will ask your Excellency for a passport to go and see you for the purpose of discussing peace negotiations between this Queen and King. If he finds your Excellency willing to listen to him, he will inform you that so important a person as this Sir Ralph Sadler is near, and will come and treat with your Excellency together with him. Sadler takes letters of credence and full powers from the Queen to arrange a settlement and a re-opening of trade and the ports, with a resumption of former privileges, and to offer the appointment of a commission to deal with private claims.

If they can settle this they will surrender to your Excellency the town of Flushing and other rebel places in their hands, making the excuse that the Queen had seized them in his Majesty's interests, and with the intention of delivering them to him. These are the tricks that they always play to conceal their own devilish designs, which they think nobody can see through.

Since my last the following has happened in Scotland. M. de Croc, the French ambassador, had written a letter from the castle of Edinburgh, where he was with the duke of Chatelherault and others of that party, to the Earl Rothes, Chancellor of the kingdom. The letter was intercepted and fell into the hands of the earl of Morton, the Governor, and the earl of Mar, who are both the creatures of this Queen. They kept the letter very quiet, but shortly afterwards M. de Croc had occasion to leave the castle and visit them on business. They discussed the matters about which he came, and then, in consequence of his having communicated with

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the earl of Rothes, and the contents of the letter, they suddenly seized him and still detain him under arrest. He sent a gentleman, his son-in-law, hither, on his way to France, to inform the King of his position. The gentleman has now returned hither and left here for Scotland on the 17th ultimo, bearing very favourable letters from the Queen to the earls of Morton and Mar, asking them to release De Croc. As soon as he was gone, however, they sent a man post haste to Berwick instructing Lord Hunsdon to detain him until further orders, the intention being to keep him until an answer is sent about the matter arranged with Montmorenci. This is the way they manage all their affairs; nothing but trickery and deception.

On the 20th ultimo this Queen received news from her ambassador in France that he had been told by Birago,* the Keeper of the Seals (who was one of those who received presents from this Queen for bringing about the alliance), that the Emperor had written to the King strongly remonstrating with him for deserting the sacred league against a barbarous enemy, and for having joined a confederation of enemies of the holy church; urging him very strongly to free himself from such people. These views are to be furthermore verbally pressed by a gentleman from the Emperor who is on his way to Spain, and the Nuncio is also to speak to the King on the part of his Holiness, whilst the Venetian ambassador is to take a similar step. This is greatly disturbing the Queen and her Councillors, who fear that the King's advisers may waver, and this distrust is one of the reasons why they are now ready to come to terms with his Majesty (Philip).

On the 21st ultimo a Fleming called Casimbrot, Secretary of the town of Bruges and brother of a Secretary of the count of (Egmont?) who was beheaded, arrived at this Court with letters from the prince of Orange and the princes of Germany, as their envoy. The letters he brings are in answer to those sent by the Queen in June last by her gentleman Weston (?), who speaks German, as I wrote on the 30th June. The duke of Saxony writes very briefly, and refers to Casimbrot who will state everything verbally; the Count Palatine and the marquis of Brandenburg say that they are ready with forces of foot and horse for the Netherlands whenever they hear that the queen of England and king of France will assail the States on the other side. Orange writes a long letter full of promises that Duke August, the Palatine, and Brandenburg will give great help towards the entrance into the Netherlands, begging her not to desist from the enterprise to which she has set her hand and to continue to strengthen the maritime provinces. He also thanks her warmly for her efficient aid to the Count de la Marque in taking and holding Brille. The gentleman (Casimbrot) was very well treated at Court, and when he asked for a prompt reply to take back to Germany, they told him to enjoy himself and make good cheer for they would soon give him an answer that would rejoice him. The

* René de Birague or Birago, Chancellor of France, who was shortly afterwards active in promoting the massacre of St. Bartholomew for which he was made a cardinal.

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rebel heretics here are making a collection for the support of Orange in the Netherlands and have their hearts quite fixed on it.

On the 21st also there arrived here the Secretary of the French ambassador bringing a letter from the King in answer to that sent by the Queen by Montmorenci. He thanks her for her kindness and goodwill, but instructs the ambassador to inform her verbally of certain reasons why he cannot, at present, give a decided answer on the points discussed with Montmorenci and Foix on his behalf. I believe the reasons are the letters received by the King from the Pope and the Emperor, exhorting him not to join the confederation. He says that he must satisfy them first, but will afterwards fulfil his part. In the meanwhile, he begs her to exert her influence to get Croc released and to fulfil her treaty obligations in bringing about peace and concord in Scotland.

Montmorenci, the Admiral, and Foix, write long letters to the Queen and Burleigh, saying what great things they hope to do, but they cannot, they say, do them until after the wedding of Navarre, when they think they will be able to get the King to agree to anything, as so many of their principal friends will be collected together. In the meanwhile they urge her to continue to assail the coasts of the Netherlands, whilst they concentrate forces on the land side, ready to help Ludovic.

The man who calls himself Navarre has also written a letter to the Queen thanking her warmly for her generous help to Rochelle and to the rest of his party last year, and saying that he is going to do great things presently, and that all is going well.

The great victory which God has sent to Don Fadrique your son was known here on the 26th ultimo. Their dismay here may be imagined, as all their hopes are founded on their being able to embarrass his Majesty and assail the Low countries by sea. They therefore refuse to believe it, or at least, try to make out that the victory is not half so great as it is. The rejoicing of the godly at it cannot be exaggerated. God be thanked.

As soon as the news arrived here the Queen sent a gentleman in great haste to Flushing with letters for Sir Ralph Sadler and Pelham, recalling them immediately. They came at once and Sadler landed very secretly near Sandwich on the 30th ultimo. Pelham came back in disguise to Gravesend. He went to the Court but has now returned to this city. He reported that Flushing could not be defended, unless a fleet so powerful as to be able to resist that of your Excellency is sent. It is not known whether Pelham will return thither.

On the 27th ultimo at midday a Secretary of the Count de la Marque arrived here and at once proceeded to the Court, fifty miles off, to beg for aid in men and victuals, as they had obtained possession of an entrance into Holland by which stores could be introduced.

On the 27th ultimo a young French gentleman named M. de la Mole arrived from the French Court with letters from the King. He came post with great speed, and only took four days in coming from Paris to London. When he left Paris the news of the defeat

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near Mons was known, and I am told by my friends at Court that as soon as the King (of France) heard of it, he was closeted for over two hours with the duke of Montmorenci, and then sent this gentleman off. La Mole is very friendly with the Duke D'Alençon, and, as soon as he arrived, the French ambassador here announced that he had come to visit this Queen from the Duke, as it is not wished that it shall be known that he comes from the King. That was the reason they chose such a lad for the mission. It is all an invention of Montmorenci's. On the 28th, at eleven o'clock at night, Lord Burleigh came very secretly with only his private attendants to speak with this Monsieur, and when all folks were asleep he and the ambassador and La Mole walked up and down a chamber for an hour and a half. Burleigh entered into his, La Mole's, mission, and could not conceal his satisfaction, as he is at the bottom of all the opposition to his Majesty (Philip). La Mole remained in the city until the 1st instant when he went to Court with the ambassador. On Sunday the 3rd he was taken to the palace very secretly at night when all the people had retired, and was introduced into a private chamber where he conferred with the Queen in the presence only of the earl of Leicester, the ambassador, and Secretary Smith (who was in France). Burleigh was not present, being absent from Court, and only one lady-in-waiting was with the Queen. La Mole gave the Queen an autograph letter of credence from the King, the rest of the letters being written by Montmorenci, and when the Queen had read it, she was full of graciousness and caresses, and he then proceeded to state his mission. He said that the King could not openly declare himself in the matter of Flanders as she desired, for many reasons, and that the best and most desirable way of gaining their ends would be to proceed in the same way as heretofore; as otherwise it would provoke a league of the Pope, the king of Spain, the Venetians and others, against which he could not defend himself. He was against any rash action. The king of Portugal had a large force of 12,000 or 15,000 men, and he was assured that the duke of Savoy was fully armed, and all this must be considered before any bold step was taken. But if any prince declared himself against this country he (the king of France) would at once side with this Queen.

On Monday the 4th M. de la Mole went very bravely to the palace, and was received in state by the Queen and all the lords, as an envoy who had come to salute her from Alençon, with all the usual tricks and ceremonies of the French and these people. He is still at Court being feasted and made much of.*

With him comes a gentleman from the admiral of France, bringing letters from him and Montmorenci explaining and excusing the King from openly declaring himself in the matter of Flanders, but they say they are raising 8,000 more foot and 2,000

* It is somewhat curious that most of the unofficial writers of letters of about this date appear to have had no inkling that the real suitor for the Queen's hand at the time was the duke of Alençon, and that the negotiations for the match were so forward as we now know them to have been. The published correspondence of La Mothe-Fénélon, the French ambassador, show that the principal object of La Mole's visit was to persuade the Queen of his young master's affection for her.

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horse to trouble your Excellency and endeavour to help Count Ludovic, and sustain him until the Prince of Orange could enter the Low Country. They would await him until the 15th instant, with 12,000 infantry and 4,000 horse, and the Palatine and the marquis of Brandenburg, would go towards Mons; and urged the importance of Orange going to the Low Countries at once, and munitions and men being sent from here.

I have been unable to get any further news, as the Court is so far off, and the person of confidence there who brought me this advice had great trouble in doing so. I will report all I can discover.

I learn that, of the proceeds of the goods taken at Flushing, Ludovic gave the admiral of France 150,000 (crowns?) to help pay the troops, and 100,000 to Orange.

I wrote that seven of the Queen's ships were ready for sea at Gravesend, and that private ships were also ready in other ports awaiting orders. They are still in suspense, but a few days ago 600 more men were sent to Flushing.

News has arrived here that the English had landed on the isle of Tregus for the purpose of taking it, as I said they would do in mine of the 21st, but your Excellency's forces attacked them to so good a purpose as to kill 400 of them and put the rest to flight, which has greatly grieved people here. No doubt your Excellency will have heard ere this that the poor earl of Northumberland had been surrendered in Scotland to the officers of this Queen and brought to Berwick. He has been examined there by Lord Hunsdon, the governor, and they are trying to make him confess the names of his accomplices. He replied that, for his own part, if they considered that he had offended against the laws, he was willing to submit himself to the punishment, but he was not the man, nor did he come of a race, that accused others, and it would ill become him to do so. They have brought the poor gentleman to York, where it is said they will cut off his head.

It is reported from Scotland that the brother of the earl of Huntly and other friends of the queen of Scotland have had three encounters with their enemies, in each of which they were victorious, killing and capturing many of the other side. A bad piece of news for these people.

I send this by a special messenger to Paris, to the care of the ambassador there, Don Diego de Z(uñiga), as the way by Dover and Calais is inconvenient at present.—London, 7th August 1572.

Note.—Much damaged by fire.

19 Aug. **341.** Letter of Intelligence from London (unsigned) to the Duke of Alba.

B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. IV. Original draft.

I wrote fully on the 7th instant, sending the letter, with others for his Majesty's Court, to the ambassador Zuñiga in Paris by a special messenger *viâ* Rye and Dieppe, the road by Dover not being convenient. I send this by a safe man addressed to the care of Tassis.

I have now to report that the sending of men to the Netherlands

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has somewhat quieted down, and I have not heard of any going since my last. It is true that, as the Court is now 90 miles off, it is difficult to get intelligence of what is going on, but still ships are leaving constantly from the ports at the mouth of the river and from Dover with stores, ammunition, and anything else they like to send.

M. de la Mole and the resident French ambassador are at Court, taking part in the grand feasts and entertainments there, and it is said that they will stay until they receive a reply from their King to a messenger sent post to him on the 10th instant, and also to Montmorenci and the Admiral. At the same time the Queen also sent a gentleman of Burleigh's to her ambassador in Paris, with letters from Burleigh and Leicester to Montmorenci and the Admiral.

On the 12th instant the son-in-law of De Croc passed through here from Scotland on his way to France. He reports that his father-in-law had been released, and that the Catholics and their opponents had come to terms. He would not give particulars, but it does not matter, as we shall soon know. Many special messengers have been posting through here lately from France, with despatches for the Court; one of them is the steward of the French ambassador, and the others are sent by the English ambassador there. I have two gentlemen, very great Catholics, who keep me well posted as to what is going on, and they left this city for the Court some days ago. They will remain there until they learn the reply from France, when they will bring it to me for the information of your Excellency. In the meanwhile, your Excellency may be assured that the design of the English is to support Mons to hold out through the winter and assist the coast places, to the end that Orange may there establish his winter quarters, and join with the 8,000 foot and 2,000 horse which Montmorenci says he has ready for the purpose.—London, 19th August 1572.

Note.—Much damaged by fire.

21 Aug. B. M. *Add.* 26,056*b*.

342. Document headed: NEWS from LONDON to GUERAU DE SPES.

The late misfortunes of the queen of Scots arise from the following causes:—

1. The negligence of Ridolfi, who at the beginning of his voyage in Flanders in April 1571 told all his secrets and instructions to Charles Baily, a Fleming, who was a young fellow, and not of the quality fit to be entrusted with such great affairs.

2. The said Charles, having arrived in England, and being put to torture, declared to the Queen's Council all he knew, and more.

3. In consequence of this confession the bishop of Ross was at once imprisoned in the month of May 1571, and has been frequently accused of being the author of all the proposed enterprises.

4. At the same time an ambassador who was in Antwerp discovered Ridolfi's plot, and his instructions, all of which he conveyed to the duke of Florence, who gave a full account thereof to the queen of England. This was declared by the queen of England's lawyer

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at the trial of the Duke before the peers, so it is undoubtedly true.

5. The duke of Norfolk was betrayed by his own servants, especially by two secretaries, who kept his ciphers which he had ordered to be burnt, but they were handed to the Council instead, and thus all the writings deciphered.

The Duke himself when he was first taken to the Tower in September 1571 wrote secretly to one of his secretaries, called Master Bannister, asking him to direct the secretaries and servants to burn all his letters, which were in a trunk at his house, and to urge the bishop of Ross to do the same. This letter was taken and produced at the trial against the Duke.

The Council never had any letter of the bishop of Ross', or of his mistress, and the Bishop was accused on the following points :—

1. For promoting the rebellion in the North.

2. For having solicited the Duke and fifteen other noblemen to stay the Parliament held in 1571, and to imprison the Queen of England.

3. For having pressed the Duke and other nobles to seize the Tower of London. For having promoted Ridolfi's plot with the intention of bringing a large foreign fleet to England, and introducing the Catholic religion, liberate the queen of Scots, raise her to the throne, and marry her to the duke of Norfolk.

The Duke and his servants confessed that the Bishop had proposed these things to him, but that the Duke refused his consent thereto. Master Barker, the Duke's secretary, confessed that he had been to the Spanish ambassador to declare to him the Duke's willingness to put the enterprise into execution, and that he had handed him two letters from the Pope to the duke of Norfolk.

For this reason the Duke tried to avoid the suspicion of being a Catholic by denouncing the Pope, both at his trial and on the scaffold. Before and since the Duke's death the question of executing the queen of Scotland and the bishop of Ross has several times been considered, but it has been prevented chiefly by the Christian King.

It was recently decided to hand the Bishop over to Morton and other enemies, in return for the surrender of the earl of Northumberland, who was sold to England for 2,000*l.*, and beheaded at York. The English Parliament has recently been sitting for the principal purpose of passing a law to exclude the queen of Scots from the succession, but the nobles refused their consent, as also did the queen of England herself. The Parliament is therefore prorogued until November.

There is a league of smoke between the queen of England and the king of France, it is said with the object of marrying the Queen to the youngest brother of the King, but everybody knows that the Queen will never marry, so that our friends think the league will not last long.

Nothing is said in this treaty about the release of the queen of Scots, and it is therefore believed she will remain a prisoner in

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England, but certain conditions are made with the object of pacifying Scotland, without mentioning the Queen. There is to be a truce for two months there.

The queen of Scotland's enemies have told the King of France that she has broken old alliances with the French, and made a fresh league with the king of Spain, this having been principally the work of the bishop of Ross. The queen of Scots has assured the Christian King that this is all false and an invention of her enemies to alienate him from her.

The bishop of Ross has been taken from the Tower of London and placed in the care of the bishop of Winchester, pending the Queen's decision as to what is to be done with him. He has been made to pay a large sum of money for his keep in the Tower, and, on this excuse, they have taken all his property, jewels, and even his long gowns, which he wore when he was taken. He is treated like a subject, but is very glad to get off so lightly.

30 Aug. B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. iv. Original draft.

343. Letter of Intelligence (unsigned) from London to the Duke of Alba, Governor of the Netherlands.

I wrote to your Excellency on the 19th instant, and since then the following has happened. On the night of the 19th, Casimbrot, who was here from the prince of Orange, left here on his return to Holland, taking with him four ministers of their sect to preach and teach their doctrines there. Mark de la Palma is the manager of these things. Casimbrot is going to give an account of his mission to Orange, and takes with him bills of exchange for 30,000 pounds sterling, advanced by the Queen through the English merchants in Hamburg, to help Orange to pay his troops. They tell him he must establish his winter quarters shortly at . . . . ., and further help will not be lacking from here and France.

On the 20th an English captain named . . . . left this river with 150 Englishmen to join the rest, whilst from Southampton and the Isle of Wight four ships with men and stores recently left for the same parts.

On the 21st an English gentleman and another from Flushing arrived at Court, which is still out of London, and had great conferences with the Council. They were despatched at once, and, from what I can understand, they were promised that a large force of men shall be sent thither, which is another proof of the design I have already mentioned to seize and hold Flushing, so as to be on a better footing for negotiating with his Majesty. An English captain also arrived at Court from Flushing on the 23rd, having passed through Antwerp first.

On the 22nd M. de la Mole and the French ambassador took leave of the Court, where there have been very grand doings, and La Mole left here on his return to France on the 28th. My two gentlemen have not yet arrived from Court to inform me what was decided.

On the 22nd they cut off the head of the poor earl of Northumberland at Berwick, and the head was brought to the city of

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York, where it has been publicly exposed. On the scaffold he said he died in the Catholic faith, and, that if he had a thousand lives he would sacrifice them all for its sake; that this sect was bad and false, and other things of the same sort.

I have reported to your Excellency that, in addition to selling the goods seized belonging to subjects of his Catholic Majesty, they have secretly sold the wools at any valuation they like to put upon them; Spinola getting hold of them on his own terms. This is nothing less than barefaced robbery. Spinola is going to send the wool to Rouen, as he has a pledge from Montmorenci that it shall not be embargoed by the owners. Spinola in this transaction has been joined by certain Spaniards who had little thought of their duty to God and their King. If your Excellency wishes it, this wicked iniquity might be stopped by the action of the (Spanish) ambassador in France.

Another business on a par with this has been set afoot by some Spaniards here, who have petitioned the Queen to grant the recovery of certain merchandise detained here, on the pretext that it has been concealed and secretly stolen from subjects of his Majesty, from whom these Spaniards assert they hold powers of attorney, which is quite untrue. The Queen has granted their request, and has appointed a commission of four person to carry out the recovery. The value will be very large. I send a copy of the appointment of the commission, but the whole business is simply plunder and robbery of everything they can lay their hands on, and to divide it between them. They have already stolen much in similar ways, which might have been recovered if an agreement had been arrived at.

On the 28th the news arrived here (but not the particulars) of the destruction committed on the Huguenots in Paris. This affair has dismayed and grieved the sectarians here, and the Court is quite astounded to see how entirely different from their expectations events have turned out in respect to their new league, and the designs they founded on it, one of which was the sending of troops to Flanders. Great events are expected to spring from the occurrence, and I will communicate what I hear.—London, 30th August 1572.

Note.—Much damaged by fire.

30 Aug. **344.** Antonio de Guaras to the Duke of Alba.

On the 21st instant I wrote to your Excellency by an express courier, enclosing letters which the Queen had ordered to be handed to me, which I trust will have been received, but enclose copy herewith.

I have received no letters from your Excellency since then, and have only to say that the Queen is hunting, eighty or ninety miles off, the Court being still in London. It was said that she was dangerously ill for one or two nights but is now recovered.

Two days since the French ambassadors arrived here and M. de la Mole took leave of the Queen. It is understood that he has not been able to carry through his negotiation for help and money

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against Flanders; the conversation has rather turned upon their surprise at the loss suffered by the Huguenots near Mons.

Two posts from Paris arrived here yesterday, one of them from the English ambassador there and the other from the king of France to his ambassador here. When they disembarked at Rye, the English post, acting under legal authority, took the letters away from the French post, and with both packets went to the Queen. No news has yet come from the Court as to what they contain, but people who are flying from France bring the intelligence that an incredible event has happened in Paris. If what they say is true, eight thousand Huguenots have been put to death, the whole faction, together with the man they call the king of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and the Admiral of France, as well as all the principal persons met together for the marriage feast of Navarre. Your Excellency will have full information, but people here are panic-stricken as if they believed it, and, if it be true, the Queen and Council will be equally alarmed. God grant that it may be true and that these rebel heretics have met with this bad end.

Since then there is no intelligence of English soldiers going over to Flanders, and this last news will give them something else to think about. The Court is awaiting the reply of his Majesty and your Excellency to their offer to recall the English.

It is publicly asserted here that the Earl of Northumberland has been executed, and so I am informed from the Court.

As may be supposed, if this news from Paris be true, the league between these people and the French will come to nothing, as people were already murmuring that they could not trust Frenchmen, nor would they establish the wool staple in Calais and Rouen as had been agreed upon.

It is understood that the queen of Scotland is well in health, although closely guarded. She has been, however, very ill. It is said that a truce has been agreed upon in Scotland for two months.

As I wrote to your Excellency the sale of the wools was simply an excuse for committing a shameful robbery. The purchasers, Spinola and his companions, intend to ship them for Rouen. Our ambassador in France might try to get them seized in the interests of the owners, as having been dishonestly bought and sold. A more notorious robbery still is being planned as regards the goods seized here belonging to his Majesty's subjects which are not in the inventory. The value is over a million and, without authority from the owners and at the artful request of some rogues here, the Queen has ill-advisedly granted the appointment of a commission on the subject, and between the commissioners and these dishonest men, the whole of the property will be dissipated. It may well be considered that if ever we begin to arrange a concord again, the dishonest sale of the wools and the bad proceedings as regards the rest of the merchandise will greatly stand in our way, unless some remedy is provided.

Although not much public discussion exists on the matter, a very great deal of private anxiety exists amongst people here respecting a new sect, which, for the last eight years has been strongly and

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impertinently opposing the prevailing religious sect in the country. It is believed that in time they will give rise to bitter dissensions amongst them, and I send enclosed a printed book which has been brought out by these new sectarians, that your Excellency may be informed of the infernal propositions which it contains.* There are many adherents of this new sect, and they are supported by persons of high position. It is, however, the will of God that the wicked should confound the wicked and error should defeat error.

Five or six English ships are being fitted out here, and it is said that two more will sail from Bristol loaded with cloth and other merchandise for Galicia and Andalucia. They are especially going to trade in the isles of Bayona, ignoring the fact that his Majesty has prohibited it. It is to be supposed that measures will be taken to prevent them.

After I left the Court I heard that the Council had sent three couriers, one after the other, to Flushing and Brille, and it has been since asserted that their Englishmen have gone to Tregus, as they say here.

I have since heard that, whilst the Queen was hunting in company with her principal Councillors, the said post from France reached her, and she read the letters at once, whereupon she immediately abandoned her hunting and returned to her palace, so distressed at the news that all the Court was downcast, although no further details have arrived here.—London, 30th August 1572.

6 Sept. **345.** Antonio de Guaras to the Duke of Alba.

On the 30th ultimo I wrote to your Excellency last by Antonio de Tassis, and since then I have received no letters, nor has my special courier despatched to your Excellency on the 21st returned.

The only thing now to say is that the late events in France have effectually silenced all other matters here. The surprise is so great that nothing else is spoken of and posts come every day from Paris bringing fresh particulars. This Court is much distressed, and the alliance with France is now publicly declared to be a nullity.

Since the news came, the Council meets to discuss the matter every day, and to take such measures as may be needed in consequence of it.

Rumours have been afloat to day that a public proclamation was to be issued declaring the English who had gone to the States with arms to be rebels, unless they returned within a certain time, on the ground that they left here without the permission of the Queen and Council. It is asserted that this proclamation will be issued one day next week.

Since I came from the Court there is nothing fresh excepting to repeat that they are much grieved at having received no reply from your Excellency to the offer they made.

The French ambassador M. de la Mole has left, although in consequence of events in France, it is asserted that the Council enjoined M. de la Mothe, the resident ambassador here, to remain in

* This was no doubt the famous "Admonition to the Parliament," written by five Puritan Ministers, named, Gilby, Sampson, Lever, Field, and Wilcox.

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his domicile and not to write to his king, until the treatment of the English ambassador in France and of other Englishmen there was ascertained.

When the Council received news of the French affair they sent in great haste intelligence to the queen of Scotland's enemies, advising them to beware of the Catholics, fearing that the French might try to do the same thing in Scotland as they had done in France.

It has been announced and confirmed that the earl of Morton, the Regent of Scotland, has been killed by poison, but it is not certain.

No English soldiers are now leaving for the States, but on the contrary, three hundred of them have come back hither, most of them wounded. Neither harquebusses nor artillery are being taken, as they say Flushing and Brille are well supplied with them, but it appears that they are short of gunpowder and quantities of it are being sent daily.

A certain Aselier went to Flushing and is now back here again. He has great connections there, and is especially in communication with a brother of his who is in the Antwerp magistracy.

There is a great outcry and rejoicing amongst the evil-minded here about the entry of Orange into Malines, and they say that his power is incredibly great, but it is hoped that, by God's help, your Excellency will confound him, his brother, and his friends.

Since writing the above, I learn from people who came from Berwick that when the earl of Northumberland was brought on to the scaffold he addressed the people and said he had three things to tell them: first, that he was being unjustly executed, because he would not recognise the Queen for his sovereign or his judge; second, he asked that they would pray for him, and said he pardoned all his enemies and prayed for pardon for all his offences; the third point, upon which he dwelt urgently and at length was, that he wished them all to bear witness that he had lived all his days, and died now, firmly and faithfully believing in the holy Roman Catholic Church, in the seven sacraments, and all the rest. He confessed that the supreme pontiff was the only head of the Church, and condemned with great vehemence all other doctrines, which he said were invented by the devil and his ministers, the sectaries, and innovators. The officers of justice, being offended with this holy and faithful profession, refused to allow him to say more, and so, with great devotion and patience, he surrendered his soul to God. They brought his head to York, where they allege that he committed his offence. He has always been considered a virtuous, wise, and devout man, and by his death proved that he was a true Catholic, whom God bless.—London, 6th September 1572.

8 Sept. **346.** Letter of Intelligence (unsigned) from London to the Duke of Alba, Governor of the Netherlands.

B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. iv. Original draft.

On the 30th ultimo I wrote by Tassis, sending a copy of the Queen's commission to sell secretly the goods detained here belonging to Spanish subjects.

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As I wrote, M. de la Mole left here for France. It appears the result of his mission was that during the 20 days he was at Court three couriers came to him from the King, bringing letters directing him to urge forcibly upon the Queen to break with his Catholic Majesty, as there were urgent reasons for her doing, and she should not miss the opportunity that now presented itself. He, on his part, would in such case, seek a pretext for doing the same, and would prove his good will in the matter by giving her, within 15 days after her rupture with the King (Philip), 200,000 ducats; and Mole showed the Queen all the fine promises contained in the King's letters.

They replied to Mole that they were not satisfied with the King's mode of proceeding, as the Queen had written in her own hand to him, whereas he had not done so to her. He was assured that until the King wrote and signed all these promises with his own hand they would have nothing to do with the matter, which was one of great weight. They said the only thing they would do was to supply the coast provinces of Flanders with victuals and ammunition, as they had done, having sent Orange 30,000*l.* recently through Hamburg.

Mole could give no answer to this, but to say that within three weeks of his crossing the channel the King would send to the Queen a fully satisfactory assurance. He was then given a gold chain worth 500 ducats and went.

The Queen at once sent to her ambassador in Paris, saying that she was not satisfied with their mode of proceeding, and telling him to be very careful, in spite of their caresses, which she says are greater than ever. She directs him, at any cost, to discover what is being done there by the ambassadors of Spain and Portugal, as it is of the greatest importance. Montmorenci and the Admiral also wrote to the Queen, to Burleigh, and Leicester, to the same effect as the King, urging her to break with Spain, and promising that, after the marriage (*i.e.*, of Navarre), the Admiral himself would take the 10,000 foot and 2,000 horse they had ready to Mons, there to join the prince of Orange's force of 12,000 foot and 4,000 horse, raise the siege and pass the winter in Flanders. They begged her to persevere in her remittances of food and stores to the coast, and all would turn out well. Sir Humphrey Gilbert writes from Flushing, sending copy of a letter received from Ludovic by the governor of Flushing, saying that he had received written promises from the admiral of France to the same effect as the above, and the Flushing people were encouraged to stand firm for this reason. When the news of the destruction in Paris was known, the bishops went to the Queen and represented to her that, to prevent disturbances in this country, the bishops and other clergy now imprisoned should be executed, which the Queen refused to order. She, however, sent orders to the earl of Shrewsbury that the queen of Scots was to be very strictly guarded and not allowed to leave the house. She sent 25 of her own guard to watch over her.

The Council has summoned 15 Catholic gentlemen who live on their estates in Norfolk, with the object of persecuting them because they will not accept the communion of this accursed sect. It

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seems they are going to do the same with everybody. God in His mercy succour us!

I am told that, since events in France became known, the Council have been considering the sending of a person to the duke of Saxony, to induce him to persuade the Emperor to intercede for the purpose of bringing about peace between his Catholic Majesty and the Queen, but no decision has been arrived at as they, doubtless, wish to see more clearly before them, and learn the significance of the French affair.

Ten days ago there arrived from Flushing a Fleming called Philip Aselier, of Antwerp, who has sent over, and now takes with him, a great quantity of arms, stores, and victuals. He brings hither with him two ships loaded with the poor merchandise plundered from the flotilla from Spain and Portugal, which he has taken in exchange for the goods exported from here. He is a bad man and does much harm in this way. He is in communication with his . . . (brothers?) in Antwerp, particularly one who is the town clerk there, and who came over here secretly and returned.

The Catholics and Protestants have come to terms in Scotland at the intercession of Croc, the French ambassador. His son-in-law, who had returned to France, came hither again a few days ago, and has now gone on to Scotland. It is not known what his errand is, but the good news from France makes us think that he is going on behalf of the Catholics. There is a rumour that the Vidame de Chartres, Montgomeri, and others have escaped from France and taken refuge in Guernsey, with the intention of coming to this country shortly. An enormous number of French Huguenots have fled to Rye.

The French ambassador has gone from London to the Court with letters from his master respecting the occurrences in Paris. When I learn particulars I will report to your Excellency. Lord Burleigh, who is now Lord Treasurer, is coming to this city in a day or two for the purpose of pacifying it, as, since the news from France, the sectarians, who are the great majority here, are holding meetings and showing signs of a desire to make some movement against the Catholics, as a retaliation on what was done to the Huguenots. This has gone so far that some of their preachers have not hesitated to urge them from the pulpit to take such action, and, in the interests of peace and tranquillity, the Queen has now come to Windsor, only 20 miles from here, and will shortly come to London. I beg your Excellency to have the enclosed despatch for Señor Ruy Gomez forwarded.—London, 8th September 1572.

Note.—Damaged by fire.

16 Sept.

B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. IV. Original draft.

347. Letter of Intelligence from London (unsigned) to the Duke of Alba, Governor of the Netherlands.

I wrote to your Excellency on the 8th by Antonio de Tassis, and the news now is that, the Court learns that the prince of Orange has entered the States in force and that the towns have received him, and nearly all Holland is for him. A gentleman of this city, named Thomas Gresham, a very rich and important man, has therefore been

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sent secretly to Holland by sea. He has lived in the States for many years as factor of the kings and queens of England, speaks Flemish well, and has been a great friend of the prince of Orange. He is taking a large sums of money and bills for the purpose of supporting the Prince if he prospers in his enterprise, which God forbid, but one of the causes of his going is to claim the countess of Northumberland,* wife of the Earl whom they recently beheaded, who resides at Malines, the earl of Westmoreland, Lord Morley, and others who live at Louvain, if they should have been found in any of the towns which have welcomed Orange. He is ready to pay a large sum of money to get these people into his hands and send them hither, and much importance is attached to this, so that, if the poor people have not fled before the towns surrendered, they will be bought by these English. If the prince of Orange prospers they have ready here some 7,000 men who have been collected secretly to aid him; 3,000 in London, 2,000 in the ports on the east coast, and 2,000 in the west country. The seven Queen's ships, of which I recently wrote, are ready to carry over the 5,000 here and on the east coast, as well as seven other ships of from 100 to 250 tons which were sailing for the coast of Spain to plunder, but have now been ordered to stay for this purpose if necessary. John Hawkins is in the port of Plymouth preparing 17 of his ships to take over the men from the west country.

To show your Excellency the wickedness and deceit of these people, I may say that a quantity of merchandise that had been plundered by the Caunfer people was brought by them to Ipswich, a port sixty miles from here. As soon as it arrived an embargo was placed on this merchandise by the persons to whom it belonged, but on lord treasurer Burleigh being informed of this, he instructed the collector of customs of the place to raise the embargo and allow the goods to be sold, the proceeds being employed in the purchase of victuals and stores to be sent to Caunfer for the maintenance of the Queen's subjects and friends thereabouts. Pelham, the Lieutenant-General of Ordnance, of whom I have written, was sent in great haste to Portsmouth a week ago, and I expect hourly to learn the particulars of his errand. It is said he has gone to fortify the place, which is of the first importance to them, particularly as they are suspicious about the armaments in France, there having been grave distrust here ever since the Paris event, and orders have been given that no ship is to leave for France, from any of the ports until further orders.

I wrote that the factions in Scotland had effected a truce for two months, but they are already in arms again, and this Queen has sent thither a gentleman named Killigrew, who is greatly trusted by her, although I do not know what his errand is, but will try to discover.

* The Countess escaped, but her house at Malines was sacked by the soldiery of Orange. In the following year she addressed a petition to Philip II. through the duke of Medina-Celi, the original of which is at Simancas, asking for the payment of her pension, and soliciting the King's help for Lord Dacre and her husband's kinsman, Markinfield, who was receiving 18 crowns a month, and for other English refugees at Louvain.

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I do not know whether the son-in-law of Croc, the French ambassador in Scotland, has been allowed to pass, but hope soon to learn from my friend at Court, and will report what I hear.—London, 16th September 1572.

Note.—Damaged by fire.

20 Sept. B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. IV. Original draft.

348. LETTER of INTELLIGENCE from London (unsigned) to the DUKE OF ALBA, Governor of the Netherlands.

I wrote by Antonio de Tassis on the 16th instant, and now confirm that Casimbrot, the prince of Orange's agent, left this city on the 19th ultimo, with bills of exchange for 30,000*l.*, payable by English merchants in Hamburg, sent by this Queen to pay Orange's troops.

My two friends from Court now tell me that Casimbrot is going over to Holland in two days, and that Orange has written to Burleigh thanking him very warmly for the aid sent, and explaining why he had entered Brabant, which was in order to be near . . . . (Mons ?), and obtain the supplies he requires. He says he is well furnished with everything but powder, and if he has a supply of that sent he is sure of holding the place all through the winter. He says he has 7,000 horse, and . . . . foot, and is in no fear of the Spaniards; having behind him Malines, Diest, Tillemonde, and Oudenarde, all important places, and that there will be no lack of provisions as most of the country is in his interest. Although the Spaniards might gain some slight partial advantages, he was quite certain that the most important places and people would declare for him. He required at present for the payment of his troops 150,000 crowns, which would satisfy them for all the winter, the aid which had been promised from France could not now reach him, as the Admiral and his party had been killed. As he had undertaken his enterprise on the strength of these promises, he says he must be sustained now. The sum he asked for was provided within two days, in the form of bills of exchange for 20,000*l.* on Hamburg, whilst for demands payable during this month, they provided 16,000*l.* at once, making up 150,000 crowns in all. They also sent off 300 barrels of gunpowder to Holland, part to be sent to the Prince, and part for use in Holland itself, and for Tregus. Much victuals and stores was also sent to the Prince by the Queen. As the latter has no money of her own she has employed in this way the proceeds of the sale, by candle,* here of the goods seized from subjects of his Catholic Majesty, and the bills of exchange are given by the Commissioners appointed to carry out the sale. The first 30,000 taken by Casimbrot was provided in bills by a commissioner called John March,† and the 20,000*l.* and the 16,000*l.* now to be sent are furnished by another named Thomas Aldersey.

It has been settled by the Queen and Council that, if things go ill with Orange, and he is defeated, they will send a person of

* Sale by candle was a kind of auction, where the time for bidding was limited by the burning of a candle.

† He had been for many years English factor at Antwerp, and Gresham's constant correspondent.

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confidence to the duke of Saxony, to ask him to use his influence with the Emperor to intercede and reconcile this Queen with the Catholic King. When I learn who is to be sent I will report. The Queen's ambassador in France recently wrote to her many details about the events of Paris, and says that he had been informed by a confidant that Croc's son-in-law was very busy with the duke of Guise, and, as he goes backwards and forwards for the ambassador Croc in Scotland, the nature of his business may be guessed. The Queen thereupon sent Killigrew to Scotland, as I have reported, to warn Morton to be extremely vigilant, and particularly to keep his eye on the movements of Croc, as he is in such close connection with the Guise party. She promises Morton that she will support him efficiently, and will send him 2,000 men within 15 or 20 days. 500 men over the ordinary garrison have been sent to Berwick, and Killigrew has been instructed to stay with Morton and watch what goes on, in order that prompt action may be taken from here, if necessary. They kept Croc's son-in-law at Court eight days before they would give him a passport, in order that Killigrew might arrive first and act, but the Frenchman has now gone, and is probably already in Scotland. The factions there are fighting again, and they say the Catholic party out-number the heretics. The people here are very suspicious that France may help (the Catholics) as they have news that Don Pedro* was with his fleet, and had already entered Rochelle with . . . . men, which would greatly dismay the Protestants, who imagined they would always have a safe refuge there, and that, by means of their tricks, they could keep it supplied with victuals and stores, as they always hitherto have done, and are now doing in Flanders. They think nobody can see through their contrivances.

On the 8th instant I wrote that the French ambassador had gone to the Court with letters from his King about the events in Paris. I am informed that, in the letter to the Queen, the King conveyed the intelligence of the death of the Admiral and the others, and said the principal reason of it was a plot they had formed against his person. In the middle of reading the letter the Queen turned to the ambassador with anything but a pleasant countenance, and said that her memory of what had passed was quite sufficient to prevent her from being deceived, or giving entire credit to the letter, but even if everything had happened as the King said, and the conspirators had been rightly punished, she would like to know what blame was attributable to the women and children who were murdered.† The ambassador returned hither at once, but a gentleman arrived here from the King with a packet of letters for him on the 18th, and returned to Gravesend by the next tide on his way back to France, whilst the ambassador went to the Court with the letters. I will advise what I can learn about this. All the Catholics, clerical and lay, have been sent back to their prisons, and it is said that the whole of them are to be placed in a certain part of the country where they may be held

* Strozzi.

† This interview took place at Woodstock, where the Queen then was, and an interesting account of it is given by La Mothe Fénélon himself in his correspondence.

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with more security, and are not to be allowed to communicate with anyone. The Queen is approaching London in her progress, and will arrive here at the end of the month, being now 36 miles off. She has sent all her musicians and minstrels home, and there are no more of the dances, farces, and entertainments with which they have been amusing themselves lately, as they have some less agreeable things to think about.

Montgomeri is still at Guernsey, and has sent a servant of his to the Queen to beg for permission to come into England. The Queen replied that he was to stay where he was with all his people for the present, and to make no move of any sort until further orders. Enormous numbers of French refugees are flocking into London, and the place can hold no more; the streets are full of them, all common people. I do not know how it will end.—London, 20th September 1572.

Note.—Much damaged by fire.

21 Sept. **349.** Antonio de Guaras to the King.

Encloses copies of letters of 14th September and others written to the duke of Alba.

6 Oct. **350.** The Same to the Same.

Encloses other duplicates of the same, and copies of the Articles presented to the queen of Scotland.

6 Oct. **351.** Antonio de Guaras to the Duke of Alba.

I wrote to your Excellency on the 21st ultimo, as usual by Antonio de Tassis and enclose copy herewith as well as copy of the Articles presented to the queen of Scotland.

I subsequently received, by the special courier I sent to your Excellency, your letter of the 25th together with your Excellency's letter for the Queen. I at once left for the Court, which is now away from here, and Lord Burleigh summoned me and told me that on that very day and other previous days the Queen had remarked to him that she wondered why Guaras did not come to Court with the reply to the message that was given to him. He said they were astonished they had received no reply to the offer made by the Queen and Council respecting the recall of the Englishmen from Flanders, who said they went there to resist the Frenchmen who might try to get a footing in the country. He told me all this without hearing from me what your Excellency had ordered me to say in yours of the 25th, but when I told him that I had a letter for the Queen he seemed greatly delighted thereat and asked me to show it to him. When he read the superscripture he said, "Although it comes tardily and the Queen is unwell, I will "take it to her at once, because I know she will be pleased to "learn that you have come with the message."

He seemed especially pleased when I told him that I was instructed by your Excellency to say that the Queen might rest assured that your Excellency desired to settle the present differences in the interest of both crowns. I delivered all my message, and he, with great delight, said he hoped God would pardon those who had been

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the cause of this dissension, and that the Queen was most willing to come to a settlement.

I also told him that her Majesty would be glad to hear of the King's prosperous successes in the capture of Mons, and the ruin, shame, confusion, and flight of Orange, which I had been instructed to convey to her, but that he, Cecil, would no doubt do so. He told me that if it were not for the illness of the Queen he would at once have led me to her, that she might hear from me what your Excellency had instructed me to say, but he would inform her of it; though she had received some intelligence to the same effect from less trustworthy sources. He displayed surprise at the success, especially seeing the contrary news which had been current here, and he was desirous of ascertaining whether it was true that Ludovic and his people had been conveyed under escort to Germany and the French similarly to Guise, as I had told him I had been informed by a friend. He said it had been nobly done and it was to be supposed that faith would be kept with them; I told him it certainly would not be kept in the French fashion, as they in such case would have sacrificed everybody, but that your Excellency and his Majesty were very different. He admitted this and said more against the French than I did, speaking with great reverence of our King, and of so courageous a Prince, which were the words he applied to your Excellency. After this, although I told him I had company, he insisted upon my remaining to supper with him. As the earl of Sussex, the Lord Chamberlain, and other Councillors learnt that I was with Burleigh, they came to sup with him and to hear the intelligence I had brought, because, although events in Flanders had been heard of at Court, yet the Queen and Council could hardly believe the news. With the coming of these gentlemen Lord Burleigh thought that it would be better for me to say that I would come and speak to him in the morning, and not sup there, out of respect, particularly as the Councillors there would wish to discuss these matters without my presence.

The next morning I was with Lord Burleigh for over an hour, and I should have been there for more than two if he had not been hastily summoned to the Queen. He told me that her Majesty had received the letter the previous evening and that she was much pleased therewith. He had also conveyed to her all the things which I had told him on behalf of your Excellency.

He replied to me that, as regards your Excellency's assurance of the goodwill entertained by his Majesty that these differences should be made up, I was to be careful to advise the King and your Excellency that the Queen herself greatly desired it, and after the Queen, no one more than Lord Burleigh himself. The Lord Chamberlain and others in the Council were of a similar opinion, although there were others, whom he did not name, who were opposed thereto; but, nevertheless, they would not stand in the way of this holy accord. These were his own words.

He also said, "As the Queen greatly desires this accord as well "as myself and others, as I say, I must tell you in a friendly "way that the Queen and ourselves cannot help suspecting that "your King is not moved by the same goodwill to a friendly

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" settlement, but rather leans towards dissension. If, however, " your King should entertain good wishes, as you have already told " us from the duke of Alba, the Queen and Councillors will be " greatly rejoiced thereat, but we suspect that, although some agree- " ment may now be arrived at, your King will not fulfil it." He displayed very great delight when I said, " What, my Lord! you " cannot believe that my King will fail to fulfil a promise to which " he pledges his word, or that he will do as Frenchmen do who " never keep a promise? Do you think that the duke of Alba " would instruct me to assure the Queen of the goodwill of my " King towards this agreement if he were not sincere? It is " well to recollect that my King is not a sovereign of whom such " suspicions should be entertained, and he should be left in quiet " possession of the States of Flanders, upon which depends entirely " his friendly connection with this Crown." He, Burleigh, replied that, truly, such suspicion ought not to be entertained, and that the commerce of this country with Spain and Flanders should be to the advantage of all.

He also said your Excellency did not write any reply to the offer made to recall the Englishmen from Flanders, and asked me whether I had any instructions upon that point, to which I replied that your Excellency had not written anything to me about it, whereupon he appeared sorry.

After some little conversation upon other points I told him that, since these sovereigns were both well disposed, in accordance with what he had promised me at the beginning of the negotiations, it would be well to commence by drawing up some heads of agreement between the two parties. To this he replied that all could be arranged, and that the only difficulty he found was the continued complaints which the Queen and Council were receiving from Englishmen in Spain of the treatment they received from the Holy office. I told him that it was true that the said Englishmen came with false accusations, but there was no tribunal in existence more just and merciful than the Inquisition. By adducing this point as the most difficult one, Lord Burleigh seemed desirous that I should give him my simple opinion upon it, which I did in the following form.

I said that, in case of any Englishman going to Spain with merchandise of his own or others, who should convey heretical books or papers or similar things, he should be punished by the Holy office as usual; all his goods or those of his master being confiscated in order that such masters might not send bad servants.

In case of any Englishman pronouncing any heretical words he should be for ever banished from Spain, and, if he should subsequently be found there, he should be proceeded against with all rigour. If he had any goods of his own they should be confiscated, but not those of his masters, excepting only in the case of his conveying thither any such books or papers as those mentioned. By this means Lord Burleigh thinks that the owners of property, to protect themselves from loss would take very good care not to send such bad servants with their goods, whilst the servants would avoid speaking heresy, so as not to lose their own property and incur

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perpetual banishment. The aforegoing is understood to refer to Englishmen going and coming between England and Spain, and not to those resident there, who shall be punished for heresy in the ordinary way. This was partly made up of my own simple opinion and partly of Lord Burleigh's suggestions, and as he had to hurry off to see the Queen, he told me that we would return to the discussion. I said that, with his leave, I had to return to London in order to send your Excellency information of all these points by the courier, who I understood was leaving. He replied, "Do so, and return here at once to Court, and, "in the meanwhile, I will draft the heads of agreement as im- "partially as I can, and will show them to the Queen, and you can "afterwards send them to his Excellency." On this understanding, therefore, I returned hither to London in order to send this off to your Excellency, and I will again start to-day on my return to the Court.

We also discussed the point that, after the heads were agreed upon, it was hoped that both sovereigns would send persons to conclude the arrangement.

Little has happened since, but with regard to Sir Thomas Gresham, it was true that he broke his leg although I have not heard whom they sent in his place. They are finishing the armament of five or six of the Queen's ships to send to Portsmouth for fear of the French. The earl of Leicester has been with two or three other Councillors to see the fortification of the place, and great rumours are current that the governors of the Isle of Wight and Portsmouth have been arrested, but that is not true. It is said that the rest of the Queen's ships will be made ready and sent to Portsmouth, and, as I have already written, the Vidame de Chartres and Montgomeri have arrived in this country from France. There is nothing really fresh from Scotland, notwithstanding rumours. People who come from the Court to-day say that the Queen is not so well. As she has an issue in the leg there is always some fear for her health.

An official or sort of treasurer of the Antwerp mint has arrived here who, it is said, fled from there with a large sum of money which he has stolen. If this be true it will be known by your Excellency, and if representations are made to this Council they will bring him to account as a thief of his Majesty's treasure.—London, 6th October 1572.

Postscript.—In view of recent events in France the people here with one accord are talking of a friendship with the house of Burgundy, and your Excellency may be assured that the Queen and Council are at the end of their tether and desire a friendly settlement more than ever. They have their ships and 8,000 men ready to call out on the coast in case Orange should prevail. Instead of Gresham going they have sent over 20,000*l.* by a servant of Giles Hofman of Antwerp called Rodensanger, in order, as they say, that Orange may not fail for want of money. But, as I have said, they are now at the end of their tether, and anything in his Majesty's interests which may tend to peace and concord may now be negotiated with them. Lord Burleigh asked me most urgently whether I thought that the King's letters for the Queen would soon arrive,

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which they are so anxiously looking for, particularly the reply to the Queen's letter of 15th ultimo. Since the French occurrences, everybody at Court looks upon me as the instrument for their welfare and the people at large say the same, although formerly they were ready to stone me. If the Pope and the Emperor were to take efficacious steps to bring them to submission to the holy faith, there is every appearance that they would forsake their sects, not, it is true, from virtue, but out of fear of his Majesty the King.

Whilst closing this I hear . . . . .* French and English have brought to the Isle of Wight two Flemish ships loaded with salt and other like merchandise. A Spanish ship has been taken to Plymouth and a Portuguese vessel with dried fish to Southampton. I will speak to Lord Burleigh about it at Court and say that, as these ships have been brought hither by pirates, they ought to be released. I will ask him also to order that these pirates may not be victualled nor received in the ports, in accordance with the promise and proclamation of the Queen. Since the French event they say the channel is crowded with French, Walloon and English pirates.—London, 6th October 1572.

7 Oct.
B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. IV. Original draft.

352. LETTER of INTELLIGENCE from London (unsigned) to the DUKE OF ALBA, Governor of the Netherlands.

I wrote to your Excellency on the 20th ultimo, and have since been favoured by your Excellency's good news of your victory over Orange and the capture of Mons, for which God be thanked, and enable your Excellency to punish those wicked people and pacify the States. The dismay and distress of these people at the news cannot be exaggerated, nor can the rejoicing of the good Catholics.

The seven Queen's ships which were being fitted are now ready for sea, but have been unable to get out of the river in consequence of contrary winds. These have now changed, so I expect they will sail, but I have been unable to discover their destination. When Pelham returned from Portsmouth the earl of Leicester and Sir Francis Knollys, a kinsman of the Queen and her treasurer of the household, went thither to take steps for its proper fortification. This they have done, and the place is now said to be in excellent order. On their return, Leicester went to the Court but Knollys came here to London to provide for the necessary things for the completion of the fortification, and has been ever since in the Tower, busy with his arrangements. All this activity arises from the distrust felt of French interference in Scotland and of the presence of Strozzi's fleet at Rochelle, which greatly alarms them. Sir Peter Carew and other heretic gentlemen are also busy in the Tower, seeing that everything is ready which may be needed.

This distrust has caused the Queen to order a certain number of troops to be raised all over the country and held in readiness with their officers. They are divided into four commands under officers they call marshals. The reason of this is partly the fear they have of a rising in the country itself, as the Catholics have been so much encouraged by events in France, and this reason, and their sus-

* The paper here is mutilated.

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picions of Scotch affairs, have caused them to muster 8,000 foot and 2,000 horse in the county of Chester, the people in the north being all Catholics.

During the last week two French pirates, Sores and Jolis, who were formerly famous robbers, have brought into the Isle of Wight four prizes, two hulks, one loaded with salt, and the other with tar, one Portuguese ship with fish, without any Portuguese on board of her, and another little French boat with Brazil-wood. Every day English and other pirates come to this country as they used to do, and, when by God's grace your Excellency recovers the seaboard of Holland and Zealand, where many of these thieves go now, they will all come here as before, if God does not prevent them. I have informed your Excellency that, at the instigation of certain Spaniards here, the Council had authorised commissioners to recover the property of subjects of his Majesty which had been concealed or stolen, the value of which reaches a very large sum; the intention being that the commissioners and others should divide it between them. By this means all this property (like much more besides) will never be recoverable, as it otherwise might have been, when an accord was arrived at. The better to carry out the plan these Spaniards sent specially to Antwerp and Burgos (Bruges) to obtain the powers of Attorney of the owners of the property, under the pretext that they would gain an advantage by it; but the end of it will be that they will get nothing and these people will steal it all. This might be remedied by your Excellency ordering that no powers should be granted in the States for England. Four days since the Queen fell ill at Kingston and is still in bed.—London, 7th October 1572.

Note.—Damaged by fire.

12 Oct. **353.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to the KING.

Encloses duplicate copies of his letter of 6th and 12th to the Duke of Alba, and a copy of heads of agreement as sent to the Duke on same date.—London, 12th October 1572.

12 Oct. **354.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to ZAYAS.

Has sent letters for his Majesty under cover to Zayas on 6th and to-day (12th).

28 Oct. Duplicate of above with copy of the following letter to the Duke of Alba, dated 28th October 1572.

12 Oct. **355.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to the DUKE OF ALBA.

I wrote to your Excellency on the 6th, copy enclosed, since when I have received no letters from your Excellency.

I have been at Court every day since the 6th, in accordance with my arrangement with Lord Burleigh, respecting the articles which he was to draw up respecting our business. When I told him that I had returned to Court, according to promise, he said he would be glad if I would give him a written memorandum of my opinion on the drafting of these articles. This I did, and send herewith a copy of my memorandum. He told me that he would take note of my suggestions and discuss them with me,

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I have been with him several times and he has now finished drafting the heads; copy of his draft is sent enclosed. As he drafted them he read them over to me, and, on my saying to him on several occasions that many of the points contained in them would be better omitted from the draft and left to be discussed by commissioners, he always replied that it was desirable in the interests of the Queen and the States that they should be set forth in the draft, and afterwards commissioners might consider them, when, if they were not found satisfactory, they might be amended or otherwise. No doubt Lord Burleigh has drawn up these heads thus roughly in order to keep in view the royal equality of his Queen, as a point of honour. He told me many times that your Excellency would have these heads revised and would amend anything you objected to.

Lord Burleigh presents these draft clauses in order that their claims may be understood therefrom, and that the business may therefore not be long drawn out by pros and cons. Another document is also enclosed herewith, which Lord Burleigh hopes his Majesty will graciously sign with his own hand (and not with a stamp) and have sealed with the royal seal. If his Majesty will do this, the Queen will also sign and seal another copy thereof, after which both copies will be mutually interchanged, and, on a day to be agreed upon, the ports and trade on both sides shall be opened for the term of two years in conformity with the draft agreement

I can only believe, most assuredly, that the Queen is very desirous of carrying through these agreements and the ratification of former treaties, this being of so great an importance to the tranquillity of her country and the advantage and welfare of her people, as well as tending, as your Excellency well knows, to the quietude of the States.

It is undoubted that there is a great amount of hidden dissension in the Council, as some are friendly to our side and others lean towards the French; but the best councillor of all of them is Lord Burleigh, as he follows the will and tendency of the Queen, which is towards concord. As he is supreme in the country and in the Queen's estimation, in all the important Councils which were held during the days that I was at Court, he with his great eloquence, having right on his side, was able to persuade those of the councillors who were opposed to him. He assured me privately that he had gained over the great majority of his opponents, and especially the earl of Leicester, who has always been openly in every affair, public or private, on the side of the French; following in this the example of his father, who strongly attached to that side.

He also told me that, since the occurrence that had happened in France to the admiral and the other Huguenots, the French were pressing more than ever for a continuance of the alliance with England, and not only this, but the Queen-mother of France was suggesting that she herself should come over here to see the Queen, for the purpose of confirming the alliance, and also to enter into fresh treaties between this country and those noisy Frenchmen and

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Italians. Lord Burleigh told me this very secretly whilst he was assuring me of the Queen's desire to arrange the differences with us, and confirm for ever the connection with the House of Burgundy, notwithstanding the pressure of the French for a continuance of their alliance. Whilst I was at Court the French ambassador came about it, and it was very evident that the Queen and Council placed but small reliance upon the negotiation, because they treated him very coolly, and are casting their eyes entirely upon us, turning their backs upon him and his promises.

From what I have said it will be seen that these people here are now well disposed, for time has shown them how desirable is our friendship to them, and we also see that they are fitting friends for us.

Lord Burleigh is most pressing on the point of the liberty to be enjoyed by Englishmen in Spain and Flanders. I believe that this point is brought to the front by him for the purpose of establishing the royal equality of his Queen as a point of honour, and he doubtless understands that, when commissioners come to discuss the point, our people will not listen to it, and that his Englishman will have to put up with the same treatment in this respect as they always have before.

The Queen has been unwell, and her illness turned out to be small-pox. She is now much better.

Lord Burleigh thinks it would be of great advantage to the world that his Majesty should graciously sign the document enclosed, so that in Spain and here the proclamation opening the ports might be made on the 29th of December, in the first place because, that day having been the date upon which the seizures were made in Flanders in reprisal for similar seizures here, it might be fittingly made a day of general reconciliation. For this reason Lord Burleigh chose that date, if your Excellency and his Majesty are pleased to approve. The first night I spoke with Burleigh I was with him for more than an hour, and, discussing with him the measures which might be taken with regard to the English who go to Flanders and Spain, I told him that it was waste of time to think of imposing any fresh law or condition in the affairs of the holy office. As he does not get angry when I give my simple opinion, I also told him that it was to be hoped that by means of a general council, or national council ordered by the Queen at the instance of the Pope or the princes, some sort of arrangement might be made in order that gradually, with all consideration for the Queen and her country, they should be again reconciled to the obedience of the supreme Pontiff. He repeated the ordinary malicious things which their heretic ministers usually preach about the life and of the Pope and the Cardinals, whereupon I told him that any weakness in them was at once noticed, but nothing was said about the holiness of the doctrine, or about the overt and secret virtue of the sacred college. At last, when I said that King Henry shortly before his death, was determined to accept a reformation, he said that the Queen had not the same religious opinions as those in Geneva or the Huguenots of France. She thought that the Church must have a head, and hinted that, if the sacred college

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mended its way of life, the Queen would receive their doctrine, persuaded by some such council as I had suggested. There are signs that all this is not feigned, although it may well arise from the necessity in which they find themselves, as a consequence of French events and the successes to be hoped for in Flanders. If the ports are once open, almost anything which is asked of them, either in religion or other matters, will probably be accepted by them in the negotiation, which God grant may be so.

12th October (in London).—I have brought this letter with me from the Court, having just arrived, in order to send it off by this courier, and I now have to add that, when the draft heads of agreement were quite ready for Lord Burleigh to give to me, many people arrived from London, and news from France and Flanders, which caused him to decide not to hand me the draft. He only said the following words:—"You may well go to London now, "where I shall shortly arrive, and will tell you more. At present I "only say that I do not hand you the heads of agreement, nor the "other document for your King's signature, as we have received "news that your King, the King of France, and other princes are "determined to kill all those who do not belong to their religion, "that they possibly can, and that any Englishmen who go to Spain "or Flanders will be murdered." He said he was very sorry to hear such news, because it entirely prevented an agreement. This he said so shortly that I was only able to reply that I would obey his orders, and go to his house to see him when he arrived in London. I will do this, and advise your Excellency of what passes with him. It may be concluded that these people are bent on ruin, as God deprives them of all grace to do what is best for them.

In sight of this news which arises from their indignation at the punishment of the Malines and other people in Flanders, they have decided to take some measures to counteract it. They at once sent for the Englishmen who had come from Flushing and Tregus, and we shall see shortly whether they are going to send fresh support thither. I suspect that they are going to attempt something, as they have learned that the duke of Guise killed the people who came out of Mons, which they say he did by agreement with your Excellency. This, with the news now received, and other news of a similar sort, all of which they believe, have rendered them indignant.

The draft articles which I have mentioned contained a great preamble safeguarding the honour and dignity of the Queen, the rest of it consisting of variations of my suggestions, in the main confirmatory, but on religious points changing them, and adding other heads regarding religious exiles on both sides and traitors from all parts, as he calls them.

Burleigh had decided to send a document apart that his Majesty might be pleased to sign it. The Queen herself was to have read it and handed it to me personally, promising me on her word of honour that, when it was returned to her signed by the King, she would sign another similar document in my presence. This paper was only to contain points upon which agreement existed, in accord-

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ance with the contents of my draft heads, and all mention of religious points was avoided; but the whole thing is now at an end for the reasons I have set forth.

Since my last, I learn that many Frenchmen have gone to Flushing, and more than a thousand French refugees have arrived here.

Much artillery and ammunition is being taken by land and sea to Portsmouth, which they are strongly fortifying, the evil-minded say to protect themselves against us. The Queen has five ships ready in the river, and it is said that six more are to be fitted out. I also hear that there are nine boats off Dover full of property which our rebels have plundered from Ostend and elsewhere, but they have not yet been allowed to discharge it. I saw the Vidame and Schonvall at Court. I spoke to Lord Burleigh about certain ships of ours they had captured, as I have written, but he told me that he could not discuss the question as the commissioners would deal with it, but that the pirates would not be received in these ports.—London, 12th October 1572.

26 Oct. B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. IV. Original draft.

356. LETTER of INTELLIGENCE from London (unsigned) to the DUKE OF ALBA, Governor of the Netherlands.

I last wrote on the 7th instant. The French ambassador has been to Court at Kingston to take a letter from his King to the Queen, assuring her most affectionately that she has no reason whatever to entertain any doubt of him or his friendship, and that Englishmen shall be in future received and treated in France as they have hitherto been. He, he says, is King, and is determined that his vassals shall not rule him as they have done, often abominably and shamefully; by God's help a good many of them had been got rid of, and he was resolved to serve the rest in the same way, being sure she would not allow them to find refuge in her country. He said he had ordered his galleys to release three English ships they had taken, and begged her to take steps to stop the piracy on her coasts and prevent the pirates from entering her ports to sell their booty. They used to receive this ambassador at Court with much affection, and feast him and make much of him, but now it is all changed, and no one dares to look at or speak to him since the Paris affair. They have recently taken a packet of letters he was sending on from the ambassador in Scotland to the King. On the other hand, the English ambassador in France writes that the King is greatly caressing him and assures him that he is now more confident than ever that the good friendship between him and the Queen will be preserved. No foreigners, he says, shall be molested in France, and especially no Englishmen. The ambassador says, however, that this is nothing but deceit and temporising, until they have taken Rochelle, which could not hold out, as it was short of supplies and surrounded by land and sea. He thinks that, when Rochelle falls, all the Government will be changed and many innovations will be seen. Foix, who was here with Montmorenci, was much cast down, and the King had twice sent to summon Montmorenci, but he had not come which makes people think that his affairs are not going well,

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whilst Birago was much favoured. The ambassador writes that all the Guises, particularly the Duke, were highly favoured by the King, his brothers, and the Queen-Mother, and that the two ships which were being equipped for the duke of Guise had sailed for Scotland with large quantities of artillery, money, and stores, and 300 soldiers, well seasoned to war and vassals of the Duke, commanded by a gentleman of his house. There had arrived in France from Scotland a gentleman, a kinsman of the earl of Huntly, who is in favour of the Queen. He came on some grand secret errand to the duke of Guise, but I have not been able to discover what. The ambassador concludes by saying that all this will show the Queen how things are really going, and that it will be unwise to believe any of their fair words, which are only so much deceit to gain time. He says Navarre and Condé went to mass every day, whereat everybody was pleased and satisfied.

Some time ago a certain Ferdinand Pointz, an Englishman, formerly resident at Middleburg, arrived here from Flushing. He was married at Middleburg some two years ago, but now lives in this city and is very rich, and a great heretic. Since Flushing rebelled he has been thither several times for this Court, and now comes to ask, on behalf of the town, for 2,000 men with victuals and stores, with which aid they will be able to hold out. He has been to the Court about it many times, and the end of it is that they will not let him have the men but will grant him the victuals and stores. Five smacks have been loaded, in all haste, here with powder, pikes, corselets, beer, vinegar, and other things needed, as well as things wanted for fortification, all with great secrecy; and for greater dissimulation, these five smacks will sail in company with other vessels bound for Hamburg. Five other smacks have been sent from here to Suffolk to load wheat there for Flushing. Another vessel of 60 tons left here on the 11th instant for the same place, which this fellow Philip Aselier had loaded with beer and other stores. Benedict Spinola got him the license.

On the 10th instant the rebel heretic Schonvall with nine ships arrived at Dover from Ostend. He is a famous pirate and is accompanied by about 800 rebel soldiers from Orange's forces at Oudenarde. When they arrived at Ostend they plundered all they could, and, amongst other things, stole these ships with the intention of going to Flushing, but, the wind being against them, they were driven into Dover. Schonvall at once sent to Court and obtained a passport for himself and his people, and permission to raise 200 or 300 more men from the rebels in this country. He is also to be allowed to buy whatever stores and munitions he may desire to take to Flushing. Your Excellency will see by all this how things are going here.

I understand for certain that the negotiations that are being carried on by these people with Antonio de Guaras are nothing but deceit on their part, and they think the same is the case on the part of your Excellency, until you have obtained possession of Flushing and the coast towns. They have therefore taken very little serious notice of his negotiations so far, but, as Guaras himself will doubtless write to your Excellency on the subject, there is

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no reason for me to enlarge upon it. It is true that, if these people thought his Majesty would grant them peace on the terms they desire, namely, the settlement of all past differences and free intercourse with Spain and Flanders as formerly, they would be very glad to accept it, as they desire it extremely. Some days since a deputation of persons from various parts of the kingdom conferred with the Council privately, and informed them of the great distress and want existing in the country, by reason of the lack of demand for their wools and cloths, owing to the differences with his Catholic Majesty. They are begging for some remedy as the people are murmuring and putting their heads together, and disturbance is feared.

Killigrew left here on the 24th ultimo, taking with him credits for 200,000 (ducats ?) for Orange, and arrived in Holland on the 26th, where he received news that Mons had been taken and Orange had retired from there. Killigrew is very clever, and when he saw how things were going, he concealed his errand and pre tended he had come for another purpose. The news of the surrender of Mons reached the Court on the 26th, and they immediately sent a swift messenger to Killigrew telling him, on no account, to write or speak to Orange, or to let him know of his coming, but return directly to England. He was instructed not to land at the Downs or other place on the coast, but to come to the port in the river where he had embarked, and he accordingly arrived here very secretly on the 9th instant. They at once sent him again to reside in Scotland as before, and recalled the earl of Shrewsbury's nephew, who had replaced him, whom they made colonel of 600 men of the 2,000 which this Queen is to lend to her friends in Scotland. In this way Killigrew's visit to Holland has been concealed; 150,000 ducats of the money taken by Killigrew were to pay the confederates in Germany, and, on his return, this sum was handed to the consul of the Easterlings here, in order that he might have it paid in Germany; the Queen's contract with them being that she is to pay the money at her option in either place. Weston (?), of whom I wrote on the 28th ultimo, went on at once from Holland to Brabant where Orange was. He wrote to the Queen telling her of the great peril and risk he had run in reaching there, and saying that he had handed to the Prince the letters and the 20,000*l.*, and this latter had saved Orange's troops from mutiny, they not having been paid as they were promised, on their arrival at Mons. Weston (?) was instructed to accompany Orange, that the confederates of Germany might see that the Queen was fulfilling her engagement to help him. The Queen has now written to the duke of Saxony and other confederates, expressing her great sorrow at the loss of Mons and the sudden retreat of Orange, as she is afraid that all the trouble will fall upon her, but she is quite confident that they will fulfil their obligations, in conformity with treaties and old friendship and alliance. She says she is the more sure of this as she looks with deep distrust upon France, which, she thinks, may join the Pope, the king of Spain, and the king of Portugal against her and the other protestant powers. They will thus, if they can, hold matters in

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suspense until they see the outcome of it all, and then, if necessary, will take the step I have mentioned in getting the duke of Saxony to intercede with the Emperor for a general peace.

The Queen has been very ill and the malady proved to be small-pox. Before the eruption declared itself the earl of Leicester, the Treasurer, and the earl of Bedford were closeted together several times to arrange, in case the Queen died, to proclaim as king one of the two sons of the earl of Hertford by Lady Catharine; this being the intention of the three lords in question and all their party. The two boys are being brought up by their paternal grandmother, the duchess of Somerset. The four Queen's ships—the largest she has—are awaiting at the mouth of the river for a fair wind to take them to Portsmouth which is the best port on the coast to sail from. This place (Portsmouth) is being well fortified and 600 men have gone thither for the purpose. They have sent from the Tower thither 1,500 corselets, 4,000 harquebusses, and 5,000 pikes. The other seven private ships, which I said were in the Downs, have already left on their voyages.

The Vidame de Chartres has fled hither and is often in the company of the earl of Leicester and the Treasurer, by whom he is much caressed. Montgomeri is at Guernesey again, after having made a journey to this Court in disguise. They say that some great plots are being hatched but I do not know what they are. I have just heard that a French gentleman, a relative of the duke of Longueville, has arrived on the coast of Sussex, having escaped from France in a small boat with sheets for sails. He will be welcomed, as they all are, but the daily influx of Frenchmen, added to the great number of Flemings already here, has had the effect of raising the price of food to such an extent that complaints have been made to the Queen. If some remedy be not found disturbance may result. The 26 Scotsmen who were arrested here have been released and are to be escorted to the Scotch frontier.

The Council has again ordered a general muster of men all over the country, and they will choose the troops from the places they think best. They are to select 20,000 infantry and 5,000 horse, the cattle being already bespoke, but your Excellency knows what poor things the English horses are. Such is the alarm of Spain and France that new orders are given every day.

Quite recently they have brought over 400 brood mares from Holland to improve the breed of their horses. As that country is now attached to them they have taken the opportunity of getting these mares, which they have never been able to do before, and they think a great deal of it.

There are a great many French, Flemish, and even English pirates cruising in the channel bearing licenses from the prince of Orange, and one Englishman named Fenner, who has such a license, has recently captured 15 Flemish sloops coming from Portugal to Flanders with salt and bullion. He had to fight two days for them, but at last brought them into Falmouth where they now are. Fenner at once travelled post to the Court to give an account of the matter to the Council. They have referred the question to the

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principal lawyers here, to say whether the prince of Orange's license against subjects of the Catholic King, with whom he is at war, is valid and the prizes legal. If the lawyers decree in his, Fenner's, favour the piracies will greatly increase. These affairs are much helped by a gentleman of the prince of Orange, who is here to represent him. The prizes brought in by the Frenchmen to the Isle of Wight, which I mentioned on the 7th instant, are now being publicly sold.

They have sent 600 more men-at-arms to the Isle of Wight besides the 2,400 they had raised in the country. All this alarm arises from the fleet before Rochelle.

Just as I was about to close this letter, I heard that the four great ships of the Queen, which are at the mouth of the river bound for Portsmouth, have been ordered to return and discharge their crews, as the winter is coming on and they are too large for bad weather.

Parliament which was summoned for the 2nd November, has now been prorogued until January next year. Important matters are to be discussed, and it will be the greatest gathering that has been seen in England for many years.

I have just heard that a person of great importance is to be sent presently to Germany *viâ* France to plan some new evil combinations with the Protestants. These people are so dismayed at the way in which things are going in Flanders and France, that some new determination is taken every day, in order that they may make the best of matters for themselves. I shall know when the person leaves, and will advise the ambassador in Paris, Don Diego de Zuñiga, and, if your Excellency thinks desirable for his despatches to be secretly taken from him in France, and will promptly inform me by a letter under cover to the French ambassador here, I will send full particulars to Don Diego de Zuñiga of the person who is to go, the route he is to take, and the hour of his departure.—London, 26th October 1572.

Note.—Much damaged by fire.

27 Oct.
B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. IV. Original draft.

357. Letter of Intelligence from London (unsigned) to the Duke of Alba, Governor of the Netherlands.

After closing the letter I wrote yesterday, which accompanies this, I learnt that the going of Killigrew to Scotland, as soon as he arrived from Holland, was not only to reside there as before, but also to endeavour to persuade the earl of Morton, the Governor, who has the child-king in his power, to give him up to this Queen to be brought up here and adopted as her heir and successor to the crown. Killigrew has been fully instructed as to how he is to proceed in this mission. He is a very clever man for such negotiations and a brother-in-law of the treasurer, who consequently employs him in delicate matters like this. To bring Morton to consent to the surrender of the King, Killigrew is to offer him 300,000 (crowns ?), and, furthermore, to convince him and his friends that the Queen will carry out her promise to make the King her successor, she is willing to give him as hostages some of the principal people here.

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These negotiations could not be so secretly dealt with as not to come to the ears of M. de Croc, the French Ambassador in Scotland, and he at once tried to frustrate the business, aided by the duke of Chatelherault and the earl of Huntly, who is now in Edinburgh with other friends of their Queen. The Chancellor, the earl of Rothes, who has gone over to the Queen's side, is also helping them elsewhere in Scotland, accompanied by some of the king of France's men. Croc sent immediate advice to France by sea, and he himself came post hither on his way to France six days ago. He is asking for a license to cross over.

The Queen has received news from Killigrew that the negotiation has been upset for the present, and was rendered impossible by the action of Croc. This has caused much annoyance at Court, as your Excellency may imagine, and when Croc presented himself before the Queen he found a very cold welcome. She said a very few words to him, but told him she knew perfectly well the plots he had been hatching in Scotland, whereupon he replied that probably her Majesty had been ill-informed, as he had only been sent to Scotland by his King to endeavour to obtain a cessation of civil discord. Very little more was said, and he took leave and departed for France two days ago. At the same time there arrived here a secretary of the English ambassador in Paris, who had travelled post and had only taken three days and a half on the journey, bringing letters to the Queen and instructions to convey to her verbally some very important communications that could not fittingly be written. They are understood to be to the effect that the Pope is sending to Paris Cardinal Ursino, a person who will be very acceptable to the King. The pretext for his coming was simply that he was making a pleasure voyage, and desired to thank the King for what he had done for the faith against the heretics and to arrange for a holy league against the Turk, but the real object was to endeavour to obtain the release of the queen of Scotland and her return to her own country. He also hoped to bring about the utilisation of present opportunities for the extirpation of heresy there and the return of the city of Geneva to obedience to the Holy Church. This is all I have been able to learn from a sure source, but, no doubt, the Secretary also brings some new treaties with the French heretics. I will report all I hear.—London, 27th October 1572.

Note.—Damaged by fire.

28 Oct. **358.** Antonio de Guaras to the Duke of Alba.

I wrote to your Excellency on the 12th (copy enclosed) and have received no letter since. As I wrote, I had agreed with Lord Burleigh that when he returned to his house in London I would go to hear more from him respecting the last reply he gave me about our business. I have accordingly been three times in his house since then, and although he has seen me, he passed me by without noticing or saying anything at all to me, with an appearance of much dryness and hauteur. The last time, I was there until past five o'clock, and after he had despatched all his suitors, his men told him that I was there waiting, but still he would not receive me, and since then I have not troubled him, as it is clear that he and his

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companions have changed their minds. It is perfectly wonderful that they should have altered like this in a moment, believing the silly rumours which he repeated to me. This is not the first time he has treated me in this fickle way, as frequently he displays great goodwill towards the business in hand and then, in a few days, becomes quite a different man both in words and actions.

As I wrote to your Excellency, they are very busy fortifying Portsmouth and have undertaken to place Southampton in a position for defence. It is said that they will make Portsmouth into an island and they have over 600 men at work there every day.

Rebels and heretics continue to fly here from France. A hundred and fifty from Normandy have landed at Southampton, many of them being gentlemen of position. The Vidame is at Court and Montgomeri is in the isle of Guernsey with other French gentlemen.

Schonvall, our rebel and his friends, to the number of 600, who had robbed Oudenarde and Ostend, put into Dover, after Schonvall himself had been to this Court. He afterwards left for Flushing where the French refugees are arriving constantly. One Aselier, who has a brother in Antwerp, as I have written, has sent to Flushing a ship loaded with salt meat, beer, and other victuals, with two thousand harquebusses and a large quantity of powder. I learn from a person arriving from Flushing that the rebels there are determined to hold out to the last, and, when they can do no more, will plunder the place, set fire to it and come to this country.

All the channel is full of armed ships, some of them English, bearing patents from the prince of Orange. One of them chased seven sloops loaded with salt which were forced to take shelter in Falmouth where they are detained.

The question has been submitted to civil lawyers as to whether it will be licit to receive in these ports the armed ships of the prince of Orange, allowing them to sell their prizes here, in consideration of the prince of Orange having been unduly (as they falsely say) deprived of his States. It may well be supposed what decision they will arrive at.

It may therefore be concluded that if, with the blessing of God, his Majesty, by the hand of your Excellency, shall expel from Flanders all the rebels, they will fly from Holland, Tregus, and Zealand to this country, and that many of their armed ships will infest these seas, and not only be well received here and supplied with stores, but will here fit and reinforce to start on voyages of robbery to the coast of Galicia and other parts, even if they cannot disturb Flanders itself. Being desperate, they will run any risk and there certainly will be a great flock of thieves and corsairs.

M. de Croc, the French ambassador in Scotland, has passed through here on his way to France, leaving the Scots with a suspension of hostilities. They would not let him speak to the queen of Scotland, whom they guard closely, as also they do her ambassador, the bishop of Ross.

Montgomeri has since arrived here, and is made much of by the earl of Leicester, who is also very kind to the Vidame. Time will show whether they mean ill to France, or help to Orange.

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The Queen's ships have been taken out of commission and the troops and sailors dismissed, although the vessels are still lying at the mouth of the river, and not with the rest of the fleet at Rochester.

Parliament was to have met on All Saints' Day, but it has been postponed until the 12th January. The object of it is not known.

As I wrote to your Excellency on the 12th, the Queen and Council have certainly in hand some evil designs against his Majesty's interests, because, in one moment, they decided that their false news was of more importance to them than our friendship. Doubtless they are encouraged by Orange and his friends, the Palatine and other Germans, as well as by the Vidame, Montgomeri, and the Frenchmen, and believe that this Channel will be well guarded by the armed ships and by our rebels. They think that, with the help of these and the open and secret support afforded here to rebels in Flanders and France, to escape the punishment which they fear would fall upon them from his Majesty. Whilst this Government exists, no good arrangement will be made with them about peace, as the Queen herself only desires concord out of fear, and the rest of them will oppose an arrangement for religious reasons. Things are, however, changing now that the Queen and Council hear of the defeat of Orange, our success at Tregus and the shameful return of their Englishmen, the whole talk being that the Flushing people will abandon the place and that Brille and Holland will soon be brought into subjection. They have received, too, the news of our fleet having conquered the Turk (which please God may be true) and they learn that his Holiness will send a legate to the king of France to persuade him to join the League ; and in addition to this, advice comes that his Holiness had conceded a jubilee to beseech God to root out the heretics all over the world. For these reasons the Government sees that their evil deeds are of no avail and that shortly they will find themselves ruined and confounded. Last Sunday a man of high position preached in the great church of London before the whole city, and his sole burden was to persuade the people to be constant in their defence, and he used these words : " You Papists, stick closely to us " Protestants, for otherwise both you and we shall go together to " row in the galleys of King Philip." The Queen sent Killigrew to Scotland on this account, and the preachers there have exhorted the people to be firm in their defence, as Killigrew had informed them that the council of Trent had agreed upon the events which had happened in France, and that the Catholic princes are in league to murder all Protestants.

It has been frequently stated in the Council and is public talk everywhere, that his Majesty will keep the peace with them for a short time, whilst he punishes Orange and the other rebels ; but as soon as he had finished with them, he will break his word, and at a time to suit himself, will turn upon this country, and either conquer it or force it to be Catholic when these people are without friends. For the last two days, therefore, the Court has been in suspense and confusion. When Burleigh left here for the Court he sent word for me to go and see him on his return, which will be in a

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day or two. I will duly inform your Excellency of the outome, but, with these daily fluctuations, intentions are changed from day to day. On the 10th instant, when Burleigh and I were discussing the heads of agreement, the Queen and Council were desirous of peace, on the 12th they changed their minds in consequence of the killing of the French who left Mons, and the sacking of Malines; saying that all Catholic princes were in accord to treat Englishmen in the same way and heretics everywhere. Since the 20th again they have once more changed their views, in consequence of the various news which I have already mentioned, and are now at the end of their resources. The third person tells me that Lord Burleigh says that, as they have no reply from his Majesty to the Queen's letters, they were afraid that our King was animated by the intentions to which I have referred. Since then I am assured that they have ordered the doctors of civil law to keep silent with regard to the prizes brought in by the ships licensed by the prince of Orange, or, at all events, not to give an opinion favourable to them.—London, 28th October 1872.

I have just been informed that Doctor Herbert, a doctor of civil law, and a brother of the earl of Pembroke, who usually lives at Louvain, and is a Catholic in his heart, although he gives important advice to the Council, is going to Spain in order to write from the Court there news which may interest people here.

3 Nov. B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. IV., Original draft.

359. LETTER of INTELLIGENCE from London (unsigned) to the DUKE OF ALBA, Governor of the Netherlands.

I wrote on the 26th and 27th ultimo and do not send copies, as this courier, who took them, is safe.

I am informed on very good authority that certain Englishmen have agreed to go over to the States and kill the earl of Westmoreland. The leader of them is a great friend of his, who very recently came from there for the purpose of plotting the affair and making sure of his reward. He is now satisfied on that head, and is taking with him six men chosen for the purpose. I do not know his name yet, but shall learn it and the time of his departure, of which I will send prompt advice. I am assured by my friends at Court that the Council is very suspicious of this earl of Westmoreland, who is highly popular in the country amongst Catholics, and especially in the north country where he has estates. These people are afraid that the punishment they deserve will reach them from there, and, consequently, try all they can to serve Westmoreland as they did the poor earl of Northumberland. I will use all needful vigilance in this.

The decision of the lawyers respecting the seven sloops that the pirate Fenner had captured under license from Orange and taken into Falmouth, has been given, to the effect that the prizes, having been captured on the sea outside the ports, are illegally detained and must be returned to their owners, who have now gone down there to regain possession of their ships.

News has arrived here of the brave relief of Tregus by your Excellency's troops by fording an arm of the sea, and also the great loss inflicted by them upon the flying enemy. People are

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much surprised and grieved at this, as their hopes are founded on capturing that island which they wish to fortify, and thus to prevent succour reaching Zealand. As soon as your Excellency's success was known here, they sent orders that all Englishmen in those parts should return immediately. They see all their plans turning out contrary to their wishes, and they fear that, if your Excellency's good fortune continue, many of their Englishmen may never come back at all, unless they do so now. They pretend, and openly assert, that the orders for their return were sent long before the relief of Tregus. But, notwithstanding all this, they do not prevent stores and victuals being sent to the rebel towns in unlimited quantities, such is their desire that they may hold out through the winter. They also show great favour to his Catholic Majesty's rebel pirate subjects, who are allowed to land and sell their booty on shore without hindrance.

The Queen and Council, however, are very anxious to come to terms with his Catholic Majesty, as they fear great evil may befall them from the ruin the country is suffering, in consequence of the stoppage of trade with Flanders and Spain. They have not much hope of it, as his Majesty has not answered the Queen's letters and shows no anxiety to come to an agreement. They look to the pirates for their remedy if they cannot come to terms, as they think by gathering a great number of them, they may stop navigation and force his Majesty to agree to peace.

The Queen is coming next Friday the 7th from Windsor to Hampton Court.—London, 3rd November 1572.

4th Nov. **360.** Antonio de Guaras to the Duke of Alba.

On the 28th ultimo I wrote to your Excellency through Antonio de Tassis (copy enclosed) and since then have received nothing from you.

I wrote that Lord Burleigh had told me to come and see him when he returned to town. I went, and he told me, as he had done before, that some of his companions in the Council were of the bad opinion that, even though a fair arrangement might be arrived at now with his Majesty, they were afraid that it would not be fulfilled for any length of time, and that Englishmen would still not be safe as to their persons and estates in Spain or Flanders. The Queen, Burleigh himself, and some others were convinced to the contrary, and that his Majesty was not like the king of France who broke treaties on every occasion. I told him again that his Majesty was a prince of such honour, and always would be, that even to suspect him was a disrespectful thing, whereupon he, placing his hand upon his heart, said, "I certainly am of the same opinion."

He told me to write to your Excellency respecting the draft agreement in order that your Excellency should be pleased to send me your opinion with regard to the heads, and especially as to the treatment of Englishmen in religious matters in Flanders and Spain; and he told me in so many words that, if some honourable and reasonable arrangement could not be made upon this point, it would be waste of time to discuss the question. He said this whilst

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holding in his hand the draft which he had drawn up before, in which he met and replied to the heads which I had submitted to him (copies of which I sent to your Excellency). I replied: "Since "your Lordship has commenced to draft the heads and has almost "finished, it would be better to continue and then have the draft "put into Latin, as we had arranged, so that it may be sent to his "Excellency." He said he was willing to do so, and would correct the draft and read the heads over to me as he revised them. When I said that I would go to his house occasionally to remind him of it, he said, "I will send for you when I am ready for you," and so the business remains for the present. I am holding myself in readiness to go whenever I am summoned, and will report to your Excellency what takes place.

He also told me he had been trying very hard all last week in the Council to win over the rest of the councillors to this arrangement, and especially assured me that the earl of Leicester was now favourable; whilst the Queen and he, Burleigh, were still firm in their good opinion, although the king of France, through his ambassador and otherwise, was trying to persuade them that the English might safely carry on their cloth and wool business in France, as was agreed in the late treaty. But he said they all saw how inconstant and shifty the French were in their promises, and, in every respect the most natural course was the continuance of their amity with the House of Burgundy. He said this was very needful to England, to Flanders, and to Spain, and that if anyone tried to hinder this good settlement, he was neither a friend of this country nor that, but only such as tried to sow dissension between princes, to the great injury of their subjects.

He also said that, although no notice had been taken of the good offer of the Queen to recall the Englishmen, the Queen had ordered a gentleman called Sir Humphrey Gilbert to bring them back hither.

He said emphatically that the Queen, desiring greatly to see the States in quietude and repose, and, wishful to please the King, would very willingly offer her intervention with the prince of Orange and our rebels to induce them to return to their due obedience, if his Majesty and your Excellency should be willing to accept her services. He said he hoped the Queen might be an instrument to settle everything with decorum and honour, to the advantage of the King and the satisfaction of your Excellency and the rest of the world. This is a punctual statement of Lord Burleigh's conversation with me on the 29th of October.

Since then nothing more has been said to me. Lord Burleigh has gone to Court which is now at Windsor, and I await until to-morrow, when I hope he will say something to me about the heads of agreement or will give me the draft.

The Queen's ships have been taken out of commission, and have been brought to Rochester, where the rest are.

The earl of Derby is dead. He was a good gentleman and a strong Catholic, the very contrary to his son and successor, who is a passionate heretic. His two other sons are good Catholics and are now in prison on suspicion of favouring the queen of Scots.

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It is said that the English from Flanders are beginning to arrive on this coast, all of them having been already embarked at Flushing. This is not to be wondered at, as they have been cast out of Tregus, and it is to be hoped that they and our own rebels will, please God, soon be all gone from our States.

The news of our success against the Turk has been current here for some time, but lately they are casting doubt upon it by way of France. God grant that it may be true. I am assured by a person from Portsmouth that they are going to fortify it much more strongly than was said. They will do so as the position is very favourable for it.—London, 4th November 1572.

4 Nov. **361.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to the KING.

Confirms letter of 28th ultimo, with copies of his letters to the duke of Alba, and now sends copy of his letter to the Duke, of this date.—London, 4th November 1572.

4 Nov. **362.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to ZAYAS.

Sends under cover to him the aforegoing letters to the King.

9 Nov. **363.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to ZAYAS.

Covers duplicate of the aforegoing.—London, 9th November 1572.

9 Nov. **364.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to the DUKE OF ALBA.

I wrote to your Excellency on the 4th, as usual, through Tassis and have no letters since from your Excellency. As had been agreed, Lord Burleigh sent for me, and having repeated to me what I have already written about the willingness of the Queen himself, and the rest of the Councillors to come to a peaceable settlement, in conformity therewith, handed me the draft which I now enclose, and which is practically the same as was originally given to me for the consideration and reply of his Majesty and your Excellency. I told him that I understood the same goodwill existed on our side as I had previously assured him, and that his Majesty and your Excellency were still of the same favourable disposition, but I told him that the conditions he made with regard to religion and certain other things I thought would partially hinder the business. When I asked him to have the draft put into Latin, as he had promised, he told me to send it just as he gave it to me, or that, as I understood English, I could put the draft into Spanish; whereupon I told him that as I received it from him so I would send it to his Majesty and your Excellency.

The draft he made almost a month ago, was, I believe, almost to the same effect as the present one, as he read me the clauses as he drew them up, but the other draft was longer, and this looks as if it had been abbreviated.

As I wrote at the time, he told me that the Queen would give me a document with the promise that, if your Majesty would consent to sign it, she would sign a similar copy. When he gave me the present draft, I asked him what was going to be done about the afore-mentioned document, and he replied that it was not now necessary and that I was to send the draft.

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The affairs of this country change from hour to hour, and there is a continual inconsistency, but it is not to be wondered at, as they all depend upon events elsewhere. It may be supposed that these folks wish for peace more than ever, although they want to settle it with great consideration and honour for themselves, but, as they have no letters from your Majesty, which they so much desire, they are still suspicious that they will not be received into our friendship.

Lord Burleigh told me, in conversation about religion, the restitution, and other points of controversy, that, as soon as the ports were opened, the commissioners would take such steps as should satisfy both parties, and when the ports had been opened, this Queen would be ready to give the King every satisfaction on all points; whereupon I said that I was sure your Majesty would be equally desirous of doing the same towards her, and all would end well. He was very glad to hear this.

He repeated to me his wish, which I have already conveyed to your Excellency, that the ports should be opened on the 29th of December; first, because that was the day upon which the seizures had been made in Flanders, although they were provoked by previous seizures here; but I told him that, as he would not give me the document for his Majesty, there would be some delay before these things could be arranged, and this would make it impossible for the ports to be opened on the day he said. To this he answered that a single document from your Excellency to the Queen, or one sent to me to be shown to her, would suffice for the opening of the ports on a day agreed upon, and the other differences and the question of trade could be subsequently settled by commissioners. They are so desirous of this that, if it were not for the honour of the thing, the Queen would write to his Majesty, and Burleigh would petition your Excellency on the subject, and, if it should be his Majesty's wish, they will show this desire by means of good deeds. I enclose herewith a literal translation in Spanish of the heads of agreement.

He told me that orders had been given for the release of the seven sloops which had been brought in by armed vessels to Falmouth, which had been done through him, although some of the Councillors were opposed to it. I thanked him for it.

If it should be his Majesty's will to settle with these people, it would be, as your Excellency knows, a means of displeasing the French, and, still more, Orange and our rebels, his friends, as at the same time the people here would clear their coast and channels of all the armed ships belonging to our enemies and the pirates. If the appointment of Commissioners be agreed to, it is to be hoped that some good arrangement may be arrived at about the restitution and other things, especially the question of religion. From what took place between Burleigh and myself a few days ago upon this religious question, which is the most difficult point, I am convinced that, when the ports are open and the commissioners are arranging the other affairs, if the Queen be approached authoritatively and suitably, with the request that she shall return to the obedience of the Pope, she will do so without much difficulty

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Burleigh himself says, as I have written, that the Queen fully recognized that there must be a head in ecclesiastical as in temporal matters. It will be a subject for incredible rejoicing to this country when commerce and the ports are reopened, as it will be equally advantageous to Flanders and Spain, particularly as regards the tranquillity of the former country, because otherwise Orange and his French friends will never cease to trouble the States by land and sea, helped by money and other support from here and elsewhere, whilst we are kept with the constant need of an army to defend the coast. If his Majesty and your Excellency should therefore think well to write to the Queen, or to me a letter to be shown to her or Lord Burleigh, agreeing to the opening of the ports on a given day, as suggested by Burleigh, these people will accept it with rejoicing, and they await the reply most anxiously.

Burleigh asked me pressingly whether there were any letters from Spain, and when I told him there were none he seemed greatly surprised, as they are expecting an answer from his Majesty to the letters of the Queen.

He asked me whether I had heard that the Emperor was dead, and when I said that I had heard nothing of it he was silent, but I know they have received this news, which please God may not be true. They are founding great anticipations upon its being true, in the secret plots they are weaving, in case our arrangement with them should fall through. I have been able to gain no trustworthy intelligence with regard to these plots, but the suspicion is that they will again help Orange to raise his standard if our agreement with them fails.

As the Queen and Burleigh are suspicious of everything, they have the country covered with spies, and they get such news as they want. Burleigh told me that the Queen had been informed that I was one of the cabal that was conspiring against the Queen, which certainly is not true, and I told him that the Queen and he were badly informed; whereupon he replied that if it were true they would be offended with me, and would never deal with me again in affairs. I assured him truly that such a thing had never passed through my mind, and he replied: "I quite believe it, and our informant has not told the truth." This I write to your Excellency that you may know of the suspicion with which they regard everyone. It is not to be wondered at, because all the world thinks that they are on the road to ruin through their own fault, and they fear the consequences of their acts.

The English general who was before Tregus, named Sir Humphrey Gilbert, has arrived at this Court, and it is said he had five hundred of his soldiers dead and sick. Captain Morgan remained at Flushing with about two hundred Englishmen, whom he has had there always, and some three or four English captains belonging to Gilbert's party have remained behind with Morgan. Of the English who were at Brille none have returned.

News from Scotland is that the Queen's friends have killed many of their opponents, and the death of the Governor Morton (Mar) is

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affirmed. There is news from Ireland that the people are in arms against the English, and that many have been killed.

The prince of Orange has a man here to represent him and to press his claims upon the Council. Two days ago another messenger came from Orange directed to the Court, but they keep him very secret, as may be imagined. It is asserted that some great plots are being contrived here out of fear that his Majesty will not accept their friendship, but, if it is his Majesty's wish to do so, they will go on their knees to get the ports opened, and they will afterwards do whatever is demanded of them.

News from France comes that Montmorenci and M. de Foix, who came here to conclude the agreement, are at liberty there, in order not to scandalize people here, which it would do if they treated them like the rest, and the French want to keep up an appearance of friendship.

The Flushing rebels have brought hither merchandise to the value of thirty thousand crowns, which they will employ in the purchase of victuals and stores, especially powder, to take to Flushing, where the intention is to hold out to the end. I send this packet by favour of the captain of Gravelines.—London, 9th November 1572.

17 Nov.
B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. IV. Original draft.

365. LETTER of INTELLIGENCE from London (unsigned) to the DUKE OF ALBA, Governor of the Netherlands.

I wrote on the 3rd instant and 26th ultimo, saying that the French ambassador had gone to Court for the Queen's answer to his master's letter, and that she had given him a reply in accordance with the contents of the King's letter, assuring him at the same time of her friendship. Since then the ambassador has received two other letters from his master instructing him to congratulate the Queen on her convalescence, and to again assure her of his firm friendship. He is also to tell her that she need not feel the slightest suspicion of the coming of the Cardinal (Ursino), as the object of his visit is solely to reform certain things touching the Catholic faith in France, and he (the Cardinal) has been chosen because he was a friend of the King's. On the 4th instant a special courier came to the ambassador, instructing him to inform the Queen of the birth of a daughter of the King, and, if he found her well disposed, to ask her to stand sponsor to the infant. If she consented to do so, the King would be glad if she would send to represent her, either the earl of Leicester or the Lord Treasurer. The ambassador has not seen the Queen since the arrival of this courier, but has been with the Treasurer here in London and told him all this, showing him portions of the letter. The Treasurer thereupon went to the Court, and returned at the end of four or five days with the reply, which was to the effect that, the religion of the Queen being very different from that of the King, he advised him not to speak to her about the baptism, whereupon the ambassador said he would acquaint his master with this answer before proceeding further in the matter.

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The secretary of the English ambassador in France, whose coming, and the despatches he brought, I mentioned in my letter of the 27th ultimo, is also instructed, as I am informed, to beg the Queen to allow him, Walsingham, to return home, because as he was concerned with the league, and took part in certain plots against the queen of Scotland's affairs, and everything has turned out contrary to his wishes; he is not well liked at that Court, especially by the friends of the Guises. He will therefore return, and a new ambassador be sent.

Letters have recently been received from Killigrew, this Queen's resident minister in Scotland reporting the death of the earl of Mar, Regent of the kingdom. When the body was opened it was found that he had been poisoned, and it was thought, for certain, that this was the work of M. de Croc, who was French ambassador there, although the poison was believed to have been administered by the hand of a brother of the Earl, who is a strong Catholic. Killigrew writes that, as the death was so sudden, he fears fresh disturbances may result, the Catholics being much strengthened. The death of this Regent has caused great grief here, and may well give them cause for apprehension, as the Earl was not only the Governor, but was personally very powerful in the country, and much attached to the interests of this Queen.

On the 4th instant a Flemish gentleman called Boisot (De Boison) arrived at this Court. He is much thought of by Orange, and says that at the time he embarked at Brille, Orange was at that place. He brings letters of credence for the Queen, and also letters for Leicester and the Treasurer. I have not yet been able to learn his errand, except that Orange begs the Queen to send victuals and stores of which much want is felt all over Holland, and 50,000 crowns in money to enable him to hold out during the winter. He was secretly welcomed and well treated at Court, and has now been despatched with nine smacks loaded with stores; six from this city with a large quantity of munitions, powder, beer, biscuit, salt-meat, and other things, whilst the other three smacks went from here to Sandwich to ship corn. The whole nine will leave with the first fair wind. The gentleman also took back with him 20,000 crowns in cash. Weston (?) who is with Orange as this Queen's envoy has been recalled, but my informant cannot tell me why. My friends are trying to discover this, and also the particulars of Orange's letters. I will advise when possible.

The munitions and stores now sent have cost 30,000 crowns, and were all brought through Aldersey, who is one of the commissioners who sold the property of his Catholic Majesty's subjects here, and Ferdinand Pointz. All the goods were bought on six months' credit, whilst the 20,000 crowns were advanced on bills of exchange, the whole being guaranteed by these two men, as the Queen had not a penny. They are to be reimbursed in due time by the custom-house of this city.

Killigrew wrote lately from Scotland that a parliament was to meet here on the 15th instant for the Protestants to elect a Regent, and he says, as the matter is so important to this Queen, he advises her, in order that she may take the necessary measures and send at

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once 20,000*l.* in money to give to some of the principal men in their party to induce them to elect Morton as Regent, he being devoted to this Queen's interests. These people are quite confident that, if Morton be elected, he will give up to them the child-king as they desire. This 20,000*l.* was provided by Sir Thomas Gresham, who, as I have already written, is very rich and powerful. He is to be repaid out of the taxes now being collected.

News comes from Ireland that the savages in the east of the island, who are devoted to the queen of Scots, have risen and have been joined by many Scotsmen, secretly sent by the earl of Huntly, the Grand Chancellor of Scotland, whose lands are in the west of Scotland, a very short distance from Ireland by sea. The savages have overrun the whole land, and have even destroyed the city of Dublin, where the Viceroy lives. The Queen is sending 1,500 soldiers thither to aid the Viceroy in attacking these savages. People here are much concerned about this rising and would be more so if help were sent to them (*i.e.*, the Irish) from without.

The Queen has recently received a letter from her ambassador in France saying that the King had spoken to him about his application to be recalled, owing to his distrust of the Guise party, and had assured him that he had not the slightest cause for apprehension, as he should be honourably treated by him and all his Court. The ambassador fully confirms the coming of Cardinal Ursino, and says that the King has also summoned Cardinal Lorraine from Rome. He (the ambassador) does not know what to make of all this, or how it is going to end. Languedoc was all in arms, and the King would have enough to do at Montalban, which was very strong, and at Rochelle, where the besieged were firmly resolved to die rather than surrender.

About 12 days ago 10 of the principal merchants of Rochelle arrived here, and six of them went to Court on the 14th. Montgomeri was expected there secretly from Guernsey on the following day. I do not know what plots are brewing, but will try to find out and advise.

I am informed that the Queen is advised of everything that passes at your Excellency's Court, at Rome and Paris, by persons who write in a cipher which is kept by a confidential man of the Treasurer's. My friends are trying to discover the names of the persons, and if possible I will report them to your Excellency. My friends think, although they are not very positive about it, that the French intelligence comes from a man in the household of Birago, the Keeper of the Seals. The man who is being sent from here to Germany is going, I am told, first to the French Court. He will leave in four or five days, and my friends will give me his name and full particulars, which I will send with the date of his departure to Don Diego de Zuñiga, although I have no reply to the letter I wrote to him about it on the 27th ultimo. The man who is going over to kill the earl of Westmoreland is making ready for his departure.

The Council has just ordered the bishop of London to instruct the ministers or preachers of all the parishes to ask for alms for

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the relief of the poor French refugees, and to take the names of those who refuse to contribute, whom they will consider Papists, this being the name they give to Catholics.

On the 5th instant Sir Humphrey Gilbert and 800 Englishmen arrived in this country from taking part in the siege of Tregus. Gilbert came secretly to Court directly he landed, and gave an account of events in those parts. He was sent away as secretly as he came, and was ordered to come to this city as if he had not been to Court, and pretend that he dared not go thither until his friends had interceded and obtained pardon for him, for having gone on the expedition without leave. This is the sort of stratagem they usually employ, and they are following the same course in ordering an inquiry as to who has allowed stores to be sent from the Tower to the States. The purpose of this is, of course, to be able to show the King (Philip) at some future time that it was not done by the Queen's wish; whereas, really, nothing can leave without her license. I beg your Excellency to be convinced that these Englishmen would not have come back if they had had any place to go to there. There are 200 still at Flushing, and many more in Holland, at Brille, and other places, which they are fortifying; the great object being for those places to hold out through the winter.

I have already written how glad these people would be to come to terms with his Catholic Majesty for many reasons, but especially as they cannot sell their cloths and wools in Flanders, where and in Spain they formerly carried on their principal trade. The people are openly murmuring in the provinces, and some of the principal persons have come up to see the Council about it. They have been soothed with fair words, and assured that trade will soon be reopened; but still disturbances are feared. Another reason for their desire for peace is the knowledge that they have done so much against his Catholic Majesty, and they are beginning to think what the result may be to them, seeing how prosperously things are going for the King in the Netherlands, and the outcome of their league in France. They greatly fear some combined action of the two Kings, especially as regards their sect. Scotch matters, also, are full of anxiety for them, as the king of France, being now free from the people who troubled him, they feel sure he will help the queen of Scotland, and they give no credit to all his fair words and promises to this Queen. If the Scotch trouble were to fall upon them before they were reconciled to his Catholic Majesty, they would be utterly undone and surrounded on all sides. Perplexed, as they are, with these and other considerations, they would much like to arrange with Spain, but as they see his Majesty does not write to them or show any anxiety to come to terms, and the present position is likely to drag on for a long time, they have decided to endeavour to get his Majesty to agree to a truce for two or three years, on their undertaking to clear the sea of corsairs and open the ports; Commissioners in the meanwhile being appointed to investigate the pending questions. Their belief is that in the two years they would be reconciled with his Majesty as before. I have all this from a very good quarter, and am assured that, if this truce is not granted to them, they will come to

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any terms his Majesty may demand; either in religion or anything else, as they are so driven and perplexed that they will submit to anything.

I have written previously that a large number of English and Flemish vessels have gone to Spain and Portugal with English cloths belonging to English subjects, although shipped in other names, and that these ships will bring back Spanish goods. It greatly entertains these people to see that they are thus allowed to trade with Spain and Portugal, as otherwise your Excellency may be certain they would have found a way to settle the differences before now. The joke of it is that an Englishman has just come hither from Portugal to open trade and arrange a settlement, which would be a public indignity for Portugal, and would give a new lease of life to these people, who would thus be able to satisfy the subjects here.—London, 17th November 1572.

Note.—Damaged by fire.

18 Nov. **366.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to the KING.

Confirms letter of the 19th instant, with copies of his letters to to the duke of Alba, and of the heads of agreement drafted by Lord Burleigh. Encloses also copies of letters to the duke of Alba of this date.—London, 18th November 1572.

18 Nov. **367.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to the DUKE OF ALBA.

I wrote to your Excellency on the 9th a letter which I forwarded by special courier to the captain of Gravelines, and since then I have received no letters from your Excellency, although the third person is constantly asking whether I have any news.

Lord Burleigh has said nothing more to me since I sent his draft of agreement, nor is it to be expected that he will do so until a letter from his Majesty, or your Excellency, affords me an opportunity of going to see him. In case, however, of his wishing to say anything, I will throw myself in his way, and will report to your Excellency if he addresses me. I learn from the third person, who is with Lord Burleigh every day, that the Queen is extremely desirous of receiving a letter from his Majesty, and Lord Burleigh expresses this desire with great sorrow at the long delay in replying to the Queen's letter of August. He tells me all this indirectly, but it is quite clear that he has been instructed to learn from me whether letters have arrived, and to let me know that they are displeased at not having received these replies.

This greatly alarms them, for fear his Majesty may not be willing to be friendly with them, which certainly would not be extraordinary, seeing their continued proofs of enmity towards him, especially with their armed Englishmen in Flanders. There is no news that Captain Morgan and his soldiers at Flushing are coming back, nor those with M. de Lumay at Brille, but, if this and all that has passed be overlooked by his Majesty, these people will be only too glad to be friends, and will open their ports willingly.

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If, on the contrary, no answer is sent to them, they will persevere in the evil projects they have in hand, and put them into execution, if their advances for friendship are not reciprocated. In this event they will try to injure his Majesty's interests. The only thing I can learn is that full Councils are meeting, and that the prince of Orange's emissaries are being received, whilst they are frequently sending to the English ambassador in France. Everybody believes they are up to some mischief, but I can get no details, and time must show what it is. There is a rumour that the present ambassador in France is to be recalled, and another sent.

Some of the prisoners for the duke of Norfolk's affair have been condemned this week to perpetual imprisonment, and others to the confiscation of all their property. The rest are in confinement in the Tower, and it is thought that it will go hardly with them. One of the prisoners is the brother of the earl of Northumberland named Percy.

About ten Frenchmen of good appearance have arrived here from Rochelle, and have gone to Court to say that, if help were not sent at once the place would be in great peril. They are still at Court, associating with the Vidame de Chartres and Montgomeri, and are trying to get the aid they seek, publicly or privately.

It is now asserted that the man who was killed in Scotland was not Morton but the earl of Mar, who had custody of the prince, who has now remained in the keeping of his brother. I am given to understand that he and his wife are both Catholics, and a message has consequently been sent from this Court to the Regent Morton telling him and two other earls to stand firm, and these people here will pay all the expenses of their soldiers.

A printed proclamation is secretly passing from hand to hand here which I have not yet been able to obtain. It is printed in Scotland, although, it is believed, inspired from here, and states that the Council of Trent, his Holiness, and all the princes, especially naming the Emperor, his Majesty, and the King of France, had agreed to the killing of the Huguenots in France, and the same in Scotland; and all congregations in the latter country are warned to adopt measures against such a project.

Two days ago an emissary of Orange presented a letter to the Queen. Its purport and the reply to it may be well imagined. Five or six boats with victuals and stores for Holland are leaving here for Holland. They are specially taking supplies of powder, vinegar, beer, and salt. The principal shipper is this scamp Aselier, whom I have mentioned before. There has been a great outcry lately here that some of the Queen's ships were again to be put into commission, but nothing has been done yet.

As I was closing this, the accompanying printed document was published here, and the little book which I also send has been printed (which will be noted is printed under privilege). All this will show how these people persevere in supporting their heresy, and in their opposition to his Majesty's interests.

The controversy here between one set of heretics and another is become daily more bitter. This week some printed books

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have been published by the sect which is called the Puritans, or stainless ones, against the other sect, or Calvinists, and such is the passion engendered, that, one of these days, they will come to blows, which it is to be hoped that God will permit, and that one set of heretics may confound the other, and all of them go to perdition together.—London, 18th November 1572.

25 Nov. B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. IV. Original draft.

368. LETTER of INTELLIGENCE from London (unsigned) to the DUKE OF ALBA, Governor of the Netherlands.

I wrote on the 17th instant, and now have to report that the man who is going to Germany left here on the 21st, at 3 o'clock after midnight for Dover, where he embarked for Boulogne, whence he was to take post for Paris and thence to Germany. His name is Henry Horne; he is a tall man, with a long face, his beard thin, silky and of light colour. He is 36 years of age, and is a nephew of the present bishop of Winchester. He takes two men with him, one a German and one an Englishman. He bears three letters in Latin from the Queen, one for the duke of Saxony, one for the Palatine, and one for the marquis of Brandenburg. The letters say that she is sure the coming of Cardinal Ursino to France is for the purpose of planning many things to her prejudice, and in favour of the queen of Scotland. The King also, she says, has summoned Cardinal Lorraine, the inventor of the murder of so many nobles of France, her good and true friends, and the Pope was striving to unite Catholic Christendom against the Protestants. She informed them of all this in order to learn their feelings on the subject, notwithstanding the negotiations she was carrying on with your Excellency through a Spaniard resident here, for the re-opening of trade on both sides, which she doubted would come to anything. She especially presses the duke of Saxony and the Palatine to endeavour to get the Emperor to intervene with his Majesty to bring about a peaceful settlement. She says that if she can only be sure of Spain and Portugal she will give the French such a drubbing for the trick they have played her, as they will not forget whilst the world lasts, which she says she has very good means of doing, as will be verbally explained by the envoy.

She begs for a prompt answer on all points, as, if possible, she wishes to receive it before the end of January. She will help the prince of Orange to hold firm in Holland, although she doubted his being able to remain there very long.

This envoy is also taking two autograph letters from the Treasurer to the duke of Saxony and the Palatine, but I have been unable to learn the contents. He carries all these letters in his left breast, concealed in a taffety doublet he wears. Each letter is enclosed in a sort of separate pocket of leather, with which the whole doublet is lined. He takes with him a trunk with his clothes, and for further dissimulation, carries therein six books in Latin, and two gold chains of 400 (crowns ?) each, for presents in Germany; it is not known to whom they are to be given, as the Treasurer gave him his instructions secretly. He is going very artfully, pretending that his only object is to study in Germany,

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He is a good Latinist, and, having lived long in Paris, speaks excellent French. His voyage is so secret that its object is not even disclosed to the English ambassador in Paris, to whom he has a letter from the Treasurer, introducing him as a person who is going to study in Germany, and requesting the ambassador to give him every assistance out of respect for his uncle the Bishop. He is most urgently enjoined not to disclose anywhere that he is going on public business, and great favour and honours are promised him on his return if he carries through his mission successfully.

I have sent advice of all this to the ambassador Don Diego de Zuñiga through the French ambassador here, in order that he may take such steps as may be desirable, although I have received no answer from him to mine of the 27th ultimo.

The nine ships with stores for Holland have left, but the servant of Orange did not go with them, as he is to go by land with the bills for the 20,000*l.* given to him by Ferdinand Pointz, payable in Antwerp. I do not know yet upon whom the bills are drawn, but will advise if I can discover.

Captain Morgan and his soldiers came back a week since from Flushing. There are 200 of them, and they are in such want that they are begging about the streets. Those in Brille and Holland have not returned yet, and, as they have not done so in the fine weather, they will stay there all the winter, unless they are turned out. I am told the English have not returned by the Queen's orders, but by reason of their great need there.

On the 20th the French ambassador went to Court and accompanied the Queen to Windsor; amongst many other things he told the Queen that his master instructed him to say that he learnt that several of the principal merchants of Rochelle had come hither, seditious persons, and, as no doubt they would find some evil spirits to consort with, he feared their designs were against him. The Queen pretended to be much surprised at this, and said that she knew nothing of it, but would speak to the Council, as she was anxious to keep the peace with the King. The ambassador took leave of the Queen on this, but was afterwards with Leicester and the Treasurer for three hours, although I do not know what decision was arrived at. The evil spirits referred to by the King are supposed to be the Vidame de Chartres and Montgomeri[1] who has arrived here in disguise, and both he and the Vidame have been several times to Court. They are plotting something, I am sure, and the visit of the English ambassador's secretary from France referred to the same matter. I will report all I can learn.

A special courier came to the Queen on the 22nd from her ambassador in Paris, with letter, saying that the King had informed him that he learnt from De Croc the state of affairs in Scotland, and he appealed to the Queen to fulfil her treaty obligations in respect to that country. If she did not remedy matters he (the king of France) could not avoid sending troops thither; and this, the ambassador says, the King pronounced with a perfectly serene countenance. The queen is much grieved about

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it. The man who is going to kill the earl of Westmoreland is making ready, but they tell me they cannot give me his name until his passport is made out. I will then report. The Earl in the meanwhile should be very careful.—London, 25th November 1572.

1 Dec. B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. IV. Original draft.

369. LETTER OF INTELLIGENCE from London (unsigned) to the DUKE OF ALBA, Governor of the Netherlands.

In my last of the 25th ultimo I said I had not learnt the result of the long interview of the French ambassador with Leicester and Burleigh. I now learn that the ambassador was assured in many words that nothing against his King should be allowed here. The ambassador complained much of the treatment of the queen of Scotland and the closeness with which she was kept, as she was not allowed to leave one room. As a consequence of these remonstrances, the Queen has ordered the earl of Shrewsbury to allow the queen of Scotland to go to a neighbouring house for a change. She at once wrote a letter warmly thanking this Queen for the additional liberty thus given her. She also wrote to the king of France, the Queen-Mother, and the duke of Guise; the letters having been read by the earl of Shrewsbury before they were sealed, all three in one packet with a letter to the French ambassador asking him to forward them. He sent them by his secretary at once.

A gentleman named M. de Mauvissière arrived here on the 29th from France with much ostentation. He comes on business from his King but has not yet seen the Queen. He has been here and in Scotland several times before and is liked by this Queen. I will endeavour to discover his business. The nine ships with stores all arrived safely at Brille, thanks to the zeal employed, and discharged their cargoes. Three have returned hither. The servant of Orange who is to take the bills for the 20,000*l.* has not left yet. I will advise his departure promptly, as also that of the man who is going to kill the earl of Westmoreland.

I am told that the French refugees here are to fit out several ships and load them with victuals and stores, as if for a voyage, but really for Rochelle, whither some have already been sent and where much distress exists. I have not yet discovered what are the negotiations going on between Montgomeri and the Rochelle merchants here.—London, 1st December 1572.

Note.—Damaged by fire.

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370. ANTONIO DE GUARAS to the DUKE OF ALBA.

On the 8th instant I wrote a letter to your Excellency through Tassis, copy of which I enclose.

I have subsequently received a letter from Antonio de Tassis saying he had received the packets sent but I have no letters from your Excellency. The third person is constantly coming to me, apparently on behalf of Burleigh, to learn whether I have any reply, and, although Burleigh himself sometimes sees me he says nothing and takes no more notice than if he did not know me; his

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bearing displaying annoyance that he has spoken so openly upon the question as to ask, on the Queen's behalf and his own, that the ports should be opened and commissioners appointed. The third person assures me that this is Burleigh's feeling upon the matter.

By this and other signs it is quite clear that they have now lost hope that your Majesty will extend your friendship to them. On the contrary, the general rumours at Court and amongst people who know anything about the business are to the effect that the Queen and Council have no expectation of this agreement with us being concluded, and that they are trying to provide against the trouble which they expect will fall upon them. For this purpose they have sent a person secretly to Germany, the name of whom I have not yet learned, to negotiate with their friends there. They have for a long time past had troops forewarned for them in Germany, the Hamburg people being sureties, guaranteed by the English merchants there.

In pursuance of the same end it is publicly said that Montgomeri will go to Rochelle with overt help, and twelve or thirteen ships are being fitted out here, at Portsmouth and Plymouth for that purpose. This is to encourage their friends in France, whence comes the news that the people of Guienne, Gascony, and Languedoc have offered to declare themselves in the service of this Queen, although those who best understand the matter do not believe that these people here will have anything to do with it, until they are quite sure about our friendship.

It is said that in Scotland there is a show of taking up arms again in consequence of the Prince being in the hands of the Catholics. The faith is being preached over the greater part of Scotland, and large numbers of people are being converted by the preaching of some very wise friars who have gone there from France. On the other hand, those who are friendly to this Queen are opposing this, and Killigrew has gone from here as ambassador. In Ireland the people are all up in arms against the English, as the Irishmen will not allow the Englishmen to colonise certain lands there.

An English soldier tells me that he heard for certain at Flushing that, when any force comes against the place, the people will abandon it. It is said that there are three hundred Englishmen belonging to M. de Lumay's force at Caunfer.

Parliament will open on the 12th of January, and it is said that the earl of Leicester will be created a duke and Lord Burleigh a marquis. The French ambassador has returned, the Queen having consented to be godmother, and the earl of Leicester will leave here to represent her.

For the last five or six nights a terrible comet of immense size has been seen in the sky, and as these people here are fond of speculation, a great deal of discourse is taking place about it, the general talk being that such a sign has never been seen here excepting when it has presaged a change of government.

It is believed that the queen of Scotland has been given rather more liberty and that the bishop of Ross will shortly be released.

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The earl of Arundel, also, has been set free, he having hitherto been under arrest in his own house.

It is confidently reported to me that the people of London are to lend the Queen, at her request, a hundred and fifty thousand crowns for one year, she adding to it a like amount; two hundred crowns in addition being collected amongst the French and Flemish rebels here and their Huguenot friends in France, Flanders, and Germany. The object of this is to enable the Vidame and Montgomeri and their friends to raise troops in Germany, and, although it is presumed that the purpose is to trouble the king of France and enforce this Queen's demand that Rochelle should be held, and to press the question of Guienne, it is also understood that part of the force is destined to support the prince of Orange in his traitorous pretensions. With the same end great quantities of grain, flour, bacon, and other provisions are being gathered in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk to supply Flushing and Holland. There is a great rumour, although secret, that seven or eight thousand soldiers, French, Walloon, and English, are to leave here for Flushing, and they tell me that, whatever designs the Vidame and Montgomeri may have subsequently, they will first go to Flushing and Holland with this force, and unite with Orange. Yesterday the Council was gathering information from one of the principal men of Flushing, who is secretly here, respecting the guns, ammunition, and stores which were in that place, and the number of men for its defence. As may be imagined, this Government, with Orange and the French, are very busy with these treaties, and there seems to be no doubt about their plans being carried out, but, please God, your Excellency will confound them all, to the great service of God and the King, and the admiration of the world.

By experience we see that these ships in the Channel will go, as I said they would, in the direction of Rouen, to plunder. They have taken there a cutter loaded with wool and oranges, another with sugar from Barbary, and another with a cargo of woad. The two latter are French ships, and they are now on this coast, where the plunder will all be put up for sale.

By the last courier the Flemings here received news that Orange had been in danger of capture in Holland, and that he will fly hither from our army. When the French ambassador took his leave to return he had long secret conferences with Montgomeri and the Vidame, all of which goes to show that the treaties are directed against Flanders, although it is announced that four ships which have left here since for Portsmouth to join the others of which I spoke are going together to plunder. But they will go to Rochelle or to succour Flushing.—London, 15th December 1572.

15 Dec. **371.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to ZAYAS.

Confirms his letter of the 8th instant, and encloses another packet for the King.—London, 15th December 1572.

15 Dec. **372.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to the KING.

Confirms his letter of the 8th, enclosing copies of his letters to the

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duke of Alba, and encloses herewith copies of other letters to the Duke of this date.—London, 15th December 1572.

22 Dec. **373.** Antonio de Guaras to the Duke of Alba.

Confirms his letter of 15th, by Tassis, and has received nothing since that date.

Two days since Lord Burleigh sent the third person to tell me that he wished to see me. I went, and he asked me whether I had any letters from your Excellency. I answered him that I had not, and he then asked when I expected them. I replied that I looked for them hourly, and that there had been no undue delay, considering that the special courier I had sent to Gravelines with the packet of the 9th, enclosing his draft, had been detained in Dover for more than eleven days by contrary weather, and also that, no doubt, your Excellency would be fully occupied with the prosperous events which had taken place against those bad rebels of Gueldres and Holland.

He then made a long speech to me, which sounded as if it had been well studied, about his hope that I was satisfied with the goodwill which he himself had always shown towards an arrangement, and said that, so great had been his desire for concord, that, since he had handed me the draft heads of agreement, many of his fellow Councillors had been trying to persuade the Queen that your Excellency and I, for my part, were deceiving them in this business, which, they said, was evident from the fact that the Queen had received no reply from his Majesty to the letters from her which had been forwarded to your Excellency for him, which reply, they thought, was due to the goodwill and favourable desire of the Queen in the business. Seeing, however, that no reply had been received from your Excellency with regard to the draft agreement, he, Burleigh, and his friends on the Council were, so to speak, confused and ashamed. I told him that I hoped in a few days to come to him with as good news as could be hoped for, and, as regarded his goodwill to the business, I was quite sure that his Majesty and your Excellency were entirely satisfied.

During this conversation he reminded me of the hope he had expressed some time since, that I would write to your Excellency requesting that the ports should be opened on the 29th instant, that having been the day of the seizure in Flanders; which hope he had repeated when he handed me the draft. He had, he said, continued to entertain that desire, but, as no courier had arrived with the reply and the day was now approaching, he and his companions could not avoid feeling aggrieved, and the Queen herself was much surprised. I replied, as before, that I hoped before the day arrived that a favourable answer would be received from your Excellency. He asked me whether there was any news from our army in Flanders, and I told him that he would no doubt know better than I, but that I learned that many towns in Holland which has been disturbed by the adherents of Orange had submitted to his Majesty, and it was expected that, with the force your Excellency had, you would soon bring them all on to the good road. It was said that Orange was very near being

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surrendered to your Excellency, but that he had been rescued by the aid of M. de Lumay and had retired with him to Brille. Burleigh pretended to be surprised at such events, although he said that nothing else could be expected.

When I said that it was public talk that Orange was coming here, he replied, "If he were to do so, as I have already told you, "the Queen is very anxious to intercede with his Majesty in order "that Orange may be once more pardoned and received into the "King's favour, and her Majesty will so deal with the business "as to satisfy the King with regard to the Prince's humble "petition for pardon, in view both of his great services and many "faults." He added that, otherwise, Orange with his French, German, and other friends, would presumably continue to push his claims passionately and persistently. I said that, perhaps, in the interests of God and his Majesty, the arrival of Orange here might be desirable, if thereby the Queen could carry through this good purpose.

Burleigh said that, since it was expected that your Excellency would entirely settle matters in the States and bring them to complete submission to his Majesty, although, hitherto, the severe execution of the malcontents had been necessary; in order to enhance the great renown of your Excellency and the courageous services (these were his words) of his Majesty, it would be no less glorious if your Excellency, after so many successes won by the sword, would lean to clemency and pardon for these mistaken men, and to quiet and concord in affairs. This was in substance what he said, and I replied that I hoped everything would turn out to the satisfaction of all. This conversation took place in his room on the 19th instant, only he and I being present. As I have written, the Queen and Council are undoubtedly in favour of friendship, and, if it be his Majesty's will to accept an agreement, it will cause great rejoicing to the people, and will be gladly accepted.

I am assured that Montgomeri and the Vidame, with the secret support of these people, have agreed to disturb France and Flanders in company with Orange, and no doubt your Excellency will hear more fully than we do, the news of the raising of troops in Germany for this purpose, with the aid of credits which have been sent from here and the hundred thousand pounds which are now ready in this place. The credits I speak of were for a hundred and fifty thousand crowns payable in Antwerp; half in the middle of January and half in the middle of February. Your Excellency may be assured that, when they think the time suitable, they will place men, munitions, and victuals in Flushing for its defence, the idea being that if they can keep those States in turmoil, and trouble the king of France about Rochelle, they will be quite safe from any assult from us or the French during next summer, which they otherwise fear. So great is their alarm of this that it is public talk all over the country that they are to be conquered by your Majesty in union with the king of France, and there is hardly anything else spoken about. The man who was sent to Germany, as I said, about their sinister designs is a man, under

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forty years of age, who was a servant of the so-called bishop of Winchester, but I have not been able to learn his name. News has recently come that there are many armed ships on these seas, and that three Spanish sloops have been captured on their way to Rouen, as well as three French ships loaded with wine.

Quantities of artillery, powder, and other stores have recently been loaded in the Tower of London to be conveyed to the ships, in order that they may be ready to be sent where they are wanted.

Certain Frenchmen who have just arrived from Dieppe bring news that Montmorenci had fled and that his brother had been killed.

In every parish in the country it has been arranged to ask people, rich and poor, to give what each person pleases for the defence of the country against its enemies. Much money will thus be obtained, because the heretics will give more than they can afford out of zeal, and the Catholics will do the same in order not to mark themselves out as different from the others.

Dr. Dale is going to France as ambassador, and they have made him a dean to give him more weight I have been assured this afternoon that Orange had arrived at Flushing. It is asserted that an English ship which sailed from the island of Azores on the 6th ultimo left there the fleet from the Indies which had arrived on the 26th of October, and was waiting for Melendez to convoy it.—London, 22nd December 1572.

22 Dec. B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. iv. Original draft.

374. Letter of Intelligence from London (unsigned) to the Duke of Alba, Governor of the Netherlands.

Since my last of 18th instant a courier came to this Court from the Queen's ambassador in Paris with a letter of a sheet and a half for the Queen, all in cipher, but, as the cipher is kept by a private man of the Treasurer's, I have been unable to discover the contents, or the purport of the negotiations being carried on by the private persons who are concerned in these affairs, except that they are about French and Scotch matters. As soon as the Queen received the letter she sent post haste to Morton and Killigrew, saying that Cardinal Ursino had submitted to the king of France many things against her and the kingdom of Scotland, and had tried to persuade the King that all the heresy in his kingdom has come from hers, as well as the rebellions and invasions from which he had suffered. He (the Cardinal) said that she was acting in the same way towards Flanders. She therefore tells them that it will be better not to proceed in the matter of the election of Regent and the other affairs which were to be undertaken, so as to satisfy the King (of France) for the present.

The ambassador writes that the friend who gave him the letter urged him to send it at once by a safe hand, as it was so important. I am striving all I can to learn the name of this person in Paris who keeps them so well posted in all that passes, in order that a stop may be put to his wickedness, for great evil is wrought by it.

Weston (?), who was attached to Orange from this Queen, has returned to this Court, and says that, if Orange were furnished

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with money, he has good means of again raising trouble in the States. He says there are 300 English in (Brille ?), fortifying it, and they are doing the same in Flushing. From the latter place, a few days ago, a burgomaster came to London and went to Court. I do not yet know his business. All these rebel places are being constantly supplied with provisions from here, and they will continue to be so as long as things remain as they are. I am told that Orange will come here secretly to negotiate with the Queen and Council about these affairs. My friends have not yet been able to tell me what his servant came about, except it be about this visit of his master.

These people are preparing with astonishing diligence and care, and as secretly as possible. The Queen has borrowed 600,000 crowns, 200,000 of the merchants here to be paid in Hamburg or Cologne. An express courier was at once secretly sent off with the ordinary courier to Antwerp on the 15th instant, taking a letter to the Englishman in Hamburg who is the governor or head of the merchants there, telling him to get together the merchandise required, and to have ready by January the 200,000 crowns in Hamburg or Cologne. The other 400,000 are to be raised in this country, 100,000 from the clergy and 300,000 from the nobles, under warrants from the privy seal binding the Queen to reimburse all these sums out of the customs' revenues and the new subsidy. All the money is to be ready by the end of January.

The Queen has secretly given orders for the holding in readiness of 10,000 foot soldiers and 1,200 horse of the general muster called recently, and has authorized Montgomeri to raise a force of 4,000 men from the Flemish and French bandits and some Englishmen from Flushing and elsewhere who are with him. His captains are now busy organizing this force. Four private ships carrying much ordnance and stores have left this river; it is said for the west, to join the other 15, of which I have written, for the purpose of going together to re-victual Rochelle, as they have done before with other ships.

My friends tell me that, so far as they can gather, these preparations are intended to carry out the following plan. The 200,000 crowns will suffice, when supplemented by promises, to raise 10,000 or 12,000 men in Germany to enter France. These men will willingly go thither, as they know there will be plenty of plunder. The troops raised here will be sent to Guienne, where they have much promise of support from the nobles, and they will then try to raise the whole country of Gascony and Languedoc and as far as the Rhone and the Loire, so that there will be greater civil wars than ever before in France. At the same time they will not be idle in the States, and, judging from the support they have in France and here, their plans are well laid.

On the 19th instant the Treasurer, who was in London, sent for Antonio de Guaras, and said that he was much surprised he had received no reply from your Excellency. What passed between them and the answer given to him I leave for Guaras to tell, as no doubt he will write to your Excellency about it; although I have heard the whole of the conversation from a person who overheard it.

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They are anxious to know what attitude your Excellency is going to adopt towards them, in order to make their arrangements in conformity therewith. They are very desirous of coming to some settlement with Spain or Portugal, in order to be able to concentrate their attention on France; and, quite recently, a gentleman of position, who is a friend of mine and a confidant of the Treasurer's, approached me twice over, to ask me whether there was not some way we could devise by which the trade with Portugal might be resumed. In the course of conversation he said that the religious question was the cause of these negotiations being ineffectual. I answered him fittingly, and I have no doubt he will carry the matter forward. I am much surprised at such a hint reaching me in this way, because the Treasurer looks askance at me, as he believes it was I who prevented the last arrangement with Portugal from being carried through. It shows their need to be even greater than it appears.

An Englishman arrived here on the 20th in great haste from Paris, to tell the Treasurer that Cardinal Lorraine had arrived at Lyons and had sent a courier at once to the King. The Queen was immediately informed of this, and it is evident that they are full of distrust and alarm at the coming of the two cardinals, and with very good reason, for it may result in their being punished as they deserve.

The earl of Arundel has been released, and, it is said, he will go to Court and fulfil his office as Lord Steward. There are good hopes, too, of his son-in-law, Lord Lumley, and of the earl of Southampton.

There are signs that they are likely to release the rest of the Catholics who are in prison for religion's sake, as the Treasurer and others were conferring with them in the Tower for a long time the other day. This show of friendship with the Catholics is a proof of the alarm they feel.

Letters came on the 19th from the king of France to his ambassador, who is to have audience to-morrow. I will report what I hear. I have just heard that a certain M. de St. Marie, of the duchy of Guienne, has written to the Treasurer confirming Montgomeri's promise given here, that the province shall be delivered to this Queen.—London, 22nd December 1572.

Note.—Damaged by fire.

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7 Jan. B. M., *Add.* 26056*b*.

375. Document headed: "POINTS of LETTERS from ANTONIO DE GUARAS to ZAYAS."

The States of Holland and the prince of Orange have sent four commissioners to the queen of England, to invite her to take possession of the strong places that remain in Orange's favour, and defend them against the King's forces. She is much urged to this. The Queen, however, had not resolved, but was keeping the matter open until she knew whether the conditions that Cecil had given him (Guaras) would be accepted by the duke of Alba, in which case she would refuse aid to Orange, at least publicly. If the conditions are not accepted she will help the rebels energetically.

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Morton has been declared regent of Scotland with four associates. Parliament has been prorogued till April, when it is thought they will proceed against the queen of Scots.

Large sums of money are being sent to Hamburg for the purpose of raising troops in Germany.

The ships of the fleet at the Isle of Wight had captured nine French vessels with goods from Andalucia and Bordeaux, on letters of marque granted by Orange against French and Spanish Catholics.

Caunfer was being strongly fortified with four ramparts. There were 2,000 men and much artillery there, and 14 well armed ships in the port.

The Flushing people were determined to block the channel of the river to Antwerp with old ships loaded with stone and sunk. The Lord Privy Seal is dead. He was considered a Catholic.

The galleys of the king of France had captured four English ships loaded with powder and stores on their way to succour Rochelle, and the Queen was demanding their restitution, which will probably be granted, as the French treat her with much respect. Hawkins has seven or eight fine ships all ready to put into commission, and it was thought he was going with Montgomeri to succour Rochelle. The queen of England had offered £300,000 to those who guard the prince of Scotland to deliver him to her, and if the friends of his mother do not keep him, it is considered certain that she (Elizabeth) will get him, and they will then do as they like both with him and his mother, namely, kill them.

Permission has been given for any ships that like to go to Spain, and take or bring merchandise. Many ships had accordingly gone with cloth and other goods which had been sold in Andalucia and Galicia, bringing back in return the goods they required.*

14 Jan. B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. IV. Original draft.

376. LETTER of INTELLIGENCE from London (unsigned) to the DUKE OF ALBA, Governor of the Netherlands.

I wrote my last letter on the 3rd instant, and now report that Casimbrot has given to the Queen a letter from Orange, written at Delft, saying that he has two or three other places in Holland, and that he will be able to stand his ground if he is kept supplied with munitions and victuals, which he much needs. He is promised troops from Germany, with which, he says, he will be able to push back the duke of Alba's army to the frontier and recover the places he has lost. He will, he says, have a good fleet ready by the spring, which will further aid him, and he greatly desires to come hither secretly to discuss matters of importance.

I said a burgomaster of Flushing had arrived here. Some more have now come, who say the place is well fortified, and, if they can keep up the supply of provisions, they have nothing to fear. I shall know better what is going on when I learn the reply given to Orange and to these men.

As I said, the French ambassador went to Court, and I learn

* Note in the handwriting of the King: "Notice, I know how my orders are obeyed. Let Velasco see this."

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that he complained much, on behalf of the King, that the Queen's subjects should take victuals to the rebels at Rochelle. His galleys had captured near Rochelle four English ships loaded with corn and salt meat. The ambassador on his own account also complained that the ships were despatched with his passport, as he had been deceived as to their destination.

The Queen said that her good subjects had taken nothing to these people in Rochelle, and would not do so, but the ambassador said he would show her a letter written to the King by the captain of his galleys, saying that, in addition to the provisions in the said ships, he had found on deck six French Huguenots, two of whom were known to belong to Rochelle. The Queen was taken aback at this, and called the Admiral to inquire about it, ordering him to make the strictest inquiries and severely punish the offenders ; with a great deal more of the same sort of talk, all of which will end in nothing, as usual. The ambassador also said that his King was much astonished at the great preparations being made here by French and Flemish rebels, helped by Englishmen and directed by Montgomeri and the Vidame ; whereby his subjects were grievously injured. The Queen said, that as they belonged to the same religion as she did, she could not close her country to them. The sea, she said, was their hunting ground, but if they brought any property of French subjects to her country she would order its restitution.

The Queen's ambassador in France writes that his friend recommended him to appeal to the King, asking that the men on board the four English ships captured by the galleys should not be so ill treated. The King replied that it was his wish that all foreigners in France should be well treated, and especially Englishmen, but he only intended to refer to those who behaved themselves properly, and the others should be well punished. He (the Ambassador) writes that things were very threatening in Languedoc, and, if a person of confidence were sent thither this spring, greater troubles would ensue than ever, as nearly all the people are Huguenots, although the severity of the King has made them pretend to be Catholics. A great force and nearly all the nobles were being got ready to go to Rochelle with the duke of Anjou, and, unless some remedy is devised, the struggle will be hard and bloody.

The earl of Morton, the new regent of Scotland, writes to the Queen that is was arranged for Parliament to meet there on the 20th instant, and a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon until the 15th April, when it was to close. He was in hope that all would turn out to their liking, as the four gentlemen who had the Prince in their keeping were to be changed every three months, and he had no doubt they would be able to agree. He is suspicious of Huntly and his brother Adam, and of Lord Herries, and is desirous that Killigrew should go from Berwick to stay with him for three days, in order that he may verbally convey to him what he wishes to say to the Queen. Killigrew came here very secretly on the 17th. He is still at Court, but my friends cannot tell me more yet as to the object of his coming.

The French ambassador received another packet from his master

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and went to Court to tell the Queen that the King was much displeased to hear of the great bribes paid by Killigrew in Scotland to obtain possession of the Prince; which he (the King) would in nowise allow, and, if she did not find a remedy for these proceedings, he should be forced to do so himself. The Queen replied that these things were made up by persons who wished to perturb the peace and harmony between her and the King. She said that Killigrew had left Scotland some time ago. The ambassador asked for a passport to send a packet to Scotland from the King, but the Queen put him off and did not grant the passport for five days, so as to give them time to write to Scotland first. She wrote to Morton telling him of the packet of letters being sent, which she suspected were for Huntly, his brother Adam, and Lord (Herries ?) about the delivery of the Prince, urging them to prevent such a thing. She recommended Morton, therefore, to be very cautious. She had also been informed that Cardinal Ursino had done, and would do, nothing until Cardinal Lorraine arrived, as he was expected every day, but that she would be well posted as to what was done. All this is written in cipher, and he, Morton, is told that she will shortly send a trustworthy person to report verbally to him about the French affairs. In the meanwhile she expects a reply from Germany, and will be able to come to a decision on all points.

The earl of Leicester and the Treasurer are the originators and promoters of all the iniquities that have been, and are being, committed, and of the sufferings of the good people here and elsewhere, and, as they are doubtful of the life of the Queen, and fear that if the queen of Scotland, as next heir, were to succeed here they could never escape punishment, they have conceived and are pushing forward a most wicked project for their own salvation in any case. This is to bring the prince of Scotland here, even though it may cost them the 300,000 crowns I have mentioned, and then, in some secret way, to kill his mother; so that, at the death of this Queen, they may proclaim him King and so save themselves. I consider that the getting hold of this Prince will be easy, as Morton is at the bottom of it. The gentlemen who guard him are changed every three months, and they will be, no doubt, chosen by the Regent. The disloyalty and falseness of Scotsmen are notorious, and they will do anything for money. Of the Queen's friends, the duke of Chatelherault will be the readiest to shut his eyes, as he has claims to the Crown himself. No doubt Killigrew's coming is respecting this matter, which he discussed with the Regent at his last interview with him.

The earl of Worcester, who is going to the baptism, leaves tomorrow. I am told he is taking a gold salver worth 400 or 500 (crowns ?). They have, for the present, suspended the departure of Dr. Dale, who is to go as ambassador to France, and I am told he will not leave until an answer comes from Germany.

I have received two letters delivered to me by Antonio de Guaras, who says they were sent to him by Secretary Albornoz by a special messenger he was dispatching.—London, 14th January 1573.

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30 Jan.
B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. IV. Original draft.

377. LETTER of INTELLIGENCE from London (unsigned) to the DUKE OF ALBA, Governor of the Netherlands.

I wrote on the 26th, and now have to report that the three Queen's ships which I mentioned, are being got ready for sea with furious haste. John Hawkins has gone to Plymouth with all speed to take out his own and other private ships and corsairs. Twenty-two sail, with 600 men, have just arrived on the coast from Rochelle. The design is not known, but when the . . . ambassador (?) of France asked the Vidame de Chartres why these ships had come, he replied to plunder.

Certain very rich heretics of this city have offered to lend this Queen in cash at once 150,000*l.*, to be repaid in three years, on condition that she ceases her warlike preparations against France; their action being prompted by their fears of the result of such a contest, in which they are confirmed by the French ambassador. They wish, instead, that aid should be given to the rebel places in Holland, Zealand, and to Rochelle to hold out during next summer, so as to keep both kings (*i.e.*, of France and Spain) employed, as otherwise they fear that, after taking these places, their Majesties may turn upon this country and bring it to catholicism again. The Queen, I am told, is perplexed, but she will not turn back, as those who are carrying forward the present plans are all-powerful in the country.

The governor of Berwick has sent a speedy messenger with the news that Killigrew had arranged for the Prince to be surrendered, and in fact he had already been delivered to the earl of . . . (Morton?), for the purpose of being sent into this country secretly, when the project was discovered, and a sharp skirmish resulted, where fifteen of the principal men on the Earl's side were killed and the Prince recovered. The hopes of this plan being carried through are therefore frustrated, and these people are much grieved about it. Further particulars are expected by next courier, and I will report all I can learn.

The earl of Worcester has gone to the christening in France, and was attacked and nearly captured by pirates between Dover and Boulogne, with the gold salver he was carrying over. He was saved by the dexterity of the master and sailors of his boat, but the pirates captured another boat containing most of his gentlemen. They killed four men and wounded six or seven, robbing the gentlemen of their clothes and gold chains, and 500*l.* in money. This was a planned affair, as the Bishops here, as soon as they knew the Queen was going to be represented at the baptism, used every effort to persuade her not to send the earl, they and their friends offering her a large sum of money not to do so. This delayed his departure until the 18th, although the Queen had promised the ambassador he should leave on the 6th. As they saw they could not prevent it in one way, they thought they would do so in another. It is quite clear that, unless the pirates had been specially ordered to make this attack, they would not have dared to do such a thing, seeing that they are received in this country, and come hither to sell their plunder and obtain their provisions and stores.

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The merchandise stolen from the ships from Antwerp by the Flushing people has been sent to this country, and is being publicly sold. The advice which enabled this booty to be captured was sent to Flushing from Antwerp, where everything possible is done against the interests of his Catholic Majesty.

A great Catholic clergyman, who has been imprisoned here for the faith for a long time past, like many other virtuous and holy men, has just written a letter in Latin to the Treasurer, which I am told is a very remarkable one. I have not been able to get a copy, but it exhorts and entreats the Treasurer to desist from the evil work he is doing in this country and elsewhere, and from the rigorous persecution of Catholics. He urges him to turn like another St. Paul, and also mentions the Queen. The Treasurer flew into a violent rage with this letter, and ordered the arrest of a poor Catholic serving woman who had delivered it. They keep him (the priest) now very strictly in his prison, but he is full of the joy of martyrdom.

They have printed in Paris a book in favour of the queen of Scots in reply to an abominable one published here against her. It contains many things against the Treasurer and his brother-in-law, the Chancellor. On this being reported in cipher by their informant in the French Court, Burleigh made great complaints to the French ambassador, and gave him a note of the name of the printer and bookseller in Paris.*

Perhaps this is the beginning of God's punishment of these people for their iniquities, which He can bear no longer.—London, 30th January 1573.

Note.—Much damaged by fire.

4 Feb. B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. IV. Original draft.

378. LETTER of INTELLIGENCE from London (unsigned) to the DUKE OF ALBA, Governor of the Netherlands.

My last letter was dated the 30th ultimo, and I now have to report that on that day the French ambassador was with the Queen for an hour and a half, expressing to her his master's surprise at the great rebel preparations being made here, aided by many Englishman, particularly mentioning Hawkins, with the object of helping Montgomeri and succouring Rochelle, all of which, he said, was opposed to the friendship and alliance between her and the King. He was therefore forced formally to protest, and to say that, if these matters continued, he should consider their friendship broken by her act. The Queen replied that these preparations need not cause any surprise, as the King himself was making similar preparations at Dieppe and elsewhere, and she should be very glad of some explanation from the King about them. The ambassador said they were certainly not for the purpose of offending anybody, and were only to guard his own coast. He urged her not to help Rochelle, but to help him to recover it, as it belonged to him, and he would treat the rebels mercifully. Much more of the same sort was said, and the ambassador left on good terms

* Walsingham had sent the book from Paris to Burleigh a short time before. See Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 20th January 1573.

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with her, being referred to the Council to discuss the matters at issue. They promised him an answer at Shrovetide and gave it him, to the effect that the Queen would forbid piracy in her dominions, and that no English ships should sail to offend anyone, but only for the security of her own coast.

They did the same thing last year with great proclamations and orders in all the ports; the Count de la Marque being especially singled out for expulsion, but it was all a deceitful trick to cover the taking of Brille. I am much afraid they will attempt what I have said, as I am told the Queen's ships will go out to sea in four or five days, as well as the merchantmen. A courier came from Scotland on the 31st ultimo confirming the news of the discovery of the plot for the delivery of the Prince, who is now in safe hands, and of the fighting which had resulted. It is affirmed that the commander of the castle of Edinburgh, the principal fortress of the country, who is on the queen of Scotland's side, learning of the intended treason, bombarded half the city, which is attached to the Protestant cause. Many of the houses were demolished, and especially the greater part of Morton's house, whose appointment as Regent he will not recognize because it was brought about corruptly, and not by the election of the three estates of the realm as is customary. As these are matters of such vital importance, and touch the interests of God and the Catholic Princes, I thought I should err greatly if I delayed the possible provision of some measures to frustrate them when I learnt of the project, and I I could think of no better way of acting than divulging what I had learnt to the French ambassador, as he has much connection with Scotland. I found he was not so well informed about as I was, and he thanked me warmly.

I was with him again yesterday, and he told me that, immediately after I gave him my intelligence, he had sent a speedy courier to Scotland, and had already received a reply. He said that he would for ever declare that, after God, I had been the saviour of the Prince, and had thus been the means of stopping the iniquities that had been plotted. I do not think I shall be blamed for acting as I have done in this matter.

These people are again negotiating for the remittance of 150,000 (crowns?) in bills of exchange to Edinburgh (Hamburgh?) by means of the Easterlings, and I will duly report what is decided on the point. This may be to assist in raising troops in Germany, for which the 200,000 were sent as advised by me on the 15th December, because, as one out of the three cables they had twisted has snapped, they will try to save themselves with the other two, namely, the sending of help to Flanders and the French rebels, and so, by the help of German troops, keep the two Kings busy all this year.

The good clergyman I mentioned in my last was summoned twice by the Treasury, who put a great many questions to him If the good man wrote well he spoke better, and he exhorted the Treasurer to such good purpose that the latter got angry and threatened him with execution. He said he would gladly meet death in the service of God and the truth. I am told he will

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certainly be condemned to martyrdom. The man they sent to Germany has not yet returned, and they are much surprised thereat. Orange's people and the commissioners from the rebel places in this Court are very well entertained, but it is said they will not be despatched until the man comes back from Germany.—London, 4th February 1573.

Note.—Damaged by fire.

16 Feb. B. M., *Add.* 26,056*b*. **379.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to the DUKE OF ALBA.

As was arranged, Lord Burleigh sent for me and told me that much dispute had taken place with the other Councillors in the Queen's presence about our negotiations, but that her Majesty and he had insisted so strongly, that they had agreed to conclude an arrangement, in accordance with a draft which he showed me, and which he said I could read and return to him. I did so rapidly and made a copy, which I enclose. He asked me what I thought of the terms, to which I replied that I approved of them; except, in my humble opinion, the detention only of English delinquents (in Spain) was an insufficient punishment, unless accompanied by forfeiture. As to the day for opening the ports, he said that, if your Excellency approved of it, the 1st of May would do. He insists strongly upon the first sitting of the commission being held here, in which he says the Queen and all the Councillors are firm. I told him that another clause would have to be added, to the effect that the agreement would have to be signed by your Excellency and himself as representatives of the sovereigns, pointing out that your Excellency must do so to avoid delay in opening the ports, and the sovereigns would afterwards ratify and seal the documents as arranged. He said he would speak to the Queen about it and the rest of my poor suggestions, and would give me a clean copy of the draft to send to your Excellency to sign and seal, which he would do also, the copies being mutually exchanged. He said, as he has on other occasions. that he hoped your Excellency would sign willingly, if only out of respect for the Queen. I therefore detain this special courier for two or three days to send the documents by him.

Burleigh asked me pressingly whether I had any reply to the suggestions he had several times made about the prince of Orange, to which I replied that, although I had written to your Excellency about it I had no instructions. He said the Queen was very anxious to have the matter settled, and I said I thought his Majesty would not listen to any approaches such as this from a vassal, and particularly such a traitor as Orange, but if Orange himself, confessing his evil deeds and declaring his repentance, urged the Queen to intercede for him with the King, perhaps, his Majesty being so clement a Prince, might overlook his treason, out of love and reverence for the Queen. Perhaps a settlement might be arrived at in this way. I do not know whether I did wrong in saying this, as he spoke of settling this business with Orange in quite an off-hand fashion, rather than speaking of Orange as a vassal of the King whom he had offended. Burleigh would not have endured what I said from anyone else, but he takes everything from me in good part. He answered excusing Orange, saying that

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he only aimed at the common good and resisting oppression, and the intolerable impositions put upon them by your Excellency without the knowledge of the King. These were his words, and I told him he was ill-informed, and he might be sure that, although your Excellency had authority to govern the States in your own way, important matters were not executed without his Majesty's knowledge and consent. Although you were such a grand Prince, you were, I said, a humble servant of the King. He said he had been told that your Excellency was very rich since you had been in the Netherlands, and I said he could learn from anybody that your ancestors had always served their sovereigns loyally, as your Excellency had done for 50 years unceasingly in the field, but it was said that no grandee in Spain had profited less, as you and yours had always thought first of honour and fidelity rather than of pay. I said, in truth, that you were so just and upright a Prince that your first thought was to do your duty in your high position. He asked me about the duke of Medina-Celi, and said he was informed that he was a Prince of much merit—did he belong to the Royal house? To which I said I thought he did. I hope I shall not be considered impertinent in repeating all this, as it arose out of Lord Burleigh's questions.

He said he heard you were increasing your army and going to Haarlem, which, however, he learnt, was very strong, and you would find great resistance there and at Delft and other places. I said he was quite wrong if he thought that Orange and his people were going to prevail for any time, as they must be conquered for the very badness of this cause, having risen against their natural sovereign. In the end Holland and Zealand would be brought down, humbled, punished, and repentant. He said: No doubt; but the Queen, both for the present and future, wished to calm the trouble and bring about a peace.

Of the four commissioners from Holland three have returned with Casimbrot, the other remaining here. They have gone in a large vessel loaded with harquebusses and barrels of powder, but have settled none of the things they came about. They have only got fine words, and they have left with the Queen a written copy of their treasonable offers, which I have mentioned. No doubt this copy will be made much of to show that these English have refused out of friendship for his Majesty. Some Frenchmen, to the number of 150, have gone over with the commissioners and separately, seduced by Casimbrot, but I can hear of no English going. Montgomeri is preparing for his voyage, and 10 ships are being fitted out in the river, whilst 20 pirates are on the coast and at the Isle of Wight ready to accompany them, as well as eight belonging to Captain Hawkins of Plymouth. I heard that Montgomeri is going with 3,000 men to succour Rochelle. The French ambassador has protested to the Queen about it, and begged her to prevent such a force going against his King, in violation of the recent treaty. She answered that the King had first broken it by sending arms and troops to Scotland, to which the ambassador replied that this was done, not by the King, but by Cardinal Lorraine, the queen of

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Scotland's kinsman. The Queen said, if any help was to be sent to Rochelle, it would not be sent by her orders but by the bishop of London, out of friendship and in respect of his religion. This is the way they dissemble, and with strong signs of breaking with France altogether if the King (of Spain) makes any show of friendship and approval. I am, however, told from a good source that the Council is considering whether Montgomeri shall go to Scotland with this force to get the Prince. They fear he cannot get into Rochelle in consequence of the King's galleys and ships. They also talk about the possibility of Montgomeri with his force going to help Orange, but, such is their confusion and fickleness, that anything may be suspected of them. The people here continue to send money to Hamburg, and it is said that Ludovic was raising more troops in Germany, but your Excellency will know best whether it is against France or the States.

As I have said, an English pirate named Fenner had assailed Mongia and I have since heard that he and others have captured some ships from the Indies at the Azores. It is said that the pirates have informed the Admiral and certain friends of theirs here of these robberies, which they keep secret from me, the object being to trump up some arrangement by pretending that they (*i.e.* the friends) are authorised by the owners of the property to settle and give a quittance. When I have learnt as much as I can I will speak to Lord Burleigh about it, and will again beg the Queen to order the arrest of the armed ships and release the prizes.—London, 16th February 1573.

16 Feb. **380.** Letter of Intelligence from London (unsigned) to the Duke of Alba, Governor of the Netherlands.

B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. iv. Original draft.

I wrote last on the 9th instant, and on the same evening Henry Horne, whom the Queen sent to Germany, arrived here. He came by sea and disembarked in the Downs, as he was afraid to pass through France. He appears to have returned in fine feather, with a gold chain of 700 or 800 crowns round his neck, and a medal bearing the portrait of the duke of Saxony, which the latter presented to him.

The next night Casimbrot was sent off to take ship at Sandwich. From what I can gather, it appears that the Queen has written a letter for Orange, saying, that as Casimbrot was sent by the Palatine, she refers him (Orange) to the statement he will make verbally to him and to the Treasurer's letter. This is to the effect that a gentleman will be sent to him in a week bearing a decision on the whole question. It is believed Weston (?), of whom I have spoken several times, will go. I hear that Orange writes in the same sense as I have mentioned before, namely, that he has great understandings in the States, and will be able to cause trouble there this year, at great expense to his Majesty (Philip).

Three ships of 50 tons each have recently left here for Flushing loaded with victuals and stores, sent by Ferdinand Pointz, who I have mentioned as being a good hand at this business. The stores were bought with part of the proceeds of the goods taken by the Flushing people from the vessels from Antwerp and brought hither

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for sale. The rest of the money was devoted to the payment of the English captains and soldiers who went to Flushing.

The writing to Scotland, to the effect I mentioned, has not gone any further yet, but it is believed that the coming of this man from Germany will cause them to send a person to Scotland, as I wrote on the 14th ultimo, to inform Morton of affairs in France and Flanders.

On the 9th instant, at midday, M. d'Anguillière, with a large train, arrived here from Rochelle, having landed at the Isle of Wight. He is the Lieutenant-Governor of the place for the Huguenots. He went at once to Montgomeri's house, but I have not been able to discover his errand. I hope to do so and will report.

The gentleman who I said had come from the Palatine, and had embarked for Rochelle, has not been able to sail yet owing to the weather. He is no doubt going on this business, as I am informed that he bears with him a countersign from the Treasurer to enable him to make an arrangement with the pirates.

We have not heard yet of the arrival in Scotland of M. de Verac, the gentleman of the chamber to the king of France, who, I said in my last, had gone thither, but the earl of Morton has taken prisoner a brother of the captain of the castle of Edinburgh, who accompanied him. This man is now in Blackness Castle. He was carrying 5,000 crowns and some papers.

The three Queen's ships, one large and two small, which I said had gone to sea, are said to have captured seven pirate vessels. This is very likely, but I do not believe it will be to harm them, but rather to instruct them as to their best course of action. The earl of Worcester is daily expected back from the christening, and my friend will give me full details. I will duly report.—London, 16th February 1573.

18 Feb. B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. IV. Original draft.

381. Letter of Intelligence from London (unsigned) to the Duke of Alba, Governor of the Netherlands.

I wrote on the 16th, and yesterday they sent off their letter to Scotland, which throws some light on the German mission, and I consequently give particulars.

The Queen writes to Morton that she has received a message from the three electors of (Saxony ?) Brandenburg and the Palatine, the second of whom, however, simply confirms what Saxony may say. This is to the effect that, with reference to the Queen's suggestion that a reconciliation between her and his Catholic Majesty might be arranged by the mediation of the Emperor, he does not think it is practicable whilst the confederation between them exists, and that it would be best for Orange to push on and for her to help him, as they too would do in fulfilment of their obligations. He says she must not forget that if his Catholic Majesty found his States tranquil he would soon give her plenty to think about, and would influence the Emperor to turn them out of their electorships, as the marriage of the (Arch)duke Charles to the daughter of the duke of Bavaria had this for its sole object.

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She says the Palatine sent a gentleman, a secretary of his, to speak to the same effect and to persuade her to break with France, where there would be plenty of people ready to rise, and, between this and April, much might be done with money to keep the French busy.

The Queen writes to Morton that she is not at all confident of Rochelle being able to hold out against the extraordinary efforts being made by the King by land and sea, and if she could be sure of Spain and Portugal she would at once enter Guienne, where she has great understandings.

She urges Morton to be on his guard, as she believes that when the king of France takes Rochelle, he will fall upon Scotland in union with his Catholic Majesty, although she is not so sure about this last as the king of France is so suspicious about Don Juan's delay.

She tells Morton to use every effort to get possession of the castle of Edinburgh, and says she has given orders to the governor of Berwick to hold in readiness his forces there, and others that have been secretly raised on the border. She promises to send him (Morton) guns, powder, and other stores, which are now being taken from the Tower here, under the pretence that they are for Berwick.

She also writes that your Excellency, by means of a Spaniard resident here, is trying to obtain a re-opening of the ports on both sides, in order that the States may be supplied with provisions, which are much wanted. She sees the need of your Excellency she says, and, if she makes the arrangement, it will only be on the basis of free intercourse and other conditions advantageous to her.

She says that the return of Cardinal Ursino to Rome without doing anything in France was only an attempt on the part of that King to satisfy her, but it had done nothing of the sort, as she saw it was all trickery, and she had been informed that Cardinal Lorraine bore the same powers from the Pope as Ursino did.

Advices from Germany received here say that a Venetian gentleman, by means of a Jew who is very friendly with the Turk, is treating for peace. The Turk, it appears, will consent to peace with Venice if the son of the Emperor is made king of Poland; the object being for the Turk thereupon to turn all his force against Hungary.

In the course of the next few days they will dispatch the Palatine's secretary, the gentleman to Scotland and another to Orange. I will see what I can discover on each head and advise.

In six or seven days Montgomeri will leave the Court and embark, no doubt in consequence of the news of the King's strong fleet before Rochelle, although people here say that Montgomeri is not going thither, and even assert that he will not leave this country until they see whether the king of France is going to send to Scotland, in which case he (Montgomeri) would go there. It is impossible, however, to say anything with confidence as they change their plans daily.—London, 18th February 1573.

Note.—Much damaged by fire.

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23 Feb. B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. IV. Original draft.

382. LETTER of INTELLIGENCE from London (unsigned) to the DUKE OF ALBA, Governor of the Netherlands.

My last letter was dated 18th instant, and there will not be much to report to-day as the Queen is leaving Greenwich, where she has been staying, to go for a fortnight's round of visits to some gentlemens' houses near, with a small suite and privately. The principal reason of this, however, is that they think thus to be able to carry out their wicked plans more secretly.

The Treasurer has summoned Weston (?), who went to Germany, another Englishman named Daniel, who is very clever and knows those parts well, and the Palatine's secretary to be with him to-morrow at the place, 12 miles off, where the Queen stays two days. It is probable he (the Secretary ?) will be dispatched from there, although they are hourly awaiting another message from Germany. I will try to discover what is done and advise, as I always do. Montgomeri is accompanying the Queen, but will soon depart, it is said, for Rochelle, and, if he can do nothing there, he will go to Scotland. Troops are secretly being raised for him in some parts of the country, the object being to seize the prince of Scotland by force, as they could not get him fraud. This will cause a rupture with France, but they will not carry it out until they know whether they can come to terms with his Catholic Majesty, upon which point they are awaiting an answer from your Excellency. It is impossible, however, to speak with confidence of the plans of these people as they are changing daily. I am always on the watch, as may be seen by my continual advices, and will so continue to the utmost of my power.

On the 19th the French ambassador received despatches from his King, and at once requested audience, which was not granted until the 22nd. He was with the Queen for an hour, and the Queen was apparently anything but gay. I do not yet know what passed, but hope to learn. The earl of Worcester has not arrived as the weather does not serve for his passage across. His arrival and the dispatch of the new English ambassador to France will enable me to learn some fresh particulars.

I am just informed that the Treasurer has received a letter from Flushing reporting the departure from there of 43 sail, large and small, with stones and old vessels to block up the approach to the river (Scheldt) towards Antwerp, and so to prevent the passage of the fleet which is being equipped there. These people are very glad at the news.—London, 23rd February 1573.

Note.—Damaged by fire.

7 April. B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. IV. Original draft.

383. LETTER of INTELLIGENCE from London (unsigned) to the DUKE OF ALBA, Governor of the Netherlands.

I wrote to your Excellency on the 30th ultimo. On the 2nd instant, Doctor Dale, the new Ambassador, left here for France. I am now in great hope of being able to discover the names of the persons who send such continual reports hither from Rome, France, Venice, and Padua.

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The English soldiers, who I said in my last were ready to leave for Zealand, have not left yet in consequence of the weather, nor have the stores and munitions of which it is said the rebels are in urgent need.

I learn by letters of 29th ultimo brought by the last ordinary post of the victories gained by Don Fadrique (*i.e.*, Don Fadrique de Toledo, son of the Duke of Alba), the great numbers of the rebels killed and captured, the breaking of the dike, the capture of . . . . (Sparen ?) near Haarlem by M. de Bossu and of the great slaughter of the Flushing men by the people of Antwerp. We also hear of the reinforcement of Antwerp, which will render the entrance into Zealand easy; all of which greatly grieves people here, who are making up news to a contrary effect. If they did not resort to these cunning tricks continually, disturbances would soon be raised in this country.

As soon as they sent Dr. Dale off they began the letters for Scotland which are not yet finished. When they are ready for dispatch I shall be informed of some parts of the contents. The men from the Palatine, Saxony, and Count Ludovic are still here, and when they are dispatched I shall know their errands.

I am informed that Montgomeri with his fleet was to leave yesterday, but his destination is not known, although some say it is Rochelle, where the king's forces have sunk more than 50 old ships to block the entrance and prevent succour from reaching the rebels. I will fulfil my duty to his Majesty and your Excellency by promptly and continually communicating all I can learn.—London, 7th April 1573.

9 April. **384.** JUAN DE SALVATIERRA to the KING.

B. M. *Add.* 26,056*b*. Transcript.

The bishops of London and Winchester and other prelates of England have agreed to petition the Queen to help Orange and Montgomeri, she being the defender of heresy and consequently obliged to prevent their being undone, they being of the same religion as herself. The Queen replied, as usual, that she did not wish to do anything against the King her brother. They then said that as she did not wish to run the risk herself, she should give them license to do so, and so enable them to discharge their duty and employ their revenues in defence of their faith. The bishop of London and his party have accordingly subscribed 20,000*l*., which they have sent to the prince of Orange, and the bishop of Winchester has raised 35,000*l*., which has been deposited in the Guildhall of London to be given to the Landgrave's son to raise troops. They have not handed him the money yet as they want him to give security for the fulfilment of his part. They gave a sum of money to him before for the Rochelle affair but he did not take the troops. It will be thus seen what the friendship of the Queen means and that she does her best to forward heresy. How much more holy and grateful would it be for the bishops of this country (*i.e.*, Spain) to beg your Majesty to allow them to apply some of their revenues to the succour of the Catholics of Ireland and England against the enemies of the faith. It would be very welcome to the Lord that your Majesty should command this.

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Add. 26,056*b*.

385. Document headed "ORDERS to be verbally given to ZUBIAR—not to be taken in writing."

He is to start for England with all speed, pretending that he is going for his own affairs, and, on his arrival, he is to endeavour to see Captains Morgan, Frobisher, Lane, Olivier, and the other German, and find out what their wishes are. He is to see each one separately and press the business home with the one that appears to be most attached to his Majesty's interests and is best fitted for the execution of the business. If they agree mutually, he will approve of it and urge them to proceed with great caution, promising them large rewards from his Majesty. He will deal with them as clearly as possible, and in the manner he thinks best to attain the end in view, namely, to get Flushing to return to the King's service.

It appears that all these captains have one or two ships of their own, in which they can go backwards and forwards to Flushing, and if they or some of those who are in the place can put between decks some thousand Walloons or a sufficient number for the purpose in hand, and as soon as the ships are in port, seize a gate and land their men smartly, they may master the place. If these captains be not already in the garrison there, they can enter with their ships carrying troops as has been mentioned. In such case they themselves should land and seize a gate before letting their men be seen and then proceed as before-mentioned.

For this purpose the Walloons under a good officer might be gathered quietly at Sluys, or some other Flemish port which might be chosen by the captains themselves as being most convenient for the embarkation.

If several of these captains agree to undertake the enterprise it would not be bad to arrange that some of them should remain as hostages in Flanders, or at least that the Walloons, if necessary, should act as masters when on board the vessels.

If these captains succeed in killing, subjecting, or expelling from the place those who are there, and make themselves masters of the town, without any help from our people, they shall be very richly rewarded and they may surrender the place without misgiving.

If they cannot succeed at Flushing they might do it at Caunfer, Incusen, or Brille, although Flushing would always be considered the best.

If they cannot undertake this, see what part of the enemy's fleet they could burn or sink, or what other signal service they could do, or put them into communication with the Grand Commander (Requesens).

All this must be done so secretly that not even Antonio de Guaras or other Spaniard, or anyone else, shall hear of it, but, if it be necessary to employ the service of any Spaniard, let it be Lopé de la Sierra, who is now in London and is a man fit for anything, for whom I will give him a letter.

9 June.
B. M.
Cotton, Galba, C. IV.
Original draft.

386. LETTER of INTELLIGENCE from London (unsigned) to the DUKE OF ALBA, Governor of the Netherlands.

I wrote last on the 20th April, and I have had nothing to advise since then, as I have not been able to see my friends. As the

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matters were public I did not report the departure of the soldiers, munitions, and stores from the Thames for Flushing and Brille on the 9th ultimo, and of the 1,000 men raised in and around this city with money provided by the Flemish rebels. Most of them are gone, and the rest will leave shortly.

I have now to report that we have news that the castle of Edinburgh is surrendered to Morton on certain conditions, which will be a cloak to cover the cunning tricks they have been carrying on there, all of them invented here. The Queen and Council have thus, at last, in their hands what they have been so long desiring in order to be able to promote their false religion. They will also get into their power the prince of Scotland, of which country this Queen will now be absolute mistress, to the destruction and ruin of the Catholics there, and here too, as she will be in no fear of Scotland now, as she was before. This it was that prevented her from executing the Catholics, but the poor creatures now see themselves powerless and hopeless, and are crying to God for strength to bear their martyrdom like the Christians of the primitive Church.

Montgomeri has arrived with all his fleet and some prizes at the Isle of Wight. He came here secretly at once to hatch some new plots. They are doubtful about being able to succour Rochelle, and even more doubtful of effecting a landing on the coast of Normandy, Brittany, Picardy, or Guienne, as the King is well prepared everywhere. As they are now sure of Scotland, therefore, secret orders are to be given for Montgomeri and his fleet to join the pirates in the Channel, and, together with Orange's fleet, try to defeat that of Count Bossu and relieve Haarlem.* They say that if they can do this they will be able to hold Holland for a long time, as your Excellency's forces can be prevented from doing harm to the other rebel places there. When it is effected they are to go to Flushing and land their troops with others going from here, and endeavour to take Middleburg and obtain possession of all the island, under the protection of Orange. They will prevent, in this way, reinforcements coming from your Excellency, as they will hold the channels with their fleet.

This plan is authentic, and a great pirate named M. de Lumbres has come to this Court from Orange about it. He saw Montgomeri immediately, and it is said that certain Bishops and heretic gentlemen here will aid with large sums of money. A subscription is also to be raised by the Flemish rebels here and the many secret sympathisers in the States. Lumbres left yesterday on his return.

The plan is also proved to be authentic by the arrival here of all the commissioners sent by this city to Flushing as soon as the announcement was published that licenses would be granted for ships and merchandise to be sent to Antwerp. They bring back word that they (the Flushing people ?) will give no such license, as they say the Antwerp men are their enemies. No further

* Count Bossu had recently obtained possession of the fort at the mouth of the Sparen which commanded the entrance to Haarlem by water. The city was therefore suffering great privation.

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particulars are known. A proof of the correctness of my information on this point is that seven English ships were bound to Sluys with wool and other goods under convoy of two ships of the fleet, and, being encountered by the Flushing people, three of them were captured, two loaded with wool and one with oil, the rest escaping and entering the Sluys. The Council is evidently a consenting party to this, or the Flushing people would not dare to do it.* The Flushing people aim at stopping trade in Flanders, as they understand that the agreement was effected in order to provide food for the people there. They will therefore put their wicked plans into execution. As my friends told me and I wrote on the 20th April, the idea is to have free intercourse so as to be able to provide victuals to all the rebel places, as, indeed, they do now constantly from Ipswich and Colchester and places in Suffolk, whence 60 vessels with food have sailed. Four ships that were loading here from Sluys, it is said, will now go to Hamburg.

Captain Morgan and others have 1,500 soldiers ready, and will at once leave for Holland with great quantities of stores.

The letter your Excellency wrote to me on 20th February has not been given to me by Antonio de Guaras. God grant that its detention may not bring trouble to me, although I already see signs that it will. The curse of jealousy is capable of anything. The anxiety has made me very ill, and I am in the doctor's hands. —London, 9th June 1573.

19 June. B. M. *Add.* 26,056*b*. Transcript.

387. Document in the handwriting of Guaras headed: MARTYRDOM of a CATHOLIC PRIEST in ENGLAND.

When the Queen came to the throne, many Bishops and others were arrested for religion's sake, and, amongst them, a very wise priest, who was kept in prison thenceforward like the rest.

This holy man was carried before the Judges to be examined on points of faith, many people gathering there to hear him. He first denied their right to examine his conscience, he being a priest and they laymen. They said they were authorised by virtue of the Queen's commission, which they produced, signed and sealed, for the hearing of this case; she being the spiritual and temporal head of the realm, as was set forth in the commission. He replied that the Pope was head of the Universal Church, and, not only was the Queen not so, but no temporal prince could be, particularly a woman, an imperfect vessel. In his conscience he could not acknowledge the Queen to be a legitimate sovereign, as the contrary was set forth in the excommunication of the late supreme Pontiff and confirmed by the present Pope. He only acknowledged her to be a bastard and spurious woman, not born in wedlock, and he only believed in all that the holy mother Church taught, and outside of this true faith there was no spiritual salvation. In discharge of his conscience to this effect he publicly declared the same to those

* Ch. de Boiset writes from Middleburg to Walsingham, 23rd December 1573 (Cal., State Papers, Foreign), saying that this capture was not the work of the Flushingers but of pirates who assumed their name. The Flushing people, however, had cause to complain of the English for allowing stores to be sent to their enemies, and were sending a list of grievances to the Queen.

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present, and begged them to reform and pray to God for grace to understand these truths.

These and other things he declared to the great admiration of the people, and was thereupon condemned to be quartered alive, which martyrdom was effected to-day, and he continued to exhort the people to the end.

And so this holy martyr, leaving the memory of his doctrine, is now in glory. Amen.—London, 19 June 1573.

Note.—This letter refers to one Father Woodhouse, who was arraigned in Guildhall for treason and twice examined, as related, after having been confined in the Fleet prison for a long period.

30 July. **388.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to LORD BURLEIGH.

B. M. Lans. 17. Original holograph.

Since I last saluted your Lordship I have received no letter from the duke of Alba, although I am sure that he will not delay in ordering me to inform you that my master the King will punctually fulfil the agreement entered into. I am also sure that his Excellency will send me his Majesty's confirmation of it. In accordance with your Lordship's request that I should let you know what I hear about it, I may say that I have a letter from a friend in Madrid, dated 28th June, saying that his Majesty had ordered the scrupulous fulfilment of all that had been arranged between your Lordship and his Excellency. He has ordered, at the same time, that the English shall be welcomed in all his dominions, and shall receive all favour and good treatment, in accordance with the ancient friendship between the two countries.—London, 30th July 1573.

Postscript : I have since received letters from Flanders, dated 26th instant, informing me of the confirmation of the agreement, and that all the soldiers from Haarlem had been executed excepting the English. I hear from Antwerp that his Excellency had written saying that every attention was to be shown to Sir Christopher Hatton, captain of her Majesty's guard.

Note.—Full particulars of the negotiations for the treaty of rehabilitation of trade with Spain and Flanders carried on by Sir Thomas Smyth, David Lewis, Dr. Wilson, Hatton, and Mendoza both in Flanders and England, will be found in Cotton, Galba, C. v., as well as all the papers connected with Zweveghem's visit to England on behalf of the States. As the English papers for the years 1572, 1573, and 1574 are mostly missing from Simancas, students should consult the documents referring to the affairs of England, Flanders, and Spain, to be found in the Cotton MSS., Galba, C. III., C. IV., C. V., C. VI., and Vesp., C. XIII., as well as those in the Record Office calendared in the Foreign Series under their respective dates.

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7 Jan. **389.** Document headed "Substance of letters from ANTONIO DE GUARAS of 12th, 15th, 25th, 31st January 1574."

B. M. *Add.* 26,056*b*. Transcript.

The Baron D'Aubigni had come to visit the Queen from the Grand Commander (Requesens) and had been better received than ever an envoy was before. A lord and seven or eight great

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gentlemen had gone out to meet him, who had housed him well and accompanied him to the palace, in the great hall of which the Queen awaited him surrounded by her nobles. She received him very kindly and seemed pleased at his visit. The more to honour him they took him to the Queen's privy chamber when he took his leave, and the Queen, having been informed by him that some of her subjects wished to go and serve his Majesty on sea and on land, she said they could not go as she had promised Orange that she would send no force against him, and she wished rather to be an intercessor to bring Orange with his territory of Zealand and Holland to submit to his Majesty, as Burleigh had several times told Guaras.

Many Englishmen are anxious to serve the King, and they would do so if they were allowed, although it is believed few will do so against the Queen's will. It is thought, indeed, that she has ordered her Vice-Admirals to prevent any victuals, stores, or men from going over for the King's service.

On the other hand, it is said that by her express order and permission, men, victuals, and munitions are going in great numbers to Zealand for the help of Orange. Guaras knew that Captain Chester was going to Flushing in 10 days with 600 soldiers, and 300 had already gone, and he spoke to Lord Burleigh about it to urge him to have the Queen's promise to the Baron fulfilled. He promised him that it should be done if possible, and that they would do their best to stop the men, but Guaras could see that their desire was to get possession of Middleburg. Guaras is told that they will go over separately and secretly to the number of 1,500, with the intention of enriching themselves with the spoils of Middleburg. He had also heard that some English soldiers were being shipped from Newcastle for Holland as well as a number of Scotsmen, so that help is going secretly from all parts.

The gentleman . . . . had told him that he heard the Queen would not give overt or private permission to send the fleet which had been promised, but that certain portions of it would be sent to the points on the coast of Flanders which were assigned to her, before any money was paid, so that she would always hold good security for value. She had sent a gentleman to the Grand Commander about this and about the soldiers who had been recalled from Holland. These soldiers had been reviewed before the palace in London, and had now been sent to Scotland. Some of the officers of this force had offered to enter his Majesty's service in Flanders.

He had heard that the Flemish rebels in England were raising a subscription of 100,000 crowns as well as 30,000*l.* to help Orange to increase his force.

He had been informed that there were about the Downs and Dover seven or eight ships of the Flemish fleet which had captured six Breton ships on their way from Spain to Flanders.

He had heard that the bishop of Ross had been carried a prisoner to Calais where he had been landed. His mistress was as closely guarded as usual.

Twenty gentlemen and a great lady had been brought prisoners

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from Norfolk on suspicion of an intention of rising. A sloop was openly leaving for Zealand with 30 pieces of artillery and 80 soldiers, and a cargo of powder, beer, and salt meat; 70 more guns were ready for shipment. If they could be captured it would be good.

The rebels are resisting the Queen's forces in Ireland, and Guaras is informed that their numbers increase daily. A gentleman who has been Viceroy of the Province offers to bring it into subjection with 10,000 English troops. The Council is discussing the offer.—London, January 1574.

13 Feb. B. M. *Add.* 26,056*b*.

390. Antonio de Guaras to Don Luis de Requesens. [Extract.]

If his Majesty desires to greatly molest these people by way of Ireland I can send full particulars of how to do it, and if there is any need to convey a message to the queen of Scotland I have means by which it can be done. Above all, if it should be his Majesty's will to obtain the prince of Scotland, I am assured from a good quarter that it can be managed with money through the earl of Argyll, who is extremely friendly with them (*i.e.*, the English). Those who hear of this are much surprised that his Majesty does not order this to be done, so as to marry the Prince to the eldest Infanta; as that would be a certain means of reforming religion and obtaining just possession of the two crowns, whilst completely routing the French, so to speak. The affair can be easily carried through with diligence and money, and thus the most important business in the world well settled.—London, 13th February 1574.

15 March. B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. v. Original draft.

391. Letter of Intelligence from London (unsigned) to the Grand Commander of Castile (Don Luis de Requesens y Zuñiga), Governor of the Netherlands.

I wrote an account of events here on the 8th instant, and I now have to say that, as soon as these people found that their wicked plans respecting France and Flanders had been discovered, they held a consultation of the various heretic parties here, at which the Queen's party, the origin of all the mischief, the Vidame de Chartres, Montgomeri, and M. d'Anguilliere, formerly Governor of Rochelle, but now resident here, were present. Montgomeri was at once dispatched to the isle of Guernsey, which was chosen as being opposite to the coast of Normandy . . . . . The prince of Orange, Ludovic, his brother the Palatine, and the son of the . . . . (Admiral ?) of France will co-operate, and it is arranged that the people of their party in France shall give Montgomeri an entrance into Normandy where I am told he already is. There was much perplexity, but at last it was decided to aid the rebels openly, as I have already reported. They will, however, try to obtain possession of the castle of Sluys, and many English captains have been secretly going thither lately disguised as merchants, who were warmly welcomed. If they work their will in this, no doubt Bruges will soon fall into their hands, seeing the large number of disaffected people there are in that place. As I said last year in my

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letters to the Duke, it is evidently for this purpose that they have raised a standing force of 3,000 men, who will now shortly be sent to take possession of the place, by which means they say they will raise the whole of the States.

They are also making great efforts to get Amsterdam into their hands, in order to have possession of all Holland; the purpose being, as I have said, to obtain the whole of the ports in the States where they may enter and prevent any fleet from Spain finding a harbour therein. Your Excellency may depend upon the truth of all this as I have it from a good quarter, and they will also try to accomplish what I have already written as regards . . . . (gaining an entrance to?) the Continent on the Flanders side by the Flushing coast . . . . with the other maritime places where, consequently, the greatest vigilance should be observed, as these people will lose no opportunity of doing us harm if they can. I am also informed from a trustworthy source that they are trying to have Cardinal Lorraine murdered, and they will succeed unless he is extremely careful and vigilant of his person. They say that France has no greater enemy than he. As it would be a great misfortune for the Catholics of France, I report the project to your Excellency that you may send advice; which I hope to God may be efficacious. It is said they wished to do the same to the Queen of Scotland and her son. I have been able to learn no more about the personages who I said in my last had arrived at this Court from Germany.—London, 15th March 1574.

Note.—Much mutilated by fire, and in some places is undecipherable.

22 March. B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. v. Original draft.

392. Letter of Intelligence from London (unsigned) to the Grand Commander of Castile (Don Luis de Requesens y Zuñiga), Governor of the Netherlands.

My last letter, dated 15th instant, contained news of what had happened here up to that time, and, since then, there is little to report, except that there have arrived here recently from Zealand certain persons who say that Orange had gone to Holland, taking all the English with him, not one of them remaining in Zealand. People from Antwerp and Bruges and other places were arriving in Zealand in great numbers, and the towns were so full of victuals that everything was cheaper than in any other part of the States. This arises from the fact that there is no one to hinder their entry into the ports along that coast, and they receive hourly letters and advices from Antwerp, Bruges, &c., all of which are directed against his Majesty's interests. For greater security these letters are brought by women, who take back the answers. All this is very prejudicial, and it would seem that great vigilance should be exercised, as all these people work together with one object and one language, and thus easily conceal everything. Many Englishmen and certain Italians resident here have gone over for the purchase of the Middleburg goods. They are all enemies of his Majesty, as they clearly showed in the matter of the wools sold here, without the usual ceremony of the candle, and in many other similar ways.

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They were abetted secretly by certain subjects of his Majesty resident here; for where the accursed question of money comes in they lose all thought of God and their sovereign, particularly in this country. Time will elucidate these and other similar matters happening here, and, in the interests of his Majesty, I will take great care to send full reports.—London, 22nd March 1574.

Note.—Damaged by fire, and, in places, almost undecipherable.

5 April. B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. v. Original draft.

393. Letter of Intelligence from London (unsigned) to the Grand Commander of Castile (Don Luis de Requesens y Zuñiga), Governor of the Netherlands.

On the 8th ultimo I sent my first letter to your Excellency through Antonio de Tassis, postmaster of Antwerp, and wrote again on the 15th and 22nd, reporting what had happened to that date. I have now to say that these people are determined to get the Sluys, and are again sending men thither to . . . as there are traitors to be found everywhere, especially amongst the bad people in the States. From what I see, and from the rejoicing of the English, I should say very few of them (*i.e.*, the Flemings) there can be trusted. They (the English) are helping Orange very much there, in the hope of getting Amsterdam into their hands, so that, having the ports, they may prevent any fleet from Spain from finding an entrance. They are apprehensive about this, as they know if a fleet came what would be the consequences to them.

I am told by a trustworthy person that differences are beginning to break out in the Council here, and I myself see signs of it. God grant that it may lead to the punishment of these people. The Queen gave an answer to the Chevalier Giraldi on the 30th ultimo about the Portuguese agreement, resolutely refusing him the conditions he demanded respecting Barbary, although conceding that certain Portuguese goods might be imported into England under her license, but that all goods coming without the license might be embargoed. This will show their bad spirit. Irish affairs are getting daily more disturbed. It is said that the earl of Ormond will leave the Court to go to his country with other gentlemen, by land, whilst troops, munitions, and stores will be sent from here by sea. It is greatly feared that the good people will have to give in for want of help, which would be a ruinous thing. French affairs are giving rise to great suspicion here as to the intentions of the King towards this Queen, in consequence of the help and favour she has given to Montgomeri at Guernsey, from whence he entered Normandy to try and raise it. The Queen herself swears she knows nothing about it, and it is said the King is willing once more to make terms with his rebels, which is exactly what they would like, as it would allow them to carry out their designs to get him into their hands and place their own faction in power all over France.

The Queen-Mother recently sent here certain trunks of dresses and other things for the queen of Scotland, and the ambassador asked for license for them to be sent, which was refused him. They are talking of taking the Queen out of the care of the earl of

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Shrewsbury, and placing her in the power of the earl of Bedford, her enemy. There is a suspicion that they may wish to carry out with her what was spoken of before. It is wonderful that these things should go on, and they ought to be known to all princes.

The channel is full of pirates, some from Flushing and some English, and no ship will escape them, unless a remedy be devised. It is said that 15 well-fitted ships have sailed from Zealand with the intention of running down the coast of Spain to the Azores, and there await the flotillas from the Indies, to which they will do great damage. The seas are so wide that the princes cannot attend to everything.

Yesterday was Palm Sunday, and at midday the officers of justice from the Court entered the house of Lady Morley, the wife of Lord Morley, who recently went over to Flanders. They found her hearing mass, and seized the priest, all dressed in his vestments as he was. They took the image of Our Lady from the altar and carried it on the shoulder of a sergeant before the priest, whom they took through the streets to the Lord Mayor's house amidst a great outcry from the populace. They took the good lady prisoner too, with her maiden daughter, her second son, and her daughter-in-law, who are still detained in some of the aldermen's houses. They simultaneously did the same at the houses of two other ladies who are also in custody, as are all those who were present at mass with them. These are grievous events, and touch the heart of those who witness them and hear the blasphemy that accompanies them. God send a remedy.—5th April 1574.

19 April.
B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. v. Original draft.

394. LETTER of INTELLIGENCE from London (unsigned) to the Grand Commander of Castile (DON LUIS DE REQUESENS Y ZUÑIGA), Governor of the Netherlands.

I wrote on the 5th instant, with a letter for Spain, and have little fresh to report to-day, except that I am informed that within three or four days . . . soldiers will leave this city as quickly as possible for Holland. These are the 3,000 men I mentioned before as having been secretly got together. They are also beginning to make great preparations for equipping the Queen's ships in consequence of the intense alarm aroused here by the powerful fleet they say is coming from Spain with large forces of horse and foot, which are reported to be sent by his Majesty to the States from Italy, Germany, &c., to take down the pride of their allies. News has arrived here of the events in Paris, of which important signs have not been wanting previously, both in the coming of persons hither from France and the treating with Orange's commissioners in this city. I will endeavour to discover what is going on and report.*

I do not continue to send to your Excellency the important advices which I learnt from . . . (my friends here?), as I am ashamed to meet any of them now, being unable to fulfil my part towards them, as I used to do. I have been discredited with them

* The rising of the "politicians" or malcontents under the nominal leadership of the duke of Alençon.

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by Antonio de Guaras, who lives here, and in whom envy has proved stronger than his desire to serve God and his King. He saw how many letters I received from the duke of Alba, Don Ruy Gomez de Silva, and Secretary Zayas, in answer to my important advices to them, and as some of them came through his care, he kept back one from the duke of Alba, which he still retains; and, not content with this, in order to effect his wicked designs he, . . . with a Frenchman named Giraldi, who was an enemy of his Majesty, went to the ambassador, Don Guerau de Spes, and told him everything he could think of to prejudice me with him, swearing it was all true, in order to ruin me and expel me from the country.

I was soon informed by a person who knew, that Giraldi had sent to inform my King of it, and I at once dispatched a man by post to Secretary Zayas, telling him everything. Your Excellency may see the clauses of the letters enclosed. . . . In Portugal, for this reason, they will not even listen to me, much less pay me what is due, amounting to three years' allowance, besides 1,200 ducats which I have had to spend in his Majesty's service during the last two years, in the form of gifts to the people who supplied me with the information which I sent to the duke of Alba, Don Diego de Zuñiga and others. No one else could have done it for 3,000 ducats. I am thus in such a position now that I cannot refrain from letting your Excellency know, and begging you to provide me with funds to repay me for the sum I have spent, so that I may be able to continue, until I know whether they are going to remit me anything from Portugal. Think how grievous it is for a man so zealous and desirous of serving his Majesty as I am to be in such dire straits, and pray send me aid promptly.—19th April 1574.

Note.—This letter, like the rest of the series, is much damaged by fire.

April. B. M. *Add.* 26,056*b*, **395.** Document headed "Substance of GUARAS' Letters."

Bingham is still persisting is doing the service he offers. He and all his officers are Catholics, which inspires confidence in them. One of the officers he was taking with him was a close friend of Guaras, who knew him to be a serviceable man, and he had offered Guaras to take Rotterdam. Guaras did not enter into this, in order not to embarrass the original design.

Bingham will try to gain over Walter Morgan who has already been paid 1,000 crowns to take 500 soldiers to Holland or Zealand, and it is believed that he will sail with them in six weeks.

3 May. B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. v. Original draft. **396.** LETTER of INTELLIGENCE from London (unsigned) to the Grand Commander of Castile (DON LUIS DE REQUESENS Y ZUÑIGA), Governor of the Netherlands.

I wrote to your Excellency on the 19th ultimo, and since then news of the glorious victory gained by your Excellency's troops has arrived, for which God be thanked, although the heretics are

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much cast down about it.* They are giving out, however, that their side remained in possession of the field, their object being to obtain more money from the churches here for Orange. They are also trying to raise troops here to send to Holland.

The gentleman who went over with the English troops, as I wrote to your Excellency on the 8th ultimo, writes that Orange had returned to Dortrecht very sad after his defeat. The English soldiers were very much discontented, as they had not been paid anything since they had been there. 40 or 50 of these soldiers have returned hither, but others still go.

It is reported on good authority that, in view of the coming of the fleet from Spain, a 1,000 more men will be sent to Zealand to help guard the island. Many of these will be gentlemen and others well versed in warfare. All the Queen's fleet, of 30 sail large and small, is also to be equipped, besides merchant ships which are in good order here. The Rochelle people and other French heretics, it is said, will provide 40 sail, and a minister from Rochelle came hither the other day with this intelligence, and to treat with Orange's Commissioners and the English. He left a week ago to see Orange himself, who, it is said, will find 50 or 60 sail, so that, with pirates, altogether a large fleet of 200 ships will be collected. It is intended to attack all ships that come up the Channel, and the fleet will only carry the English flag, the object being to prevent the passage from Spain of the needed force to Flanders. Our fleet should be well warned and prepared in order that these evil spirits may not frustrate us.—3rd May 1574.

Note.—Much damaged by fire.

10 May.

B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. v. Original draft.

397. Letter of Intelligence (unsigned) from London to the Grand Commander of Castile (Don Luis de Requesens y Zuñiga), Governor of the Netherlands.

I wrote to your Excellency on the 3rd instant, giving an account from a good source of the armaments here. Twelve or fourteen ships of the Queen's fleet of 30 sail are powerful vessels of 400, 500, 600, and 700 tons burden each, with little top-hamper and very light, which is a great advantage for close quarters, and with much artillery, the heavy pieces being close to the water. The rest of the ships are small vessels of 100, 150, 200 tons each, also in good order. The Admiral of the realm is to go in the fleet, together with a large number of gentlemen; and most of the people will be well versed in maritime matters. Of Orange's 60 ships most are to be large powerful vessels well armed, many of them being sloops, and a great quantity of bronze ordnance is being carried. The French heretic fleet of 40 sail and the pirate ships, together with some merchantmen, will also be well fitted and armed, but they will not compare with the two fleets I have described. Their intentions are bad enough however, being to attack the Spanish fleet, unless it is very powerful.

For this reason, and for his Majesty's own reputation, it is most important that the fleet should be prepared to frustrate them. I

* The battle of Mooch, at which Sancho de Avila defeated and killed Count Louis of Nassau with great loss.

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am working very hard to discover all their designs, but they are very changeable, and I have to use extraordinary efforts to give constant news of what is going on. If the fleets came to hostilities it would be well to give orders when they approach them, that the ordnance flush with the water should be at once discharged broadside on, and so damage their hulls and confuse them with the smoke. This is their own way of fighting, and I have many times seen them do it to the French 30 years ago. I advise his Majesty's ships to be beforehand with them, and they will then send to the bottom all that are opposed to them. This is a most important piece of advice I am also advised that, if they find the Spanish fleet powerful and prepared, one of the principal instructions given to the captains is that they are not to attack but to go to Normandy or Guienne, where they may find the best shelter. There are many heretics in these two places, and they will be amongst allies. Much artillery has recently been sent to the islands of Alderney (?) and Guernesey, and some battery pieces. News comes from France that the King's governor in Normandy had beaten Montgomeri and surrounded an important castle. Montgomeri himself had fled, but had hopes of again entering, if these people go to France. Some of those who had conspired against the person of the King had been executed in Paris, whilst some of higher quality were expected to be released. God pardon such wickedness and inspire princes to confederate together to frustrate it.—London, 10 May 1574.

17 May. B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. v. Original draft.

398. Letter of Intelligence from London (unsigned) to the Grand Commander of Castile (Don Luis de Requesens y Zuñiga), Governor of the Netherlands.

I wrote to your Excellency on the 10th instant, and on the 13th an English ship arrived in this city from Biscay bringing the news that the fleet now being prepared there for Flanders was very unsettled for want of m(unitions); 40 or 40 sloops which had been arrested having been disembargoed for this reason. This is confirmed by letters from Antwerp saying that their advices now mention nothing about this fleet, whereas they affirmed before that it was to come very powerful. They are very proud and glad of this news here, and have sent congratulating Orange about it. They feel sure, if things are as they say, that the fleet will not come. Without counting the Queen's ships and the English merchant vessels that were to accompany them, it is believed that the rest, consisting of some 200 ships, Orange's fleet, the pirates and the French rebels, will go to the coast of Spain and rob everything they can lay their hands upon, besides the ships that went out for a similar purpose recently.

On the 14th news came from Bristol that a ship had arrived there from Madeira, saying that 16 corsair vessels had sacked the island, and were still there when the ship left. I cannot believe that such a thing can have happened, but all the heretics are talking about it, and the French and Flemish rebels say that they are not only going to sack the Canaries, Cape de Verd, and San Thomé, but will also take possession of them and of the trade with the Indies and Brazil.

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An English gentleman named Grenfield, (Grenvile) a great pirate, and another called Champerknowne, Vice-Admiral of the West, a co-father-in-law with Montgomeri, with others, recently armed seven ships, four large and three small, with the avowed intention of going on a voyage of discovery to Labrador, but the real intention was to help Montgomeri in Normandy, which is very near the west coast. Since Montgomeri's defeat it is said they will be too late to help him, and they consequently assert that they are going to the straits of M(agellan?), their fleet being increased by three sail, making 10 ships in all, amongst which is the "Castle of Comfort," a celebrated ship of 240 tons, the largest of them. The fleet is very well fitted and found, and will carry 1,500 men, soldiers and sailors, 500 of them being gentlemen. The real design is not yet known, as there are so many plans afoot, but, as they are going in this guise, they probably mean to sack some of the islands and lie in wait for the ships from the Indies and other merchantmen. They say they are taking with them a store hulk of 600 tons, with provisions, but I believe it is more likely to carry their plunder than to take stores. They sail this month. It is to be hoped that measures of precaution will be taken in the Canaries and elsewhere, as so many ships are leaving, and it is very necessary that some remedy should be provided. Whilst things remain as they are these people will continue their present proceedings, which are the accursed result of their false religion. I have already written at length as to what the remedy should be, and especially in mine of 14th February, as these raids are increasing so greatly in consequence of the immunity they enjoy, and by-and-bye it will be too late for redress.

These people are without powder; all they had in the Tower, which is their magazine, having been only sufficient for six or seven ships of the many they have sent to Rochelle and Normandy. I am told that they are providing themselves with the powder they will require from Hamburg and Antwerp, whence it is brought very secretly between sacks of merchandise and large casks. They will doubtless do the same from Sluys and Dunkirk, so that, if vigilance is exercised, some good captures may be made. The Portuguese negotiation is being carried forward, notwithstanding the decided reply given by the Queen, on the 8th March last, that she would not surrender the point about Barbary. After this it is not dignified on our part to have resumed negotiations, and, looking at the way the matter is being dealt with by the man who has it in hand, it is clear the Queen will not give way, and he will waive the Barbary point in order to settle the matter. I cannot believe, however, that the King (of Portugal) will allow these English heretics to go there and trade with the Moors, carrying there, as they constantly do, great quantities of arms, to the prejudice of the King and his subjects.

Nothing is being said now about mutual restitution of the merchandise seized on both sides, but the understanding is that both parties shall keep what they have taken, which will give the English an advantage of three to one. There are some evil minded people in Portugal, and particularly one worse still, living here, who

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will, if they can, arrange the matter to the King's prejudice.—London, 17th May 1574.

Note.—Much damaged by fire.

1 June. B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. v. Original draft.

399. Letter of Intelligence from London (unsigned) to the Grand Commander of Castile (Don Luis de Requesens y Zuñiga), Governor of the Netherlands.

I wrote to your Excellency on the 17th ultimo, and have since received your letter ordering me to continue my (services?), which it will be very difficult to do now, seeing the position in which I find myself; very different from what is desirable for one to be able to manage such matters in this country. Whilst I was in a position to do it I always strove zealously, but my present unfortunate state, dismissed by my King . . . . false information to him. I never asked either his Majesty or the duke of Alba for anything, unless it were for want of what was due to me, and I would not do so now . . . . They will not aid me, and I am driven to beg your Excellency to do so, in order to save me from falling into shame and trouble, and I will serve with all my heart in what is required of me, even to risking my life, as I have often done in the past.

Since my last these people have received advice from Spain, for they have spies everywhere, that the preparation of his Majesty's (fleet) is proceeding. The Queen's fleet of 30 sail is ready and in good order. At Colchester, 40 miles from here, they are fitting out 16 ships of 29 (tons each?), very long and low, which will serve either for oars or sails. It is thought, for this reason, that they are for Zealand. They have been constructed at the cost of Flemings, French, and Englishmen of . . . . confederation, who are in consultation here daily with the commissioner, of whom I have spoken as resident here to represent Orange. He is a very clever and diabolical man, but not so bad as a Frenchman here, who is a representative of Chatillon and the French heretics. They are hatching plots very prejudicial to his Majesty's interests and those of the king of France, which, however, I cannot discover, being in the position in which I am, as no one will have anything to do with me. I have nevertheless been able to find out that they are sending in a few days to Germany an Englishman called Ungenne (one Jeneye?), who is said to be a very cunning man, and has lived long in those parts. He is going to the confederates, the Palatine, the duke of Saxony, and the marquis of Brandenburg, and takes a sum of money in bills, raised here by the heretics, sufficient for a considerable force which they say will enter the States to join the prince of Orange, a similar force being raised by the Palatine and Condé to enter France.

Since my last letter news from Bristol affirms that the intelligence brought by the ship there of the sacking of Madeira is not correct. The island sacked was a small unprotected island near, called Porto Santo. It is encouraging the heretics so much that it may urge them to more important enterprises, as they see they are not punished.

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As the Portuguese business is entirely in the hands of the Treasurer, the earl of Leicester and Giraldi, it is difficult to get particulars, although I am told that the latter was willing to concede, on behalf of the King, that the English may trade in Barbary, so far as regards Ceuta, Tangiers, and Mazagan, but the English claim to trade everywhere north of Cabo Blanco. This will include the kingdom of Fez and Morocco with the port of Santa Cruz, where the English have a large trade and much merchandise, and whither they take great quantities of arms and ammunition. By this it would appear that the negotiation will not be carried through, notwithstanding all the bribes promised and the efforts made by Giraldi, assisted therein by a subject of his Majesty resident here, knowing full well the great injury it would bring to the service of God and the King.—1st June 1574.

Note.—Much damaged by fire.

Aug. **400.** Substance of Letters from Antonio de Guaras.

B. M. *Add.* 26,056*b*. Transcript.

[Extract.]

Captains Pool and Haselby, two persons who in the time of the duke of Alba had offered to deliver Orange alive or dead and awaited there (*i.e.* in England) some person to treat with them about it, had conferred in Flanders with Don Bernardino de Mendoza, and Haselby who is the right hand of Chester, the colonel of the English there, had tried to sound him as to the way in which so notable a service would be received. Chester was offended with Orange for something he had done and he (Guaras) hoped some good would come of it. He had heard that in return for 900,000*l.* to be paid within three years, which had been promised to the Queen by John Combe and others, they had been authorised to coin false money of many nations, pieces of eight, dobloons and thalers, and a regular signed patent had been given to them to allow them to export the base coin without hindrance. One of the ships has already gone with a quantity of it to Sorlingas (Scilly ?) with orders to the captain there to let them do as they like. It is an expedient to provide money for Orange.

On the 27th July Burleigh was at the Tower with Orange's agent, to whom he had delivered 20,000*l.* in complement of the 60,000*l.* promised.

Bingham had come back from Orange very sad, as he would not admit him to his service, saying that he did not want Englishmen. He is a good honest efficient person and was resolved to go and ship on his Majesty's fleet.

Victuals were being openly sent to Holland and Zealand by all ships that go over.

Sends copy of the letter the queen of Scotland had written in answer to the letter he sent her by order of Don Bernardino, and of the fresh letter he had written to her. He says, when he handed this letter to a person of position to be conveyed to the Queen, he had told him (Guaras) that he knew that the Queen in conversation with one of her ladies, had said that our late lady queen Elizabeth (now in glory) had written to her, saying how glad she would be

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for a marriage to be arranged between the eldest Infanta and the prince of Scotland, seeing the close friendship and kinship between the two Queens.* She herself desired nothing better, and the lady had replied that if the public voice could be believed (and it was said to be the voice of the Gods) she herself (the Queen) would marry Don Juan of Austria, whom she praised highly. The Queen replied that she had placed her cause in the hands of God and his Majesty. He (Guaras) gives reasons why this (marriage) would be beneficial to God's service, and says that, if his Majesty would agree to it, the Queen would have no other will than his, and he understands that she would be very glad for her son the Prince to be taken to Spain. There was an easy way of managing this and, for releasing the mother, as she has more friends there than the queen of England herself, and persons of high quality would undertake it.—London, August 1574.

20 Aug. **401.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the Earl of Leicester.

B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. v. Original.

The unquiet in which I have continued since I left England has been the reason why I have not sent you earlier the copy which I now enclose, the same as you sent me by Hernando de Sandoval. I have given his Excellency an account of it and also of the other particulars, and he is very well satisfied with your good intention and method of procedure in affairs, in which you are so well versed, being, as you are also thoroughly conversant with the feeling of people in England. *Signed,* Bernardino de Mendoza.—Antwerp, 20th August 1574.

Sept. **402.** Document headed "Contents of Guaras' Letters."

B. M. *Add.* 26,056*b*. Transcript.

Orange refuses to employ Englishmen, and therefore five or six captains have offered to serve his Majesty (Philip) and to bring mariners with them. The principal of these is Bingham who, Guaras asserts, is a useful man who has a design about Flushing which Guaras sends, as well as his (Bingham's) opinion about a landing in Ireland, in which enterprise he offers to take part.

Haselby had returned from Holland with Chester, and had told Guaras that the Scotsman still remained inside Bomel, but he does not know of the arrangement made with the Scotsman. They talked amongst themselves, however, about Captain Ellis (Villiers?) going to Bomel and there arranging with Colonel Balfour for him and his men, when they leave there, to go to Rotterdam or Delft, or wherever Orange might be, in order to capture or kill him. They would also surrender one of those towns, and on their doing these two things the colonel and the captains were to have 20,000 crowns each, and as much more for the men. In case they fail to capture Orange but surrender the town, they are only to receive 15,000 crowns amongst the whole of them, whilst, if on the contrary, they capture him and do not surrender the town, the are to have 30,000 between them. In addition to this the colonel asks for a pension of 1,000 crowns and the captains 300, with an employment.

* Elizabeth of Valois, third wife of Philip II., was sister of Mary's first husband Francis II., and the two Queens had been brought up together in the closest intimacy.

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They would sign an agreement as desired. Guaras says Ellis (Villiers ?) is a man of experience and has served Orange for a long time, but he and the rest of the English are dissatisfied with him.

The queen of Scots has been sent to Pomfret and is to be attended by the duchess of Suffolk, the daughter of Dona Maria Salinas,* who was a lady-in-waiting on Queen Katharine. She is one of the worst heretics in England and has studied at Geneva. They are also going to send thither the earl of Bedford, one of the most obstinate of the heretics, to take charge of the Queen. He has always advocated the putting of her to death. This change will be of no advantage to the queen of Scotland.

It was also said that the said Queen was to be criminally arraigned by Parliament, all this arising from the fear that the king of France would try by all means to liberate her.

Guaras still says that if it is the desire of his Majesty to get possession of the Prince, it can easily be managed with a little money, in which case two persons of position who are deeply interested in the matter will undertake it, as well as liberating the mother, and place them both safely in his Majesty's dominions.—London, September 1574.

October. **403.** Document headed "SUBSTANCE of GUARAS' LETTERS."

B. M. *Add.* 26,056*b.* Transcript.

The Council were disputing warmly as to the legitimacy of the sons of the earl of Hertford, and it was understood that they had unanimously agreed that they were not legitimate; and that the legitimate heir was the prince of Scotland. They are therefore putting great pressure upon the gentleman who holds him to deliver him to the Regent, to which it is said, he agrees, on condition that he is not to be taken out of the country. They had therefore adopted the expedient of giving him up to the countess of Lennox, his grandmother, who was already on the road to receive him if they would consent to give him up. The Scotch people were so much disturbed at this, that they were already crying out that, if the Prince is surrendered to the English, they will murder all the nobles, as the only object is to kill the Prince and his mother.

Bingham was still firmly set upon doing the service and offers to put to sea at once and await orders.

Two ships were being fitted out to plunder Nombre de Dios and Panama, as they did to so great an extent last year.

A person of confidence had told him (Guaras) that it was secretly asserted that Don Bernardino de Mendoza had received instructions from his Majesty to request the Queen to reform religion in England, and that she had excused herself on account of her Council, by saying that God was witness of her conscience, but that the matter could not at present be dealt with in the Council and amongst

* Dona Maria who was a daughter of Don Diego Lopez de Sarmiento, Count de Salinas, accompanied Queen Katharine to England and was her favourite friend through life. She married Lord Willoughby D'Eresby, and her only daughter Katharine succeeded to that barony. She (the daughter) was the second wife of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, and subsequently married one of her esquires, Francis Bertie, with whom she took refuge in Germany in the time of Queen Mary.

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the people. She hoped however that, in time, God would intercede, as it was His affair. The matter was in such a position that the Queen had confirmed as Lord Mayor of London a man who was looked upon as a Catholic. He had been elected by the people but opposed by the heretics. Some new events are expected to arise from this, and they even say the Catholic bishops are preparing sermons.—London, October 1574.

7 Nov. **404.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

On the 3rd, 10th, 17th, 24th, and 31st, I sent my last reports, and since then I have learned that the Vidame de Chartres has gone to Flushing and disembarked there in the hope that Orange would come to terms with Middleburg, where they say he will pass the winter, partly in order to redress the robberies which some of his people have openly committed there. No more victuals are to be allowed to be sent from here, but there are now at Rye ten ships of war from Flushing, awaiting others which are to join them from Havre de Grace, Calais and elsewhere, to commit great damage. An Easterling sloop is expected at (Harwich?) loaded with four thousand galley-oars and many spars with quantities of cordage, sulphur, &c. It will thence continue its voyage for Barbary, the master being an Englishman, named John Rale, and the mate another Englishman named Allen Macpes, the crew being Easterlings. As other ships have gone thither on equally evil errands, it might be well to take steps to capture this ship and punish the men. In Northumberland there has appeared in the air a white St. Andrew's Cross and near it a wolf, which animals are unknown in this country. The people saw apparently a great number of deer enclosed in a park, and the wolf singling out the largest of them pursued it continually, taking no notice of the others. The wolf was seen no more, but the deer comes alone every day to the same place and is for two or three hours prancing about in great terror. All the justices of that country have informed the Council of this and there is much discussion about it. Both in the Court and here the greatest of astonishment is expressed, the general opinion being that the cross and the other appearances are portents of great importance, and the affair has made so much noise that I write about it, although these people seem to attach too much weight to simple things like these. The regent of Scotland is visiting the different parts of the country and imposing heavy subsidies. He insisted that the earl of Athole and his people should pay a certain great sum, which the Earl refused to do, the dispute ending in the Earl being killed. He was a friend of the queen of Scotland and of the earl of Argyll, and dissensions have arisen in consequence. The Regent's wife has died and he wants to marry the queen of Scotland with the support of this Queen, but it may be supposed that they will not listen to such a thing here, and still less will the queen of Scotland herself entertain it.

As M. de Zweveghem will report, he was well received at Court with the King's letter. He has taken leave and hopes to depart in company with the master of requests, Dr. Wilson, but I am

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informed to-day by a courtier that the Queen said that the doctor would not leave for Flanders until an answer was received from his Majesty. Lord North, who, as I reported, went to the king of France, is understood to have arrived at Lyons and will soon be on his way back.

Some time before the duke of Guise was killed, it was said here that the deed would be done, as they knew beforehand that it was intended. This was the case also with the queen (dowager ?) of Scotland, and with the last king of France, as many witnesses here can testify, I myself amongst the number. Some of the people here have arranged in Germany to serve the present king of France in the same way. In connection with this, two days since, friend Ougan (Huggins ?) sent to say by his gentleman Heron, who is known to you, that the supreme Secretary Walsingham whispered into Ougan's (Huggins') ear these words: "Have you heard anything of the King since the loss of Goleta ?" "What king ?" he said. "The king of Spain," he replied. The answer was "No," and no more was said. This Walsingham is of all heretics the worst. He was ambassador in France and as he is in authority here and is the right hand of Orange, any evil may be expected from him and his friends in the Council. I have heard from a trustworthy source that intelligence has been received that a secret rebellion is being plotted in Bruges, but I have not been able to obtain particulars about it. I have not been able either to learn any more about the false coiners, excepting that they continue to work secretly. I have received no answer to the letter, but hope someone abroad will write to me. Bingham says he is attending to the preparation of the service he has offered to perform.—London, 7th November 1574.

28 Nov. **405.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

On the 21st instant I sent my last report, and advice reaches me from the Court since then that the Queen intended some days ago to send Harry Cobham to Spain, but his departure is delayed, and, for certain reasons, it is expected he will not now go.

I have learnt also that the chevalier Giraldi had been discussing lately with Lord Burleigh and other councillors the agreement with his King but could not come to terms, so that the business is now in suspense until a reply is received from Portugal respecting the article in dispute.

Dr. Wilson will, no doubt, have already arrived. He is charged, as I have written, to offer her Majesty the Queen's intercession to settle matters in Holland and Zealand and to bring those countries into submission to the King. News has come from Ireland that many provinces have risen against the earl of Essex (who commands the Queen's army) it favour of O'Neil (?). The Viceroy, Sir Harry Sidney, who is a very good gentleman, is leaving here on his way thither.

A Scotsman was brought here a prisoner as, on his way through Berwick from Scotland, they found two letters on him in a very secret cipher which letters are said to be for the queen of Scotland. The

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brother of the Count de Retz has arrived in Scotland by sea, sent by the king of France, and his arrival has caused many rumours here, as they do not know what his object is. The news of the killing of the earl of Athole by the Regent is now contradicted.

I have also been informed that Killigrew, who was formerly ambassador to Scotland, is again making ready to go thither. They are preparing three of the Queen's ships, it is publicly announced, to go against the pirates, but there is great suspicion that Killigrew is going in them to fetch the prince of Scotland hither, which has been discussed here for the last two years, the intention being, for a great sum of money, to appoint him the successor to the Crown. The Queen herself, however, is the person who is least willing to do this. If Killigrew is not bound on this errand, it is expected, from certain indications, that he will go to receive Condé and the Vidame and others to carry them to Rochelle, but, as every day some new purpose is adopted in State affairs here, nothing is ever certain, and what is true one day is often not true the next in consequence of the fickleness of these people.

The Queen has appointed commissioners who are furiously examining the principal Catholics, bishops, and others, who are prisoners or under surety, the substance of their examination being as follows.

If they recognise the Queen as head of the Church of England. To this they have all replied to the same effect, although examined separately, that they did not, and that the Supreme Pontiff is the head of the Universal Church and vicar of our Lord Jesus Christ. They were then asked if they recognised the Queen as sovereign, to which they replied that they did.

They were next asked whether they accepted her as the legitimate Queen; to which they replied that they recognised her as sovereign, and declined to say anything more in consequence of the law.

They were asked who they considered was the heir to the throne after this Queen; to which they replied that that would be shown by the royal pedigree.

They were then asked what was the Univeral Church of which they spoke, and to this they replied, "The Roman Church, which "was gathered by the Holy Ghost at Trent, and it always would be "so considered by Catholics."

They were examined as to their belief in the Holy Sacrament, and their reply was that they firmly believed in the real presence contained therein after the sacramental words had been pronounced by the priest. They said they believed in this presence, jointly divine and human, as it was upon the Cross, true God and Man; and they added, with much constancy, that he who did not believe this could not hope for salvation. They were then asked if the service in use in churches here, by order of the Queen, was acceptable to God, and they distinctly replied that it was not, as it was performed outside of the unity of the church, and contrary to its sacred doctrine. To all these things they, being all Catholics,

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answered similarly, being ready to live or die in the truth, which they hold before men, constant unto martyrdom. Each one had to sign his name to his confession for the information of the Queen and Council. People expect that severity will come of this. I enclose herewith copy of the letter which I have received from the queen of Scotland and of the reply which I sent to her, as also of the cipher she had forwarded to me. This lady founds all her hopes upon his Majesty, after God, and by a letter she has written to an influential friend, who read it to me, it is certain that there is nothing she desires more than to accept the proposition about Don Juan of Austria, she having been persuaded by this personage and others that it would be most important for the welfare of Christendom. If it be his Majesty's will that this matter should be considered, and communications have to be carried on with the Queen about it, this cipher can be utilised for the purpose, it being so obscure, without an alphabet, that it is impossible to decipher it. It would be a great consolation for this princess if she could be comforted and encouraged in writing and, leaving aside the charity of the world, that such a turn should be given to her affairs that God might place her once more in her proper position, which is greatly desired by many. In such a happy event she would be a saintly, chaste and Catholic princess, the greatest lady on earth; because England, Scotland, and Ireland is so great an empire that it cannot be exaggerated. Although she is now in the power of her enemies, who, being heretics and evil men, traitorously accuse her of the crimes which they themselves have committed, the good Queen herself being perfectly innocent, and persecuted only by these tyrants because she is a Catholic; if his Majesty will graciously allow a letter for her contentment in the business to be written, time might provide an opportunity for her capture by the hands of high personages. If on our part consent were given, this project would be certainly executed by them. She writes respecting this to the person I have mentioned, and desires above all things that her son should be married to the eldest Infanta, for which purpose she will consent that the man who now holds him shall take him to Spain.

This might be taken in hand before waiting for the French or English to act similarly in their own interests, as it is so important for the reformation of religion here that Flanders should be held in safe subjection, the French curbed in their furious attacks of ambition, as they always are when we are prosperous, and all princes and potentates dumbfounded by the double alliances with mother and son. I ask pardon if this business is too high for me to touch, I being so humble a person. Friend Ougan (Huggins) and Captain Ellis await a reply to their important propositions. There is not so much talk about the false money for fear of its getting wind. It appears they are covering it up with silence. This cipher being so simple and easy to discover, I will write if I am allowed in that of the Queen (of Scots), which is so obscure that it can never be deciphered. Amongst other things it must be borne in mind that the Queen-Mother is no friend of the queen of Scots for domestic reasons of little moment.—London, 28th November 1574.

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5 Dec. **406.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

On the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th ultimo I sent my last reports and copy of that of the 28th went by Lopé de la Sierra, who left here for Spain by sea. As all is quiet here there is little fresh to say. In mine of the 28th I sent the reply to that letter. I have no news since of the courier who took it, and I shall be anxious until I hear of its receipt.

The Queen has been unwell last week, and the secret murmurs in Court, and amongst people all over the country as to what will become of the country in case of the Queen's death, were very remarkable. God grant her health, for upon the life of such depends the welfare of this realm. The Catholics wish in such case to proclaim the queen of Scots, and the heretics to take up arms against her and proclaim the son of the earl of Hertford. These tribulations are expected as a result of the refusal of the Queen and Parliament to allow a successor to be appointed. On the contrary, they have passed a law, making it treason to discuss the matter during the Queen's life. The people threaten, in the event of the above happening, to kill all foreigners; but God preserve the life of the Queen for many happy years.

A servant of Orange named Rogers left here in company with Dr. Wilson, the Master of Requests, whose livery he wears. This Rogers is an evil tool, and, I am informed, a Fleming.

As I have written, the people here continue to carry on their differences with Portugal, and, either at the request of interested parties or on account of the Queen, they have secretly discharged the merchandise which the Portuguese were sending from Barbary to Flanders, to the value of over fifteen thousand crowns, notwithstanding the request of Giraldi that the goods should be detained as the property of rebels against his King, as the merchandise had been brought from Barbary without license.

A person who has arrived from Zealand reports that many of the enemies' ships were put to sea, the sailors bearing on their garments the device of a crescent, saying that they would rather turn Turks than abandon their traitorous designs. Orange was at Delft with great numbers of councillors, providing for the continuance of his rebellion. The coming to Scotland of the brother of the Count de Retz has caused great surprise amongst the rulers here. Their anxiety has caused them to suspend the going of Killigrew in the three ships. The coinage of false money was said to have been stopped, but it has only been suspended for the present.

The councillors here have discussed the intention of the Turk to attack Sardinia next year, of which they have information.

Reply.—Ougan and Ellis.—5th December 1574.

6 Dec. **407.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the Earl of Leicester.

B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. v. Original, Latin.

Expresses Philip's wish for peace and amity with England and highly praises Dr. Wilson whom he has welcomed in the Netherlands, not only on account of the Queen and Leicester's recommendation, but also on account of his own merit.—Brussels, 6th December 1574.

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Dec. B. M. *Add.* 26,056*b*.

408. Document headed "SUBSTANCE of LETTERS from ANTONIO "DE GUARAS from London, 12th, 19th, and 26th De- "cember 1574 and 1st January 1575."
[EXTRACT.]

In consequence of the marriage which has been effected by Madam Lennox, mother of the late king of Scots, of her son with the daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury, who guards the queen of Scots, which marriage was celebrated in the house where the said Queen is, the queen of England had summoned and detained lady Lennox and the newly married couple were separated. The queen of Scots has also been ordered to be brought to the Tower of London or to a castle belonging to the earl of Bedford, to whose care she was to be consigned. The earl of Shrewsbury however had protested strongly that this was a great slight to him, because it showed a want of confidence in him, and the intention had consequently been suspended. The queen of Scots was in great fear of such a change which must imperil her, the more so as Killigrew was leaving for Scotland, and three ships were ready to accompany him; the object being to obtain possession of the Prince if possible, and put an end both to him and his mother. They would then raise to power the son of the earl of Hertford whom they would marry to a daughter of Leicester and the queen of England, who, it is said, is kept hidden, although there are bishops to witness that she is legitimate. They think this will shut the door to all other claimants. This intrigue is said to be arranged very secretly.—London, December 1574.

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29 March B. M. *Add.* 26,056*b*.

409. ANTONIO DE GUARAS to ZAYAS.
[EXTRACT.]

The Queen was walking a long way from the palace of Richmond (where she is staying) surrounded by her courtiers and nobles when she caûght sight of me from afar and stopped and called me by name, telling me I was welcome. I took the opportunity of speaking to her about the cannon, which I wished to buy and send to Flanders for his Majesty's service, and she said Leicester would discuss the matter with me, it being her wish to please his Majesty in all things. When I heard this reasonable reply, I, walking always behind the Queen and she talking to me, the rest of the company being quite apart, I thought I would give her the memorial of which I sent a translation. We thereupon talked of many things, and amongst others, she said she greatly wished she knew Spanish well, as although she understood it perfectly, and read it, she did not at all times venture to speak it. I replied that everyone said she spoke it perfectly, as she did French, Italian, and Latin, and it would be a compliment to our nation if she spoke it. She said for that reason she would try to learn it thoroughly and was royally gracious, asking after the King's health and so on. During much of the time she dwelt upon the constant complaints that were made by her subjects respecting the imprisonment of Englishmen in Spain by the Inquisition. She spoke about the matter rather warmly and, off her guard, said "I promise ye that "my father would not have put up with it, and if the matter is not

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" amended I shall be obliged to order the arrest of some of the king " of Spain's subjects and treat them in the same way." She was very gracious afterwards and spoke about Collins of Gravesend, who was captured in the Indies in one of Hawkins' ships, and is now in prison in Spain; giving me the enclosed memorial about him. I said I would do my best for him, whereupon she replied: "You " understand full well, old wine, old bread, and old friends should be " valued, and if only for the sake of showing these Frenchmen who " are wrangling as to whether our friendship is firm or not, there is " good reason to prove outwardly the kindly feeling which inwardly " exists." I returned the compliment as well as I could and expressed my devotion to her service, when she answered: "You " say you desire to serve me, will you tell me the truth? I am told " by a Scotsman that you have received a token of friendship, in the " form of a painted lion, from a certain Scotch prisoner of mine," whom she did not otherwise name. As I have never received any such token from the queen of Scotland I was able to say with truth that I had not, whereupon she said, since I assured her of this, she would believe me.—London, 29th March 1575.

29 May. **410.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to —— (ZAYAS ?).

On the 21st I sent my last report and have little additional to say in this. As I wrote, a ship of 200 tons was being fitted out in the river and, after it had been well armed, has now sailed in company with two other vessels to join three more in Plymouth with the intention, as I am informed, of going to the Indies for plunder, although they were secretly aided by Captain Hawkins and are partly owned by Hatton, captain of the guard. He is such a good gentleman that they will certainly do no harm with his consent. They take great quantities of shirts, doublets, canvas, and other things suitable for the Indies. It is still asserted at Court that Harry Cobham will leave here shortly for Spain by land with a message from the Queen.

The alliance between this Queen and the king of France having been agreed upon, and news having arrived of its due ratification, she is going to send him the Order of the Garter by Lord Howard, who was created a knight of the Order on St. George's day and is now ready to leave.

The Queen has departed on her progress and it is believed that she will go towards the north and will meet the queen of Scotland. They are proceeding with the examination of those who are imprisoned in connection with the latter Queen, in order to find some excuse for taking her out of the hands of the earl of Shrewsbury and placing her in the power of some great enemy. There is so much confusion here about their sects, that all last week they were arresting people by the order of the Queen and examining them before the Courts of Justice. They have found them obstinate, some of them in the diabolical opinions of the Puritans, others Anabaptists, and many other sects. It may be hoped that all this disorder will some day result in good.

You will know that the Channel is now full of armed ships from Flushing. They have taken a valuable ship which was loaded in

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Calais for Barbary, and two English ships on their voyage from Spain. Lord Kildare, whom they had captured in Ireland, has now been brought here, and is being kept under a strong guard in the house of the Lord Chancellor. People here are so malicious that it is generally announced that he is arrested because he was going to Spain with his companions,* who are left prisoners in the castle of Dublin. I spoke to Lord Burleigh respecting the examination of the English ships which come from, and go to, Flanders, and I afterwards approached those who have charge of them. They turn a deaf ear to my request that the four which are ready to leave should be inspected, and they will not order the inspection of those which are expected to arrive from Flanders, unless some measures are taken about it on the other side; although really there is no great need for it, as I am assured that they do not load anything else than the ordinary goods they take to Flanders, in which they are very careful. If they want to send merchandise to Flushing or bring goods from there, they know how to manage it in ships that come and go daily, and if they pay duty, and the rebels have cargo on such ships, it is all done in the name of Englishmen and is kept secret. It will therefore be seen that it will be waste of time for me to proceed in the matter as instructed.†

As I have written, the two friends are awaiting an answer to decide whether they shall go to communicate their pretensions to his Excellency but if no decided reply is sent them they are determined not to wait any longer. I have told them that I expect that they will have it in a fortnight at latest.—London, 29th May 1575.

29 May. **411.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

I enclose report of what has happened since my last. I am informed that the Grand Commander of Castile is sending his secretary to the King; I hope his Excellency will write to his Majesty by him about my business, and that it will be done, as I have begged in an official letter, in conformity with your kindness to me.

I received yesterday a letter from the duchess of Feria by way of Paris, to which I reply at once. She will be greatly grieved to hear of the death of her father, Sir William Dormer. He left great estates and over a hundred thousand ducats in money, and ended his days as a good Catholic.—London, 29th May 1575.

24 June. **412.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

On the 18th instant I sent my last report. I send this letter by special courier to report that the Lord Chancellor, Lord Burleigh,

* The King has put the following marginal note against this: "He will not have understood it."

† The person who deciphered the letter for the King's perusal has interpolated a remark at the end of this paragraph to the effect that he does not understand what it is about, but that no doubt it is some understanding with the Grand Commander (Requesens). The King has written beneath this that he also is ignorant of the meaning. The paragraph evidently refers to the request made by the Spanish authorities in Flanders that ships leaving or arriving in England to and from Flanders should be liable to inspection to prevent the conveyance of munitions of war or other prohibited goods.

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the earl of Lincoln, and other councillors, who remained here after the Queen had left, are warmly, but secretly, endeavouring to promote the business they are attempting, respecting which Colonel Chester came hither from the prince of Orange. In order to put the project into execution they have begun to send various English captains to Dover separately, and with as little noise as possible. It is certain that the common people have no knowledge whatever of it, nor has, indeed, anyone excepting those immediately concerned. They send thither to-day captain Bingham, who, I am assured, they enjoin on pain of death to keep his departure secret. Chester himself has gone, or is hidden ready to go, Sir William Drury has been discussing the matter with the Council for some days. He is now departing, it is supposed to take an important command in the affair, the principal leader, however, being Lord Hunsdon. During the last three days, at night or at unsuspected hours, they have taken out of the Tower sixty waggons and gun-carriages, which have been shipped for Dover. The guns themselves, battery pieces, culverins, and small field-guns, will be taken by four of the Queen's ships which are being prepared in great haste near Rochester. Last night a list was made very secretly of the mariners needed for these four ships, and I am informed by a man from the Court that Cobham has been ordered not to leave until the outcome of the business is seen. They are hurrying the collection of the thirty thousand pounds, which I reported that this city had lent to the Queen.

Since writing the above I learn that M. de Meru, Montmorenci's brother, has left very secretly. No doubt they will all go together to Germany, and I am informed that they will go by way of Flanders, and return through Holland, in order to carry through their project in some part of the States.

28 June. **413.**

I enclose copies of previous letters, one of which was sent through his Excellency, and the other by way of Paris. I now have to add that an Englishman named Lusies (Lewins?) left here a fortnight ago, he having been sent hither by the English ambassador in France, and immediately afterwards the earl (of Oxford?) left for Germany accompanied by a son* of the Lieutenant of the Tower. This Lewins (?) is a person of great intelligence and efficiency, although he will employ his talents in a bad cause. There are signs that these men were despatched on this enterprise. I have had good spies on Sir William Drury who left two days ago. He was asked by a friend when he would return, and whispered in his ear, "the first news you have of me will be that I am in France."

The master blacksmith and master carpenter from the Tower have been sent in a boat to Dover with some of their men. Colonel Chester left on the 25th, with one servant, in the direction of Dover, and I am told from a good source, that two hundred thousand crowns, all in sun-crowns, have been sent by some of these men,

* Ralph Hopton.

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for the purpose of enabling Condé to raise two thousand horse and four thousand foot in the country of the Palatine for the support of the enterprise. These and other signs show that they are determined to attempt it. I have heard from Court now that Cobham will not be detained, but will leave at once. People from Rochester tell me that there is no show of arming ships, but that two of the Queen's vessels are fully armed and equipped.—London, 28th June 1575.

4 July. **414.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to ZAYAS.

I sent my last report on the 28th ultimo. Since then people here have taken no further steps publicly in the enterprise of which I have written, but I am assured, by one who knows, that they have sent to Flanders a certain Sir Harry Wall (?) on the pretence of taking baths, but really as a spy, with six crowns a day for his pay. The friend was sent about the business I have mentioned, it having been entrusted to him. I wrote his name in mine of the 24th. The negotiation about the affair designated under the letter L is therefore in suspense. I will communicate what may be ordered to the other friend.*

They are very proud here of the great compliment which has been paid to the earl of Pembroke and his people. With regard to the inspection of ships, it is to be supposed that the representations made to the English consul in Flanders will ensure that no ships shall leave here without their cargoes being first examined. Every one is in suspense to know the result of the siege of Buren, and, as the news is current that our people have taken an island in Holland, all good people here are in hopes of a victory over that bad town.

It would be a long task to attempt to give an account of the many opinions expressed this week about the queen of Scotland, the Prince, her son, and the Regent. It is publicly affirmed that that Queen has been released from prison, that the Regent had been killed, and that the Prince had been captured from the man who holds him by the earl of Argyll, a friend of the Queen's, for the purpose of taking him to France. It is said that all this has caused great tumult in Scotland, but the whole of it is nothing but intrigue, as it is certain that the queen of Scotland is closely guarded and in great peril for her life, that the Regent and the Prince are quite well. The origin, no doubt, was that the people here had agreed with the Regent to seize the Prince for fear that the French might steal him. As things have turned out differently from what they expected, they have sent Killigrew as an ambassador to the Regent, and so, like the godless people they are, they wander astray. They have just printed a book advocating the death of the queen of Scotland. It is called the "Reveille-matin des Français," and, as it is of some size, and it no doubt will have reached you, I do not send it, but will do so if ordered. It is so malicious that it once more proves the wickedness of these

* The frequent enigmatical references in Guaras' letters of about this date to his negotiations, appear to refer to two concurrent propositions made respectively by Huggins, Ellis, Bingham, and Chester; first, to murder the Prince of Orange, and, secondly, to betray Flushing into the hands of the Spaniards.

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people, but this is not by any means all; for another sign of their wickedness is the new prognostication of which I enclose a copy. The wicked people are so iniquitous that a certain Englishman named Liquilston, who went from Ireland to Spain with Stukeley, and afterwards returned here, asserts, amongst many other lying and malicious things, that FitzWilliams told the Queen that the duchess of Feria had given him a ring to be conveyed in the name of the King to the queen of Scotland, and he delivered it to the queen of England, informing her of many things which he, Fitzwilliams, had discussed here with the late Don Guerau de Spes. The hatred they have against this saintly lady (the queen of Scotland) because she is a Catholic makes them give credit to any falsehood or foolishness about her, and many persons are still kept in prison only for being her friends and Catholics. The Government in its passion has allowed another book in English to be printed, full of incredible lies about the proceedings of the Holy Office in matters that have never been thought of before, invented for the sole purpose of leading the public astray upon the subject. It is now asserted that Cobham will not leave until they get news as to whether the English, who were imprisoned by the Inquisition, are released or not. God grant what I hear be not true, that the king of France will not live to the end of the year. Lord Kildare and his sons, and the other Irish prisoners, are closely guarded, but well.—London, 4th July 1575.

11 July. **415.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

My last report was dated the 4th instant. As I wrote, these people sent the friend,* as they did many others, with great secrecy on the business upon which they had resolved. I have since heard that he and the rest have landed at Embden and will raise troops as I said, in the land of the Palatine, going thence to carry out their project. I am informed by trustworthy people that the matter has been discussed this week by the Queen and Council for more than three hours, although it was announced at Court that they were dealing with Irish affairs, and taking measures to send troops and money to Ireland. It will be seen, without doubt, that they will attempt this enterprise, which they have been plotting for a long time past, and now think they will carry through successfully.

I am told that they have decided that Cobham shall leave for Spain in a few days, but I learn that he goes rather as a messenger than to reside there as minister. His principal object is to take a message about the English prisoners there, and to learn for certain his Majesty's feelings with regard to friendship, of which the Queen cannot fail to be satisfied, as the King has always shown a friendly desire to continue the ancient alliance between this Crown and the House of Burgundy.

Some of the principal captains are offering to go and serve the King in Flanders with such sailors as they can take with them, their only desire being to learn whether they will be received. I have given them hopes of a reply within a fortnight; and, if I am

* Bingham.

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instructed to say that their services will be accepted, I will see that they are sent on, but I have already let them know that they must not expect any payment until they get there; afterwards, however, they will be well entertained in all honour and profit. I await his Excellency's reply to this by the first opportunity.

As I have already reported, Orange offered the king of France to send his daughter to be married to whomever the King might choose. The Palatine and others are trying secretly to persuade the Queen-Mother to marry her to her son Alençon, and I am assured that, with the object of stopping this, some people of high position here have again resuscitated the talk of a marriage of this Queen with M. D'Alençon. Of course, it is only an intrigue to serve their own ends, but it is certain that the matter has been mooted again.

The Queen is now hunting eighty miles from here, and about forty miles from where the queen of Scotland is. If they have an interview, as many think they will, we shall soon hear of it, but those who are well informed greatly fear that they will take her (the queen of Scots) out of the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury and bring her here, to be placed in the hands of the earl of Bedford, which, it is generally believed, would be to greatly imperil her life. In the meanwhile, Killigrew has left for Scotland to try to get hold of the Prince, and thus to prevent the French from obtaining possession of such a pledge.

I have heard that the son of an Englishman named Chester, of Bristol, has been detained in the Canaries by the Holy Office, and he (Chester) has begged permission of the Government here to go and seize some of the King's subjects and bring them hither as prisoners until his son is set free. He was told by one of the principal Councillors that he might do as he asked if he would keep his prisoners in his own ship until resolution was taken in the matter, but he must not land them.

With regard to the other friend who offered the service I have referred to, he is awaiting the reply of the person I mentioned, with whom I conferred about the business. The latter is hopeful of his success in it, if his friend is only firm in what I mentioned.*—London, 11th July 1575.

18 July. **416.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

My last report was dated the 11th. Since then it is certain that these people are persevering in their enterprise. Two days ago an English captain named Kent (?)† left here for Embden, taking with him five or six officers. They were going to the land of the Palatine, where the troops are to be raised at a place called Heidelburg, where the other Englishmen that went from here have already arrived. Captain Bingham, M. de Meru, the Palatine, Condé, the Vidame de Chartres, and others are there, but the

* This refers to the secret negotiations for the betrayal of Flushing or the murder of the Prince of Orange.

† The name is doubtful, but Kent is probably the officer of that name whose death at the siege of Bois le Duc in 1579 is described by Strada.

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general public here have been kept quite ignorant of the business hitherto. They have not confided in Kent, or Morgan, or the other captains here, but a certain Huddon (?), son-in-law of the Lord Chancellor, has received two thousand crowns to fit out two ships at Plymouth for the reception of soldiers, and the Admiral is coming hither to inspect the Queen's ships. When least expected they will carry the business through, and I have been told that one of them when he left said that by St. Bartholomew's Day a great service would be done. The brother of Colonel Chester arrived here two days since with letters from the Englishmen there, and from Orange to the Queen and Council, and told a friend that his brother, the Colonel, would return hither on receiving the reply. All this shows that they are carrying on their scheme with great vigilance, but, as his Excellency has notice of it, he will take such steps as may be necessary in his Majesty's interests. Chester's brother brings news that Orange is so intimidated that as soon as he learns that any of our people are approaching the place where he is he runs away. He and all his people have been greatly grieved at the loss of Buren, and he has arrived at Delft, but was returning to Dortrecht to encourage his brother rebels.

By the messenger who took this Queen's letter to the King respecting the English prisoners of the Holy Office, I have received the letter written to me on the 3rd June, and, as it arrived duly, I wrote to Lord Burleigh, sending him the letter to Court, in order that they might be satisfied with its prompt despatch and its contents. As the letter itself was so favourably, I did not go myself to carry intelligence of the matter.

A week ago a meeting was called on the Scotch frontier to discuss certain differences which had arisen, the principal people and Governors of those parts having to attend with a stated number of followers on a certain day. They came, armed as usual, and it turned out that the Scots had a thousand horse hidden in a secret place. These and their companions fell upon the English to such good effect that they captured or killed all of them, to the number of over 600. Amongst the prisoners were Sir John Foster, the General of the marches, Sir Francis Russell, son of the earl of Bedford, prisoner and wounded, and they killed amongst others Sir George Heron. This news has thrown the Court into great dismay, but it is not known whether the Regent was privy to the affair, nor has any intelligence been received as to whether Killigrew was amongst those attacked. It is said that the prince of Scotland has been removed from the place where he was by his mother's friends, and people here murmur that the French are at the bottom of the business.

The Queen, who is now at a castle belonging to Lord Leicester, called Kenilworth, has been entertained with much rejoicing there, and it is said that whilst she was going hunting on one of the days, a traitor shot a cross-bow at her. He was immediately taken, although other people assert that the man was only shooting at the deer, and meant no harm. The bolt passed near the Queen but did her no harm, thank God! It was thought that she

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was going to see the queen of Scotland, but the contrary now seems to be the case.

Although it was said lately that Cobham would leave, he has not gone yet. When he is dispatched I will report, but there are signs that they will continue to delay his departure, as they have for a year past.

These bad Englishmen, incited thereto by their hopes of gain, continue to carry oars to Barbary, and as they have already sold the four thousand which I said they had shipped at Dantzic, they are again shipping three hundred quintals of sulphur there to go to Barbary again.

Captain Hawkins' ships were, with others, ready to sail from the coast of Plymouth for the purpose of plundering any stray ship they could sight belonging to the fleet from the Indies.

That friend who offered his services has not yet received reply from his other friend. He expects it every day, and I will advise the decision he takes.—London, 18th July 1575.

25 July. **417.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to ZAYAS.

On the 18th I sent my last report. In conformity with his Excellency's command I will send forward the Englishmen who offered their services, saying that their offers are accepted, in the belief that they are persons who will do their duty. Although the greater part of them are of good appearance and fair words, experience shows that these people are not to be trusted overmuch.

I wrote to his Excellency that a difference had arisen in Flanders between the consuls of Spain and a scamp of an alderman of London, in whose favour the Queen has written several times to his Excellency. They have now agreed that the Councillor and I should arbitrate upon the matter with his Excellency's permission. We will do so when requested by both parties. The Queen and Council give wonderful support to their Englishmen, and no matter whether in France, Spain, or Flanders, if any grievance is suffered by them a great business is at once made of it, as if it were an important State matter.

As I reported, the Admiral was on his way from Court to inspect the Queen's ships here. This he has done with great diligence, which surprised the sailors themselves. Two of the Queen's ships have been armed, called respectively, "The Cato" and "The Barque of Boulogne," which at once went to sea, doubtless to put into execution the enterprise they have in hand. It will be found that support will reach them in this enterprise by land and sea as soon as they begin it, and the sending of these two ships with such wonderful diligence is a sign that the day for the attempt is not far distant, and no doubt the day will be St. Bartholomew's. They were ordered to arrest the English ships which are serving in Flanders, and especially Captains Cotton and Carey, on the ground that they have taken certain prizes in this river. It will be necessary to warn these Captains at once to beware, as I write to his Excellency.

People from Court say that Cobham has been made a knight, and had received his despatches to go to Spain. It is now said

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that he will go through France, and it is therefore believed that he is only going as a messenger, and not as resident ambassador, because it was formerly asserted that he would go from Plymouth and take his wife and family.

The Councillor* and I think well to send on to his Excellency that English engineer of whom I have written several times, and who expects to be able to give important intelligence and information there.

I have been informed that an extremely valuable English ship has arrived at Plymouth, which, it is believed, brings the proceeds of some raid committed in company with the negroes who are at war between Panama and Nombre de Dios. There are three or four other English ships in those parts, and the eight ships since sent off by Captain Hawkins and his friends, are on their way thither so that great robberies may be expected on the road to the Indies if a remedy be not found.

It is reported from Scotland that the English prisoners they had taken have been set free, and no fresh event has occurred there.

There is nothing more said about the prisoner that they took at Court,† as I mentioned before, and no one dares to mention the matter, which, indeed, few people can understand.

To the surprise of all the world, seeing the results it may have, the people here have this week burnt alive two Flemish Anabaptists.‡ —London, 25th July 1575.

27 Aug. **418.** The KING to ANTONIO DE GUARAS.

Our servant, Antonio de Guaras; it being needful for me to send a number of small vessels to my Netherlands States, I write to the Queen of England informing her thereof, and to beg that, if driven by weather or accident, they should enter her ports, she will order them to be received in a way suitable to the friendship between us and allow them to purchase what they need. I order you in conformity therewith, and in compliance with the instructions you will have received from the Grand Commander of Castile, to take what steps may be necessary with the same end. The ships will be commanded by Don Pedro de Valdés, but they will be subsequently taken charge of by Juan Martinez de Recalde, and whichever commander may arrive with them in England will receive from you the assistance necessary for the good of my service. —Madrid, 27th August 1575.

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* M. de Buiscot, who was on a mission to England from the Grand Commander, Requesens.

† The man who was said to have shot at the Queen at Kenilworth.

‡ Their names were Jan Wielmacker and Hendrik Ter Woort. They were Dutchmen who met at a conventicle in Aldgate, and the whole congregation a short time previously had been imprisoned. Ten women and one man had been condemned to be burnt as heretics, but banishment was substituted. Others of the congregation recanted at Paul's Cross, but the two men in question relapsed, and for the first time for 17 years the barbarous writ "*de heretico comburendo*" was issued. Foxe the martyrologist wrote a pressing letter to the Queen (quoted by Fuller) to beg for mercy for the men, but in vain. They were burnt at Smithfield on the 22nd July "uttering piercing cries."

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27 Aug. **419.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to ZAYAS.

My last report was dated the 20th, and there is little else to say.

When M. de Buiscot received his despatch from his Excellency he left for the Court which is fifty miles off, and it is to be expected that he will not be long detained.

Shortly afterwards the new French ambassador, who is to reside here, went also to Court accompanied by M. de la Mothe who goes to take his leave. The new ambassador's name is M. de la Mauvissière,* and they say that the king of France was coming to terms with his rebels. He had 800 soldiers ready to send to Genoa if the disturbances there continue, and this, new ambassador said, in the course of conversation, that the king of France would not cease to try his fortune, but would continue to do so until he got possession of Milan and the kingdom of Naples. All this and other things of the same sort are simply the vapourings of a soldier. I hear from a man who mixes with the French that he (Mauvissière) is instructed to inform the Queen that the King will soon come to terms with his rebels and is ready to help the Genoa people if they appeal to him on behalf of their liberty; the intention being afterwards to meddle in Italy for the purpose of sullying his Majesty's grandeur, trusting greatly to the preparations being made by the Turk for next year. The object also is that, France being tranquillised, the prince of Orange may be supported. All this will no doubt be set before the English Government to ascertain the state of feeling here, and in order to make a great show of friendship. Anything may be believed of the envy and ambition of Frenchmen.

On the other hand I have heard, from a sure source, that Colonel Chester and Rogers, who came afterwards, brought despatches from Orange to the Queen and Council offering to hand over to her peacefully all Zealand, on condition that she promises to hold it and support him, as he and his people are so driven for money and men that, if the Queen do not accept the offer, they will be obliged to surrender Zealand to her semi-enemy, the French King. He asks that Chester may be allowed to raise in England two thousand more soldiers for Holland, and I am informed that neither of the two petitions has been listened to here. I am told especially that the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Chancellor said in the Council, that if the Queen allowed this the king of Spain would have good cause for introducing schism and fire in her country through Ireland. They therefore thought that the offers should be refused, and if Orange delivered the country to the French they would oppose it in the interests of England. Some members of the Council replied, with respect to the two thousand soldiers, that they might be taken from Scotland, and that many Englishmen might pass over amongst them. A good friend of mine from Court told me yesterday that many persons of importance thought that Orange was being overcome and was in Dortrecht for his own safety, and to be the better able to escape if need arose. He said that news had come that the

* This was Michel de Castelnau, Seigneur de la Mauvissière, the author of the memoirs of the reigns of Francis II. and Charles IX.

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Schoonoven people could not hold out, and that our ships had taken the vessels that were going to their support. They have also heard that his Majesty had ordered one million eight hundred thousand crowns to be provided for Flemish needs, and that three thousand foot and two thousand sailors were coming from Biscay, which they thought would in a short time end the Holland and Zealand affair. Everybody here now is convinced that his Excellency will put an end to the business, to the great service of God.

Cobham embarked a week ago and will already have arrived in Paris on his voyage. Two ships belonging to the Queen have brought in six or seven prizes which have been captured by French, Flemish, and English pirates. Yesterday the Queen's ship "Falcon" sailed and another called "The Primrose" is being equipped in great haste. She is a very powerful ship, and is no doubt destined to help in their enterprise. Condé is also, with the same end, going with his army towards Lorraine, although it is here said that if the king of France comes to terms with his rebels, Condé with his forces will attack the Netherlands.—London, 27th August 1575.

3 Sept. **420.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

On the 27th ultimo I sent my last report and there is little fresh to say. A friend of mine has arrived from Holland and reports that the prince of Orange received news in Dortrecht that, on the 20th of August, Condé and his friends were arranging in Germany to provide means of getting into marching order and that they had raised three thousand horse to be commanded by Duke Casimir, son of the Palatine, besides four thousand foot and that Condé was leaving to see the Palatine, in order to arrange a day for their departure and the particulars of the enterprise. It would seem by this that some time in August they will try to enter France and endeavour to join M. D'Anville, who has fourteen thousand harquebussiers and four thousand French horse, besides which they will leave the strong places which are held by the King's enemies well protected. He tells me too, that the Englishmen who accompanied them were Captains Stafford, Bingham Villiers (?), and Hopton My friend gives me these news as certain, but they do not appear to me to be entirely so.

Captain John Morgan tells me that, if his Excellency will send him a patent and permission, such as has been granted to other Englishmen, he will, at his own cost, fit our four good ships to pursue his Majesty's rebels. He is certainly a brave lad and will do good and faithful service.

Captain Martin Frobisher has decided to go to Flanders to see his Excellency about the great services which he hopes to render, and he will leave in a week. He is the best seaman and the bravest in this country, and his great name and valour will be already known in Flanders. I have promised him a safe conduct to go and come free from debt and the consequences of part events, if no arrangement is made there. The good news of the surrender of Schoonhoven has arrived at Court, and it is expected that Orange himself will leave the States in despair before Christmas, convinced,

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as all must be, that he will get no help from France and less public aid from England.

As I have reported, two of the Queen's ships were being fitted and they have now begun to equip two more. Three private ships are sailing from the North, and the presumption is that they are all intended for the enterprise, as well as the army which is being raised in Germany.

It becomes every day more evident that the people here are making great efforts to obtain possession of the prince of Scotland, His good mother is well.—London, 3rd September 1575.

17 Sept. **421.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

My last report was dated the 10th, and I have since received his Excellency's letter of the 11th, with that enclosed for the Queen, who is now fifty miles from here. In accordance with his Excellency's orders, as soon as news arrives of the appearance of our fleet on the coast, I will at once go to the Queen and deliver the letter personally. I will also endeavour to get a letter from her to all the justices of the ports, so that our men may be supplied, by purchase, with such victuals as they require, and be welcomed as friends. This order I will take or send to wherever the fleet may be, and will serve the commander personally to the best of my ability. In the meanwhile, not a word shall be whispered on the subject. I wrote on the 10th that the Queen and Council knew of the coming of the fleet, and had consequently raised eight hundred soldiers to send to the Isle of Wight, prompted by their unnecessary suspicion, the King being as affectionate to this Queen as ever, and as desirous of maintaining old friendship. When certain news comes of the arrival of the fleet, I will write advising his Excellency thereof, as well as taking the necessary steps at Court. News from Holland and Zealand make us hope that our army will prevail in Dortrecht, and that that bad town will soon be confounded. All the news received at Court and by the rebels here is that Orange and his friends are so routed that they cannot resist much longer. It is said that fifteen thousand souls of these rebels met in their congregations yesterday, and, as I am told, were directed to offer up their prayers for Orange and his supporters, who were in great danger of Spanish tyranny; using these words and worse. They were told it was therefore necessary to help them with money, as they certainly will do again.

On the 10th I wrote that the English Colonel Chester had been sent back to Orange from this Court with a curt reply, but they sent after him and he returned. I do not know whether it was for the promotion of the enterprise I have mentioned, or whether it was to provide help for Orange. I have been told that they have collected two sums, one of sixty thousand crowns in cash, which has been sent abroad, and the other of forty thousand, which they have sent to Antwerp through Thomas Smith. A person who knows tells me that the cash is going to the Englishmen in Condé's army, and the other money to be remitted to Orange, which is to be repaid from the sum collected from the rebels here.

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Every day more clearly is it proved that they are in earnest about the enterprise I have mentioned, and a man who is concerned in it has hinted to me (he could do no more, as they had sworn him to keep the secret) that they had a great business in hand which he could not tell me about. It appears he had especially to swear that he would refrain from telling me anything. Circumstances show, however, that Condé's army is being raised with the aforementioned end in view.—London, 17th September 1575.

8 Oct. **422.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to ZAYAS.

On the 1st instant I sent my last report. Shortly before midnight yesterday I received a letter from Don Pedro de Valdés, General of his Majesty's fleet at Dartmouth, dated the 2nd instant. He simply refers me for information to Juan Cipres, who, hearing on the road that the Queen was sixty miles from here, wisely decided, in order not to lose time, to go to Court first and give the Queen the letter he brought from the King. Despatches shall be sent to all the ports about victuals and other things needed by the fleet. Cipres reports that the fleet left Santander on the 25th ultimo, consisting of forty cutters and four great ships, arriving on the 1st at Dartmouth with twenty-two cutters and two great ships, one of which was the flagship with the General on board. Some of the others had touched there before but had proceeded on their voyage, and the rest were missing by reason of a great storm which caught them off Ushant, although some of them have put into Plymouth. I received with the said despatch the letter that his Majesty graciously wrote to me on the 27th of August, giving me instructions to address the Queen on the subject of the fleet. To-day at daybreak I leave for the Court to help Cipres in his errand, and to hand to the Queen the letter from his Excellency, in obedience to his orders. I am also sending a report to his Excellency of the arrival of the fleet. I am sending news to the General also, and remitting him copy of the letter sent by his Excellency on the 29th ultimo to M. de Barlamont and forwarded to me by the Antwerp postmaster, giving news that our people had killed the governor of Zealand, Boisot, and that his brother the Admiral had fled for fear that his own people would kill him, owing to the suspicion they have always felt of him. People from Flushing report that our men had burnt the fort of Viana (Duveland?) and killed more than six hundred of the enemy, the rest taking refuge in the town of Zierickzee, which they had fortified. There are but few people for the defence of Flushing now, as Orange took most of the men away. The news just brought is the first intimation that people here had of the coming of our fleet, and it is greatly to be hoped that the rest of the ships and cutters will have come by the Isle of Wight, the weather having been recently very bad with a furious E.N.E. wind.

Everybody here believes that Holland and Zealand will soon be lost, and fugitives are already arriving at Dover from Flushing. Orange himself will no doubt fly hither, because he dare not go to

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Germany, where he owes large sums of money to those whom he has deceived, and in consequence of the quarrels he has with the relatives of his first wife, who is still alive. I leave this written to be taken by a courier. I am now going to the Court.

A Scotch gentleman named Chambers has arrived here. They say he was a member of the Scotch Queen's Council. He is full of praise for the favours shown him in Spain and Flanders, and displays great desire to serve his Majesty, if his Excellency will employ him in Flanders. He begs me to convey this desire, and, as I do not know him, I have only replied in general terms. He is going to Court to try to get leave to see his mistress, and will afterwards return here. I will then give him a message for her. —London, 8th October 1575.

10 Oct. **423.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

On the 8th instant I sent by way of Flanders a report of events here, and a copy of my letter, enclosing despatches for Don Pedro de Valdés, Captain General of his Majesty's fleet, was sent to him. I afterwards left for the Court with all speed, and requested audience of the Queen, which was duly granted. When I told her Majesty the cause of my coming and delivered to her the letter from his Excellency, she told me that the Spanish gentleman bearing the King's letter has been with her on the previous day. Two days before, she said, she had received news from her Vice-Admiral of the arrival of our fleet off Portsmouth, and immediately ordered that it should be received and those on board of it welcomed as if they were her own subjects. On receipt of his Majesty's letter she confirmed the orders, and sent to all the justices on the coast commanding them to give every assistance to the fleet under pain of her displeasure, providing victuals and all necessary stores at a reasonable price; and she assured me that her desire was that everything should be done in accordance with the good friendship which had always existed between her and his Majesty. She said all this with a great appearance of goodwill, and in conformity with her sincere desire to preserve the alliance. When she retired she said she was very glad to hear that the King was well, and the earl of Sussex, the Lord Steward, then approached me and repeated what the Queen herself had said, assuring me that he, being so true a friend of peace and concord, had been mainly instrumental in obtaining so favourable a reply from the Queen, which I really believe. He told me I might be sure that all his fellow councillors were also well disposed. I send from here a person to the Captain-General with this letter and to inform him of the confirmation of the favourable reply given to his gentlemen. My man will also do what he can to forward the matter in the ports, and will return to Court, if necessary, I remaining here, in case anything else should be required, until I hear that the fleet has left. I do this as I shall not be required in London, having left orders there to forward to me here any despatches that may arrive. The Queen is well. God grant her long life, as upon this depends the continuance of our ancient friendship —Bradham, 10th October 1575.

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11 Oct. **424.** The KING to ANTONIO DE GUARAS.

Zayas generally gives me an account of what you write to him reporting events there, and I am very well satisfied with your services, and order you to continue the same. The object of the present letter is to inform you that I am sending Captain Sancho de Archiniega with some store transports to my Netherlands. I write by him to the Queen informing her thereof and asking her, in case he should touch in any of her ports, to have him received well in accordance with our friendship, and have him provided by purchase with such things as he may need for the prosecution of his voyage. I order you to take what steps may be necessary in accordance with what you may hear from Captain Archiniega, with whom you will keep up communication.—El Pardo, 11th October 1575.

425. COPY of a DOCUMENT labelled, "From his Majesty, in "which, by the hand of Gracian, he sets forth what was "proposed by Henry Cobham in the name of the queen "of England, and what his Majesty replied."—El Pardo, Wednesday, 26th October 1575.

Lord (?) Cobham was with me to-day, and has given me the enclosed letter, addressing me, by virtue of its credence, on behalf of the queen of England.

He first thanked me for ordering the expulsion of the English from the Netherlands, and for the good expressions conveyed by the councillor of Brabant, who, I think, is called Buiscot, to the Queen on my behalf. He dwelt at length upon the great desire of the Queen to preserve her friendship with me, and how she had displayed this desire in refusing many of the offers made to her by the prince of Orange.

He then spoke on various other points contained in the memorial which he handed to me from the Queen. He spoke about the Queen's sending an ambassador hither, and I an ambassador to her, but he said nothing about the point referred to in the memorial, as to the Queen's wish that the English ambassador here should be allowed to exercise his religion in his own house with his family and household as in England.

He then said that the Queen had ordered him to inform me that she had seen a letter written by the king of France to the prince of Orange making him many promises, and said something about a marriage which I did not very well understand. I replied to his general expressions with fair words, assuring him of the high esteem in which I held the Queen's message, but referred him both in general matters and in detail to the duke of Alba, whom I would order to reply to him on all points. He afterwards gave me the enclosed memorial from the English merchants, which I told him should be considered and replied to. You will inform the duke of Alba of all this and show him the memorial, in order that he may be prepared, and may hear and consider all that was said to me that it may be discussed in the Council, with the view to a reply being given. I must be advised of the opinion arrived at in order that I may instruct the Duke as to what is to be done.

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29 Oct. **426.** Antonio de Guaras to (Zayas?).

My last report was dated 21st instant, and was closed on the 24th at the Court. I sent from there two persons well instructed with regard to the recovery of the lost sloops. I heard whilst at the Court that the Council was discussing the issue of a proclamation ordering that none of the Queen's subjects should enter the sea service of the prince of Orange or the States. Those who are already there, like Cotton and others (as I write to his Excellency), should be ordered to be on their guard, as there is a general commission all along the coast to arrest them. When I asked the Council to allow one Carey, with a very powerful ship, to leave Southampton to serve in Flanders, I was told that he could not be allowed to sail on account of certain robberies of which he was accused, this, however, being only an excuse to prevent his going. I have no letters from his Excellency since then, nor since the 16th from Don Pedro de Valdés, although I have sent by every opportunity, and have informed him that the ships of the fleet which were to join him have sailed from Dunkirk, and that no armed vessels have left Flushing. I have also informed him of the success which God has granted to his Excellency, which will keep the enemy so busy that our fleet may, after having joined the ships from Dunkirk, sail with the first fine weather in all security. Supposing that he will have already arrived at the Isle (of Wight), I have repeated my letters to him, and sent a special messenger thither with them. I have heard that the fleet from Dunkirk passed near Dover on the 21st. The weather is now contrary, and when I receive advice from Portsmouth or the Isle (of Wight) I will inform his Excellency.

Colonel Chester is still about the Court urging his request to be allowed to take soldiers to Flushing, but they openly refuse him permission. If he should take any over secretly I will complain of it. Two Scotch captains have gone to Scotland to raise men for Holland by orders of Orange, and I have heard from a man who has come from there that a treasurer of Orange, who was in Zealand, on hearing that our fleet was coming, and that a great friend of his who was Governor there had died,* at once collected all the money he could get and shipped on board a vessel bound for Scotland or Ireland.

The chevalier Giraldi has been at Court, and is trying to arrange the differences between his King and these people. It is expected that an arrangement may be made.

I have received news from the Court that the Council are considering the victory gained over the reiters in France and the coming of our fleet to Flanders. There are rumours that they will take some new step, either private or public, against France or the States. I have some one at Court who will learn what is intended, and I will duly advise.

Our rebels here have made a collection, and are sending soldiers,

* Boisot, Governor of Zealand, whose death at the battle of Duveland at the moment when the Spaniards were on the point of defeat, had thrown his men into a panic, and had allowed the King's forces to gain a footing in Zealand.

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Walloons and Flemings, to Flushing as there is a lack of men there. Amongst them go some Englishmen who have returned hither dismissed from the forces in Ireland, and are wandering about the streets destitute.—London, 29th October 1575.

22 Nov. **427.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to (*ZAYAS* ?).

On the 12th instant I sent my last report and left a letter written on the 16th in London advising my departure for this island. I came because I had heard of the arrival of our fleet here which news was true, and I found it in good order on my arrival. It is still awaiting fair weather as the wind keeps contrary. In consequence of the long voyage it has been necessary to provide money for victuals, and this I have done, giving also letters of credit in case anything more should be needed. The two ships belonging to the Queen, which I said were being fitted out, have since arrived here, and the commander, as well as the Governor of the Isle of Wight, have sent word that they will, to-morrow, make a communication to Juan Nunez (Martinez) de Recalde, although we do not know what they have to say. I will remain here in case my assistance is needed in anything, and I hope soon to see the ships sail, as the weather now shows signs of changing. My visit has been advantageous, as some disagreeable demonstrations were made against our people in Southampton and elsewhere, to which my coming has put a stop, and if they are renewed I hope to be able to smooth matters over; although when the two ships I have mentioned came to anchor alongside of our flagship, the General being absent on business, a boat from the English ships came to our vessel and asked for the General, who, they were told, was on shore. They thereupon told them to haul down the flag, and said if they did not do so they would make them, and our people then did so. As our fleet is anchored before the castle of Cowes (Cou), this and all other discourtesy has been overlooked, our people, so to speak, being their guests and under the Queen's protection. They even say that these two ships have come to accompany our fleet, and we shall know to-morrow whether they have any other object. There is no news of any armed ships from Flushing, and, indeed, there are few left in the Channel as they fear capture by these two ships. The General, Juan Nunez (Martinez) de Recalde, is taking such good measures that, with God's help, he will proceed safely on his voyage. The three ships from Dunkirk which were missing, have arrived there. When I left, fresh orders of favour were given at Court in the matter of the lost sloops, and I have sent the orders from here to the persons whom I had entrusted with the matter so that no opportunity shall be lost of proceeding to the recovery of them in accordance with the orders given to me by Juan Nunez (Martinez) de Recalde.—Isle of Wight, 22nd November 1575.

28 Nov. **428.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to (ZAYAS ?).

When I left here on the 16th for the Isle of Wight I left a letter written, and have since sent another from Newport, on the 22nd viâ Flanders. I did what I could to assist the fleet, and provided

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money and credits for stores. I hope it will now have safely arrived at Dunkirk, as since my coming hither I learn that the ships were seen passing Dover, the two Queen's ships remaining at Portsmouth.

I found news from Court awaiting me here, to the effect that a Frenchman named Captain Norman had been there, sent by the prince of Orange, to say that if he was allowed to secretly raise troops here (Walloons, French, and English) he has means of striking a blow of great importance. It appears that this attempt will be against Gravelines or Neuport, but there is no news yet that forces are arriving, pending permission being given for raising them here. I have a person of trust attached to this man to learn what he can, and, if steps are taken to carry out what he desires, I will give full information. In the meanwhile it would be well to provide for the protection of these two places and others on the coast, as I write to his Excellency.

Egremont Ratcliff, a brother of the earl of Sussex, Lord Steward, who was in the North, and subsequently in Flanders, Italy, and our Court for a long time playing the hypocrite, came to Paris, and from there wrote to the Queen and Council saying that, if he had assurance of pardon, which they promise him, he would come hither, as he has done, to declare some great secrets, and especially to accuse many Englishmen who, together with himself, have plotted against this country. To gain favour, I am told that he is going to declare, however falsely, that his Majesty intends at some future time to take revenge for the unneighbourly conduct of these people towards him, in favouring Orange in his revolt. If he is believed, he will be the cause of much ill-will. Amongst other things he has secretly told some wonderful stories about Don Juan of Austria, touching pretensions of his here and other absurdities. When he arrived here he was for some days at liberty, expressing great sorrow that he had taken part in the Northern risings, but when he presented himself at Court they sent him to the Tower, pretending to keep him under close guard, but it was all make-believe. It is thought that he will do much injury to many people here, and to the English who are absent, and it is understood that he will make statements against the queen of Scotland. In consequence of this and other false accusations, the inquiry which has been commenced is to be continued in order that she may be placed in danger of being condemned to death. She is well, but strictly guarded.

Respecting the business of the gentleman Corbet, I have only heard that he had sent two messengers hither, and will remain in Flanders until he gets an answer.*—London, 28th November 1575.

* Mr. Corbett had been sent as an envoy from the English Court to Requesens, in Flanders, on the 25th October, in the place of Randolph, who had at first been appointed to the mission. His draft instructions, all in Cecil's handwriting, will be found at the British Museum, Cotton, Galba, C. v., and by these and the papers calendared in the Foreign Series of State Papers, it will be seen that the principal object of the mission was to press the intercession of the Queen between the King and Orange, in consequence of the injury and danger incurred by England through the war, and the impossibility of her standing by and seeing the Protestants exterminated.

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29 Nov. **429.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to ZAYAS.

I informed you on the 16th that I was leaving for the Isle of Wight, where I had been informed that Recalde and his fleet had arrived in great need of victuals, and requiring help, in consequence of disagreeable demonstrations made towards him. I went at once, provided them with money and freed them from their annoyances. They sailed on the 24th with favourable weather, and arrived safely in Dunkirk on the 26th, accompanied by the armed ships which had left Dunkirk. This short note is simply to report this by a ship which is leaving the river for St. Sebastian, on the chance of its arriving before the news sent through Flanders. No armed ships from Flushing have arrived in the Channel as the Grand Commander is keeping the rebels busy, especially in Ziericzee, which I am informed by letters dated the 21st cannot avoid surrender, in consequence of shortness of food. God confound them!—30th November.

I send this copy of the above by way of Plymouth to be forwarded by first opportunity.—London, 29th and 30th November 1575.

430. Fragment of Document headed: "What the duke of Alba "replied to Henry Cobham, ambassador to the queen of "England in Madrid.—2nd December 1575."

That his Majesty would be also very pleased to receive the ambassador whom the Queen might send to his Court, especially if he would observe the Roman Catholic religion, which would be a great satisfaction to his Majesty and this country; but that in any case, his Majesty begged most earnestly, that the ambassador might be a modest man, well intentioned and favourable to the preservation of the friendship and brotherhood between their Majesties. He should be expressly warned and ordered to be extremely careful that he and his household should observe the contents of the two documents which would be handed to him, as the present object was not simply to send new ambassadors but to revert on both sides to the same order of things as had always existed before the time of John Man, who had committed excesses and had to be expelled by his Majesty, which it was understood the Queen admitted was done with ample reason.

5 Dec. **431.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to (ZAYAS?).

On the 28th, 29th, and 30th ultimo I sent my last reports, and I have now to advise that I have trustworthy information that Egremont Ratcliff, who is a prisoner, has presented a written statement to the Queen, and it is greatly feared that, as he was concerned in the Northern rising, he will have denounced many persons both absent and present.

The French captain, Norman, is still about the Court pushing his request, although I have heard from a man who accompanies him that he intends to go to Rochelle if these people will not grant what he desires.

Hastings, the gentleman that the Queen sent to the prince of Orange, has not returned yet, nor has Corbet, who went to his

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Excellency, although answers have been sent to both of them by the servants they sent to the Queen. This affair may turn out hard to digest for them, as it was all hatched here, as I am informed, in order to make the King think that, if the Queen sets foot in the States, she is forced to do so out of fear of the French or the king of Denmark, but the real object is to keep them (the States) in hand to surrender them when it may appear desirable after first trying to oust the Spaniards from Flanders; and then again negotiate for a confirmation of treaties and so protect herself against the consequences of past bad acts and unneighbourly conduct; at the same time making a show of being forced to place her army in Flanders to prevent injury to her own country. I hear, on the other hand, that they will only decide upon the step with great difficulty in consequence of the fear that, if they undertake the task, the dangers and difficulties here may recommence, and nothing will be done without much consideration and the express consent of the Queen. As I wrote, they had sent the Queen's ships to sea but have now ordered their re-call, the confusion being such that the aspect of State affairs fluctuates from day to day. They have said nothing to me at all, whereas in the time of the duke of Alba the lord treasurer, Lord Burleigh, spoke to me on the subject of Flanders in the Queen's name nearly every week, saying that, if his Majesty was willing, she would gladly intercede in order to bring about an honourable understanding between his Majesty and the prince of Orange, and as I was ordered by the Duke to listen to what they might say and report the same, they were moved to send the envoys they dispatched, no reply having been given to them through me after they had so repeatedly approached me. Whatever evil thing happens it may be believed that the Queen's own intention is a good one, but not so those of many in authority who surround her.

As the thing is publicly talked about in the streets there is no objection to my writing openly about the great enmity which exists between the earl of Leicester and the earl of Essex, in consequence, it is said, of the fact that whilst Essex was in Ireland his wife had two children by Leicester. She is the daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, a near relative of the Queen, and a member of the Council, and great discord is expected in consequence.

News comes from Holland that Orange will summon the States of that country and of Zealand to consider some means of remedying their position, and in consequence of the murmurs of the people and soldiers. If it were not for their obstinacy and his forces the towns would submit themselves to the King's mercy.

I have received news from the Court that the Queen is highly offended at an English gentleman, named Capel, being so much favoured by his Excellency, and especially at his having written authorizing some Englishmen to arm against the rebels. He will hear from some of his friends that the Queen will be glad if he absents himself from Flanders and retires from the King's service It is thought better that he should go to Germany or Italy as I hear from persons who are concerned in these matters.

These people have lately given orders for the collection of sixty

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thousand crowns and are going about the city changing the money into gold. The congregations of our rebels are doing the same and are sending the money to Orange, either for him or for Condé, and it may well be supposed that, now that an arrangement has been arrived at in France, they will not be idle in disturbing the States through one or the other of these men.—London, 5th December 1575.

10 Dec. **432.** Antonio de Guaras to (Zayas ?).

I sent my last report on the 5th instant and have since received his Excellency's letter of the 26th.

Some days since, it was announced in Court and here that the city of Cologne was lending the Queen a great sum of money at five per cent. per annum interest, which had been offered by her to this city and to many private persons. It is not believed, but is thought to be all an invention to make people believe that money is coming hither, the sum being stated at five hundred thousand crowns, in order to cover the many obligations they are incurring. Those who know, say also that it is in order that, when money has to be sent from here, the people may be told it is to pay this loan as they are greatly averse to money being sent out of the country. The murmurs in Court and in London respecting the expected decree (in Flanders) suspending the payment of interest on the money belonging to the Genoese and others, are incredibly great, and some days ago, when Lord Burleigh, the Admiral, the earl of Leicester and others were together, they asked me about it, as if surprised, and seemed to think that it was a great hardship for the persons interested. I told them there was no need for them to be scandalised about it, as in this country it was a law of Parliament that whoever lent money at usury, should lose principal and interest, and should pay as much to the informer, and again as much to the treasury. I said I did not understand that his Majesty ordered the principal to be confiscated, but that in accordance with the laws of the land and the permission of his Holiness, the lenders should be satisfied with seven per cent. per annum, and that to charge thirty, forty, and fifty per cent. was an action which I would leave to their own judgment as to whether it was right or not. I said that, whilst what was done here seemed extreme, what was done on our side appeared to be a charitable reform, and they replied that it was indeed an admirable order, and that the Genoese and others, marquisses, princes and counts, as they were, would again have to return to their position as merchants, and his Majesty would find his revenues relieved, although they hinted that, in future, the credit of his Majesty would not be very secure. I said that a Prince who was free from obligations and had fifteen millions of ordinary revenue, besides twenty millions which it was expected would be produced yearly by the tenths conceded to his Majesty, particularly if they were extended, as was said, to the Indies, could not be in great need, and in due time the tenths in Flanders would also be paid. Such a prince as this, I said, with such revenues and with great treasures in coined money had little need of the cash of Genoese or other usurers, although money was

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now in such a position that they were very glad to get seven per cent. for it. I said his Majesty had such great revenues that the Turk would feel the effect thereof, and all our King's good friends, and especially the Queen and the English, would be pleased thereat. They agreed with me, but the vulgar people, ignorant as they are and moved by their passions, murmur much about it.

By the last courier many letters have come from Flanders to these people expressing the fears that were felt there that some new discord was about to arise between their Majesties (Philip and Elizabeth) although no reasons for it were alleged. Some of my own acquaintances have been to me begging me to befriend them in the interests of their property by telling them something about it. I have satisfied them that it was all an illusion and have made as light of it as possible. This suspicion seems to have arisen from something said by Corbet or those who are with him, to the effect that, if his mission was not successful, the Queen could not avoid placing forces in the States to assist or protect Orange, but it is nothing but gossip of the people and of distrustful merchants. The general opinion is that Orange will come to a speedy and bad end, and some people talk of sheltering him here and others at Embden, as he dares not fly to Germany and the Danes will not think of receiving him, as it was said here they would do. Moreover, the French cannot give him hospitality and the English will hardly dare to do so. All those who understand the matter affirm that his Excellency is pressing him in such a way that, when Ziericzee is lost, which, with God's help, it will be, he and his will be desperate, and I am assured that if he can safely abandon the States, he would fly hither or to some other safe place, to which course he is persuaded especially by a cook of his, who has an estate of 300*l.* a year, and is his close confidant and the only person in whom he dares to trust, for if his Council imagined that he intended to escape they would kill him or surrender him to us. This account has been given to me word for word by a trustworthy person who says that he knows him (Orange) to be so hardly pressed that, if his Majesty were to offer him clemency and mercy, he would accept them and abandon the cause, to which he has so often said that he was wedded. I am told that in Ziericzee, the principal members of his Council, the most obstinate of his adherents and the flower of his soldiery, are collected, and if, which God grant, the same happens to them as to the people of Haarlem, great confusion will fall upon his cause. It is said that all Zealand is dismayed, as there is little defence in the towns and the sea forces have melted away insensibly, so that if his Excellency follows them up afloat, as it is believes he intends to do, a speedy and bad end will surely reach them, especially if eight or ten ships like those of Pedro de Valdés were to come this spring to the Channel. As the ports here are secure for them and victuals obtainable at fair price, this, it is thought, would finish the business and, even if the rebel sea forces were not augmented, the fishing boats and others might be followed and all supplies of victuals prevented from reaching the rebels from England, the Queen and Council having already forbidden victuals to be sent to them openly.

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I will give the answer in general terms, as I am instructed, to the sailors and others who offer service.

Colonel Chester and the gentleman sent by the Queen to Orange have not returned but are expected daily.

A man from the neighbourhood of Dortrecht tells me that the people there are so determined in their obstinate defence and treason that they are collecting forty thousand florins a month for the expense of holding out, and he says that before Ziericzee was surrounded, seven of the richest people there were taken to Middleburg as they were considered suspect and desirous of submitting to the King. It is said amongst the rebels here that Hermanus, their great preacher, has arrived here, but is considered certain that he is still in Ziericzee with the rest of the rogues.—London, 10th December 1575.

17 Dec. **433.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

I sent my last statements on the 5th and 10th ultimo. Since then all is tranquil here and there is nothing fresh to report. The answer given in Flanders to the envoy Corbet who is expected, or has arrived here, has changed the aspect of matters, and I am informed from a good quarter that, as they have not been able to compass what they desired, namely, that forces should be placed in Holland and Zealand with the connivance of the Queen, they will now try to do it without her aid. In the meanwhile, the ships they had sent out with this object have been recalled and are now with the rest. The person who gives me this information assures me that there is great diversity of opinion amongst the people here; some say that, as Orange is certain to be ruined, since it is sure that neither France nor Denmark will help him, he should be openly assisted from here, whilst others advocate a contrary course for fear that, in such case, total ruin might come to them through Ireland, Scotland, or the North, where much discontent exists. They are therefore in suspense, although their rejoicing is incredible that Ziericzee should have been revictualled. They are daily expecting the arrival of Chester, Hastings, and others, who were sent to Orange, and who they say left there some time ago and have been lost in a storm. If they were lost it would be a just fate as they are ministers of evil. News comes from Flanders by every post that there is a fear amongst the merchants that some new dissension will break out between their Majesties, and the English there are selling their properties at great loss, the Flemings doing the same here. They all affirm that forces are to be sent from here to seize Holland and Zealand, and fear that great evils will arise in consequence. It is also publicly asserted that a great councillor has divulged that his Majesty has used very hard words to the ambassador Cobham respecting the action of the Queen, saying that he could not tolerate her unneighbourly conduct in helping Orange. There are many bad people in this city who have much influence on the Council and are trying to stir up dissension, and these it is who are making this assertion, saying that Cobham is returning with some such reply. Amongst other things, persons in authority had, it is said, ordered Captain Vaughan, who commands the "Castle of

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Comfort," which was off the Isle of Wight with our fleet, to seize as many of our ships as he could and take them into Flushing, where he was to serve the Prince of Orange with his vessel, which is a very powerful one. It is said that he did not do this in consequence of certain hindrances, but in pursuance of the same policy, they have recently captured a servant of Lord Windsor, who had served in Flanders, because he was leaving, taking with him in his ship to Flanders sixty mariners and a certain Captain Smith, who had also served in Flanders. He had taken one of the Rochelle ships and had been driven into Falmouth with his prize by a storm. They took his prize from him, arrested him, and he is now in danger of being hanged, on the charge of being a pirate; but the worst crime they will find in him is that he served us in Flanders. These people here are so zealous in all that touches this question that I am assured that if they do not openly send forces to the States they will soon find some new means of helping Orange underhand.

Fresh news comes every hour and, since closing this, I have received trustworthy information that on Thursday last the Queen very loudly declared that she was against sending forces openly to Zealand and Holland. She entered her chamber alone, slamming her door after her and crying out that they were ruining her over this business, and those who were there, her ladies-in-waiting and others, were much distressed, saying that if she did not open the door they would burst it open, as they could not bear her to be alone in such trouble. Her grief arose from her having received news that Orange was sending to her, with Chester and Hastings, Aldegonde, and Count Culdenburg, and another of the principal persons of his States, who were all in Flushing awaiting on opportunity for passing over. It is supposed they came to offer on behalf of Orange the possession of Zealand and Holland to the Queen, and as it is expected that when Ziericzee surrenders, Orange will not be able to resist longer, this will be carried into effect, If they determine upon it, I am told by those who know, that all the ports will be closed, ships and men will be sent within a fortnight and possession will be taken before news of the intention can leave the country.—London, 17th December 1575.

20 Dec. **434.**

The above is a copy. Since then I take this opportunity of a safe messenger to Flanders to say that the coming of persons I have mentioned as being sent as an embassy by Orange to the Queen is now made public. The merchants are so scandalized at the news that the general talk amongst them and the people at large is of the tribulation which they expect to come of it. The Court arrives to-day at Hampton Court, where the whole of the Council is ordered to meet to-morrow to discuss this matter before the arrival of the envoys. Some are of the same opinion that I am, namely, that these people will not determine to seize Holland and Zealand by force; but if they attempt it, it is to be expected that God will deprive them of understanding, so that they may be ruined where they hope to be saved. Outward appearances, nevertheless, would seem to indicate that they intend to attempt the affair, and it is

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now publicly said that the envoys only await favourable weather to come from Flushing, disembarking at Berwick in the north for greater security. A friend of mine tells me that the earl of Essex, who has arrived from Ireland offers to command the enterprise. He is the most passionate of all the heretics here, and very affectionate and familiar, by letters, with the Count Palatine. He is the man who came from Ireland so crestfallen at the ill-success of his adventure there, and on arriving at home found the shameful news about his own house, that I have mentioned. It is to be hoped that his bad intentions and worse actions will meet with their just reward.

Since writing the above I learn that those who are to come hither are Count Culdenburg, Councillor Aldegonde, Paul Buiz, and Secretary Tzuits. They left Flushing six days ago in four ships of war, but were driven back to the island by contrary winds.

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1 Jan. **435.**

The above is a copy of what I sent by the last ordinary courier. Although it was said, with very little appearance of truth, that some personages were coming hither from the Court of France, it has turned out true, and news now comes that some of them have already landed in this country. The principal of them is a French gentleman, who comes on his King's behalf, called M. de la Porte, and he is accompanied as guide by M. de la Mothe, who was recently ambassador here, by another envoy who comes from the duke of Alençon, and by a representative of the prince of Condé. If they are not all disembarked they are on their way, and the object of their coming is presumably to negotiate some important agreement with this Queen, and at the same time to deal with those who are expected here from the prince of Orange. It is generally believed that the object is to forward their attempts against the States of Flanders.* News comes from France that they were again treating for a suspension of hostilities there, and that the reiters would halt in Lorraine, in order either to enter France, if no agreement were come to, or to turn against the States, according to the resolution which may be adopted between these Frenchmen, Orange and this Queen. It is just asserted that the people from the prince of Orange have also landed, and the general opinion of well-informed persons is that the object of this assembly is to perturb the States with all their forces, in union with the reiters. Rumours are current here that a partition is to be effected between this Queen and them, and much is to be feared from such a sudden meeting. I shall learn what their intentions are and will report all I hear. I send this letter after the courier who left yesterday, in order that the sinister plots of these people may be known; although, no doubt, our ambassador in France will also send information upon the subject.

* The real objects of this mission are set forth in Castelnau's memoirs. Catharine's idea was to heal the troubles in France by again pressing the marriage of Elizabeth with Alençon.

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2 Jan. **436.**

The above is a copy of my two former letters, and I now have to report that those who come from Orange arrived at Gravesend last night. Colonel Chester and Hastings remained behind at Gravesend, the former going straight to Court, and the latter coming here and lodging in the house of Dr. Wilson; Captain Hutt (?) and others who came with them coming to their own houses in London. As they come on an evil errand, they are allowed to remain there until orders come from the Court, and the people are closely watching the effect of their coming. I expect to have full information of their movements and negotiations, of which I will send advice by ordinary or special post.

Some of the French have also arrived, but the ambassadors have not crossed yet, although they are expected every week, and I believe they will be here shortly. They are bringing a letter of credit on an Italian here. In order to lead public opinion astray, they give out that they are coming in order to settle, with the Queen's intercession, an agreement between the king of France and his rebels,* but no dependence can be placed safely upon the assertions of evil-minded and passionate people, and fears may be entertained of some great plot against the States.

I am told that some Scotch soldiers have landed at Brille, no doubt a portion of the two thousand men which Colonel Balfour went to raise in Scotland.

News has arrived that more than thirty sail of armed ships ha left Flushing with the intention of sparing no ship, French or English, which might be bound for Spain.—London, 2nd January 1576.

9 Jan. **437.** Antonio de Guaras to (Zayas ?).

On the 25th, 31st ultimo, and 1st instant, I sent my last reports, giving advice that the envoys from Orange had arrived here on the 2nd instant. Their names are M. de Aldegonde, Paul Buiz, M. de la Garde, and Dr. Maldesen, with about ten people of less importance sent with them by the States, and some servants. They came in two war ships, accompanied by the English Colonel Chester, Hastings, Captain Hutt (?), and Rogers, all of them equally good, or rather bad. The English left the others quietly at Gravesend, Chester going post to Court, Hastings unostentatiously coming here to Dr. Wilson's house, and the other two coming to their homes in London. I give these details in order that their objects may be divined. The envoys from Orange remained until orders were sent from Court as to their lodging. They were instructed to go alone and unaccompanied by any of the English who had brought them over, to stay in the house of the Flemish postmaster, in order that the people might think that they had come hither without being summoned. They applied for audience and left yesterday for the Court, accompanied by two courtiers sent for the purpose.

* Dr. Dale had proposed this course to Catharine de Medici, but she had peremptorily rejected it. She told him the only way to obtain peace was for his mistress to desist from helping the rebels. If this were done no mediation would be required.

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On the 6th instant the ambassadors from France arrived, M. de la Porte and M. de la Mothe, and they also were informed yesterday that audience would be granted to them. On the same day Harry Cobham arrived in Court from Spain, and the only person now wanting is Corbet, in order that they may all put their heads together to disturb the States. No doubt in two or three days we shall hear something of the intentions of all parties. It is openly asserted that the object of Orange's envoys is to offer the Queen possession of a large part of Holland and Zealand, and it is believed that the French are in league with them to this end. Five or six envoys have also been sent from Orange to the king of France, they having already landed at Calais. It is believed that the matter will be more maturely dealt with later by the dispatch hither from France of the Count de Nesle and another personage from Holland. I also hear that the Flemings are bringing a very beautiful watch sent from Orange to the Queen, as a sort of emblem to remind her of the opportunity presented at this time. They are instructed to inform the Queen of the object of their embassy in a speech, but they have been given to understand that they must put it in writing, and in the form of a petition, as it is a business which touches so closely the interests of this State. Nothing else is spoken of all over the country, and I am assured that, even though these people might so far forget themselves as to send overt help to the States, which can hardly be believed, Parliament will not confirm such action. The Parliament is summoned for the 8th February. When the object of the embassy is explained, we shall know something about it, as I have people closely attached to the envoys in my interest, from whom I shall hear what can be learned. I have already received from one of them the Latin document which I send to his Excellency for his perusal, and to be afterwards forwarded with this letter. It is publicly asserted that his Excellency is pressing the rebels so closely that Orange and his people have given themselves up for lost during the coming summer, unless France and England will help them with national forces, as little assistance can be expected either from Scotland or Denmark. They are in great fear for Dortrecht, as they say that, although it is not besieged, our people who are lodged in the neighbourhood are troubling them sorely, and great complaints are made of the Germans near who are stopping communication by way of the Rhine. The suffering of all the people in the rebel districts, in consequence of the heavy impositions upon them, is terrible, and yet Orange and his friends are extremely pressed for money, so that all these bad people are murmuring greatly. All those who come from there agree that, if they lose Zierickzee all will be lost, although a good friend of mine tells me that by means of very light boats, which can be carried on a man's back, they enter and leave the place easily by the dykes and canals, carrying the boats when necessary. It is said that they are arranging to enter the place in these boats in great numbers at the full moon, and the boats are now being prepared in Flushing. From the said place (Flushing) five-and-twenty sail, well equipped, have recently left, and are now in the Channel awaiting the ships

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which are expected from Andalucia and Bordeaux. All the Councillors of the Queen have been summoned to Court, where they now are, and a committee of them has been appointed to debate and reply to the pretensions of the envoys; the committee consisting of Lord Chancellor Bacon, Lord Treasurer Burleigh, the earl of Leicester, and Secretary Walsingham.

Since closing this letter we learn that the two French ambassadors were with the Queen yesterday for more than two hours, but the envoys of Orange only had an interview with the committee.

It is now publicly affirmed that the French ambassadors do not come with any evil designs against the States, but only with the regard to the suspension of hostilities in France, and to again raise the question of a marriage with the duke of Alençon. But it is all dissimulation, and although it is said that they will return in a week, I have information which leads me to believe otherwise. The offer of the envoys from Holland has made so much noise at Court that some people believe that the Queen will accept it, or much evil will arise therefrom, whilst others think that the acceptance would be dangerous to them, which is quite true. Those who know, affirm that the business is still in suspense, and no decision has been arrived at. Every day more will be known and I will duly report.—London, 9th January 1576.

28 Jan. **438.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

Some days ago Mr. Cobham informed me in the name of the Queen and Council that they would be very pleased to hear that Hawkins (?) and Tayler, and three of their company, shipmasters, had been set at liberty. They have been imprisoned in Seville for some time by the Holy Office. The Queen has since learnt that the ship and merchandize referred to in the enclosed English petition (a Latin translation of which, sent to me by one of the Queen's secretaries, is also enclosed) have been detained in Cadiz, and Cobham has again addressed me upon the subject. He assures me that any favour shown in this matter will be fully taken into account in the discussion of State affairs, and has begged me most urgently to write to this effect. I replied that, in matters of justice, and especially those under the jurisdiction of the Holy Tribunal, I could not do anything more than send a message through your worship, stating the case, in the hope that you might address the proper quarters with the view to favour being shown.—London, 28th January 1576.

1 Feb. **439.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

On the 28th ultimo I sent my last report. I subsequently informed his Excellency that M. de Champigny* had been with Lord Burleigh for nearly two hours, and the details of the inter-

* Perennot, Sieur de Champigny, Governor of Antwerp, a brother of Cardinal de Granvelle. A few months after the date of this letter he headed the citizens against the sacking and plundering of Antwerp, by the Spanish troops, and thenceforward adopted the popular cause.

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view will have been conveyed to his Excellency by M. de Champigny. I afterwards had a conversation with Lord Burleigh, who told me that he was very glad to have heard from his Excellency through so important a gentleman, who seemed to be equally dignified, business-like, and frank in his communications. In the course of conversation I said that as he, Burleigh, had been certainly instrumental in settling past dissensions, I trusted that he would at the present juncture be the means of preventing the carrying out of the intentions which were publicly stated to be held by the envoys of Orange, to offer to the Queen the possession of the patrimonial States of our King, and I hoped that the Queen would never accept such an offer, nor send either public or private forces to the country, seeing the ancient alliance, respect, and love, which his Majesty bore towards her. He replied that the French were aiming at this, and, if the Queen assented to it, it would only be in his Majesty's own interests, whereupon I said that the French would never be parties to enter the States, as they had experience of the attempt of Genlis, and especially what had taken place with Ludovic.* I said that Orange could not surrender the States by way of France. Burleigh replied that they (the French) could go through Calais, and I said that he knew as well as I did that the French had still less chance of entering by that way, as they could only do so by the express consent of the Queen, who was paramount in the Channel. He said that the friendship which the royal house of England had always held with the house of Burgundy would cause the Queen to favour the latter in the preservation of its privileges, but, that foreign intruders had trenched upon these privileges to such an extent, as not only to cause grave injury to the States, but to jeopardise England as well. I said I was surprised that he should call Spaniards foreign intruders, as they were the subjects of the same Prince, who possessed the States, whereupon he replied angrily, "You people "are of such sort that wherever you set foot no grass grows, and "you are hated everywhere." I affected to laugh at this, and said that this was like the Romans, who were hated all over the world in consequence of their bravery. As for the French, I said, our King's forces would certainly prevent them from entering the States, and if the Queen, his Majesty's sister and ally, did not help our rebels, Orange would try to escape and abandon the States in a very few months. I said that, when order was duly restored there, no evil would ever come to England therefrom by his Majesty's wish. He would rather defend this country against the French and Scotch, who were its ancient enemies. Burleigh replied, that Holland and Zealand would as jealously hold their privileges inviolate, as the kingdom of Aragon did, and, with the

* Count Louis of Nassau had been killed at the battle of Mooch in 1574, in his attempt to invade the Netherlands with German troops. The reference to Genlis appears to be less apposite, as that Huguenot commander with his French Protestant force had been perfectly successful in aiding Count Louis to enter and capture Mons, although the place was subsequently lost and its defenders massacred.

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help of neighbouring countries, would be successful in doing so; since one of these privileges was, that if the Sovereign violated the constitution another Prince could be chosen, and the Hollanders were therefore rightly in arms. As to the kingdom of Aragon, I said, it was only right that, as God had given us intelligence and reason, we should look at things according to the facts, and he should know that Aragon formerly was a free dominion, where the King was elected by the people, always under the condition that he should defend their privileges. In memory of this, the Cortes go through the ceremony of election to show that the Prince held his power by that tenure, and not by conquest or inheritance. I said, in conformity therewith, the Princes have preserved intact the privileges of the people, and at present the King is more feared and beloved there that in any other part of his dominions, and the people are more ready to die in his service than any others of his subjects. There is no thought of religious dissension or sectarianism there, and all are one, both in temporal and spiritual affairs; whilst the States, full of rebels and heretics as they are, were patrimonial dominions and not elective like Aragon. To take up arms, therefore, against their anointed Lord and King was the work of traitors, and he, Burleigh, knew full well that for a subject to take up arms against his Prince was to resist the will of God himself. Burleigh repeated to me afterwards more than once, "You know "very well, as I have often told you, in the time of the duke of "Alba and since, that the Queen has frequently offered to inter- "cede and settle these dissensions with all honour and decorum, "but her offers have not been accepted, nor her goodwill recog- "nized, and she will not now intervene, unless she knows from "the King that her good offices will be welcome." As I have instructions not to reply on this point, but only to listen and report what he says, I ceased the conversation and left him. He complained greatly regarding the English prisoners of the Holy Office, and said that the Queen would again write to his Majesty about the fresh arrests made. This interview with Burleigh took place on the 30th ultimo, and I at once gave an account of it to M. de Champigny, as I do of everything that happens, according to instructions. From the conversation, it may concluded that they have agreed with Orange, and, if no change is made in their intentions, they will help the rebels secretly. If, however, they see Orange in danger of complete defeat and ruin, they will aid him openly; although it is difficult to believe how the passions of these people can lead them so far, and it can only be hoped that it may bring about their own perdition. Please God that they may be punished, and this country reformed by some such unexpected means as this, if they undertake so unjust a cause as to seize what does not belong to them.

Two ships, with thirty pieces of artillery made of cast iron, are leaving here, and I have written to Juan Martinez de Recalde. The envoys of Orange are here with the two ships which are at their bidding, and the French ambassadors are going to Court to-morrow to take leave.—London, 1st February 1576.

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6 Feb. **440.** Antonio de Guaras to (Zayas?).

On the 28th ultimo I sent my last report, and on the 1st instant I also wrote by a special courier sent by M. de Champigny to his Excellency, giving an account of my conversation with Lord Burleigh.

On the 5th instant, M. de Champigny was received by the Queen, and when he entered she received him with so much coolness that it was evident what her answer to his embassy was to be. M. de Champigny will give particulars of it to his Excellency, and it will be seen that it was quite in accord with Burleigh's expressions to me. The substance of it is that they are resolved to send troops, stores, and victuals to Orange at once. Six hundred men are already prepared for embarkation, and eighty English seamen and forty pieces of cast-iron artillery are also to be sent in two other ships, accompanied by some of those who came with Aldegonde. The latter with Paul Buiz remains here, attended by the two armed ships in this river which brought them over. The other two commissioners returned to the Prince in order to give him an account of their embassy. M. de Champigny with his great ability discussed the matter most prudently with the Queen, trying to persuade her to preserve her old alliance, and in the whole business has shown himself to be a gentleman of high intellect and talent. The Council is resolved, however, to help Orange and, in due time, to send their forces and take possession of the places agreed upon in Holland and Zealand, as the Queen clearly and distinctly replied that she would not allow the Spaniards to take away the privileges of her neighbours nor commit the extortions they were doing; because, if once they trampled the States under foot, they would assail this country, as she is informed they intend to do. This being so great a danger to her Crown she will oppose them with a sufficient force, as she distinctly told M. de Champigny, and as, in full detail, he will inform his Excellency. It will thus be seen that the information I obtained on the matter was correct from the first, and as the Queen and Council have resolved openly to resist the forces of the King, it may be convenient in due time for me to approach Burleigh, as if of my own accord, respecting suspension of arms or other matters in the King's interest; in which case I will diligently carry out what I am ordered to do, although I will make no move towards him without instructions. It must be noted that everything depends upon Lord Burleigh's opinion, and we can only hope that their own blindness may bring about their ruin as they rush in this way into so important a business, exposing thereby their lives and property. The traitor Aldegonde and his companion await here the opening of Parliament, which will be in about a week, and it is believed that these affairs will be discussed therein; and that, after the causes of the action has been explained to them, all the estates will consent to leave the matter in the hands of the Queen and Council.

The French ambassadors have taken leave and depart to-day or to-morrow. As their pretensions against the States are based on a

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marriage between this Queen and the duke of Alençon, everything remains in suspense. It will not be carried out, and is a hollow negotiation all through, each side distrusting the other, the object of all, however, being to cast out the evil from France and trouble the States.

Two ships loaded only with arms and victuals for the Indies are leaving Plymouth, and I am informed that a person in high authority is promoting the expedition for his private profit.—London, 6th February 1576.

8 Feb. **441.** Antonio de Guaras to (Zayas ?).

On the 1st and 6th instant I sent my last reports by special messenger despatched by M. de Champigny to his Excellency, and I send this in order that the bearer may not leave without a letter from me. M. de Champigny writes to the Grand Commander. He has greatly shined at Court and in this city, by reason of his brilliant talents, of which people speak with admiration, and rightly so as God has endowed him with such high intelligence and quickness of apprehension. His management of his embassy fully justifies the choice made of him by his Excellency, and affairs here will probably offer opportunities of his coming backwards and forwards several times to guide them. Certainly, if the rulers here can ever be brought to have one spark of respect more than they have now, it may be hoped that Champigny, with his grand dexterity and prudence, will persuade them to better things. As far as can be seen at present, there is no sign of any change of purpose, and they are now openly carrying out their preparations to effect the succour and protection of Orange and his people. They are publicly sending the stores, munitions, and troops I have mentioned, and eighty English sailors, who have only been detained hitherto by contrary winds. They have, however, begun to drop down the river with one of their two ships and two smaller vessels, in which they will go, and I am told that the other ship will accompany them. It is understood that Aldegonde and his companions will await the sitting of Parliament which opens to-day. It is known that the intention is for them to present their petitions to the House with great lamentations, begging the Queen and the Estates to take them under their protection, they promising duly to defray the costs. They have drawn up a fresh pedigree, by which they try to prove that a part of the States belongs to the crown of England, and I am told that a pernicious book is published to persuade the people of the justice of their cause, containing only the most unheard-of falsehood and wickedness. The principal object is the expulsion of his Majesty's forces and the opposition to the foreign intruders, as they call the Spaniards. They act with incredible deceit, and talk of sending a person to the King, with the idea that a justification will be listened to.—London, 8th February 1576.

11 Feb. **442.** Antonio de Guaras to (Zayas ?).

On the 6th and 8th I sent my last reports, copies having been sent by way of Paris. M. de Champigny has not requested

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audience since then, pending a reply to the despatches sent by him to his Excellency. If the Queen sends for his Lordship to request a reply to-morrow, Sunday, he will report.

On the 9th instant Parliament opened, and when the lay members had taken their seats a gentleman named Wenford* was the first to speak. He said he hoped that in accordance with the ancient freedom of Parliament each member would be allowed to express his opinion openly as they had all met together for the service of God and the Commonwealth. He then continued, "but "I hear there are some murmurs outside to the effect that nothing "is to be undertaken here except in conformity with the wish of "the Queen, and that the decision of the House should only be in "harmony with his Majesty's wishes. There is also a rumour "that Parliament is not to discuss religious questions, excepting "with the consent of the ecclesiastical branch and the peers." Wenford then declared that this was against the ancient privileges of Parliament, which were to the effect that each member might freely declare his own opinion. He then encouraged his hearers to speak out clearly and distinctly what they thought, even touching the royal person, the Crown, or the Commonwealth. Mr. Hatton, the Controller, and the treasurer of the household, answered these scandalous words, saying that they would live and die for the Queen, and were shocked at such seditious expressions being used. Wenford was afterwards called before the Council, where he again displayed his audacity, and was sent to the Tower, although he was constant in his assertion that a wrong was being done him, as in Parliament everyone had a right to pronounce his opinion unreservedly. This beginning has caused scandal to many, and has given rise to an order that no Bill shall be submitted unless it is signed by two commissioners appointed for the purpose, in order that nothing shall be discussed in the House except by the Queen's will.

The two ships and smaller vessels, with Orange's envoys have not sailed yet, in consequence of contrary weather. In addition to the troops and stores they had on board, a hundred pairs of pikes from the Tower were put on board of them last night, as well as four great guns of cast-iron, and some more cannon balls, as I am informed by a person who was present. Aldegonde and his companions remain here in pursuit of their object, and it is evident that they will present their petition to Parliament. It is generally discredited that the Queen will send any of her forces to the States, although her own declaration and those of Burleigh and other zealots must surely be believed, and I cannot but think that they will do so. Although matters here are constantly changing, there is no doubt that forces will be openly sent to the number of five or six thousand soldiers to help Orange against his Majesty; although, to justify themselves, a suspension of hostilities may be requested, and an excuse made that the Queen has taken this

* Peter Wentworth, member for Tregony, a puritan. His imprisonment only lasted three days, until the 12th February, but he had to beg for clemency on his knees.

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course to prevent the French, the Scotch, or the Danes from intervening, and in protection of her privileges, the desire being that his Majesty's Spanish forces should leave the country, and these and similar absurdities being mere subterfuges to attain their end. It is said that a personage will go to the King from here to assure him that the Queen has been moved to act as she has done in the interests of his Majesty's patrimonial dominion and the good of the crown of England, but it is all for the purpose of wasting time in deceit and artful trickery. The merchants here have furnished Orange's envoys with two thousand five hundred crowns, for which they have received assignments payable in Flushing in money or merchandise, guaranteed by the rebel Flemings residing here. I have just heard from a friend that Colonel Chester and Captain Morgan have been instructed to raised two thousand soldiers, and the whole business is now so shamefully open that no doubt the Queen will shortly send her own forces, under the pretence of succouring Ziericzee, and driving away his Majesty's troops. More will be discovered every day, and I will carefully report what I hear.—London, 11th February 1576.

18 Feb. **443.** Antonio de Guaras to (Zayas ?).

On the 11th instant I sent my last report, and have since received by the ordinary courier his Excellency's letter of the same date, with a packet of papers for M. de Champigny, which I at once delivered. He has an appointment to-day with the Queen to discuss affairs. On other occasions the Queen signified to him, as subsequently did the Councillors, that they might be moved to send forces publicly to the States, but M. de Champigny's tact has since caused some appearance of hesitation about this decision, although Aldegonde and his companions are here pressing their claims upon Parliament. They have sent their two ships and three small vessels with the troops, guns, and munitions I have mentioned, but the ships are still detained in the river by bad weather, although with the first fair wind they will sail for Holland, as I am constantly informing Juan Martinez de Recalde. People from Norfolk report that troops were leaving there for Brille and Holland, and Colonel Chester will go thither in a week or ten days for the purpose of taking or sending over a number of them. The decision of the business here is still in suspense, as I am informed by a person who knows, and will depend mainly upon the outcome of the dissensions in France. These people here think that the blow struck by the man they called Navarre* will cause everything to turn out to their satisfaction, in which case aid will be publicly sent to the States. In the meanwhile they are wavering as to what they should do, and are entertaining M. de Champigny with generalities, as he will report fully. Parliament has not yet considered the claims of Orange's envoys, and is now busy discussing the subsidy to be voted. They have agreed already to a great persecution of the Catholics, who will

* Henry de Bourbon had escaped from Paris, renounced Catholicism, and raised his standard.

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not attend their churches, and have appointed a commissioner to proceed against them, in person and estate. It is thought that the Parliament will not last long.*

In this river and the ports near Falmouth they are very secretly equipping a fleet of ten sail for the Indies, persuaded by an Irishman named Captain John. He has recently arrived here from the Indies, where he has lived for the last fifteen years, and assures them that they will find much treasure there. It is to be supposed that steps will be taken to hinder them and that their voyage will be a bad one.

I send to his Excellency with this the copy of a letter written by the Queen to his Majesty, in order that, after reading it, he may forward it herewith.

A messenger has come to me from Rye, sent by Captain Hernando de Hoyos, saying that he was kept prisoner there, his sails taken away, arms and other things taken from his ship, and his crew ill-treated. He is the captain of a cutter with about thirty soldiers on board which recently left Dunkirk and was driven into Rye by a storm; I at once informed the Council of the matter and they gave me letters ordering the restoration of his vessel and property. I also obtained letters from lord Cobham, as the port is under his jurisdiction, in order that no difficulty should be raised by the justices and have provided the men with money for victuals, of which they were in great need. I hope they will therefore soon be allowed to leave after such an unwarrantable detention.

As M. de Champigny will report, he has just been to the Queen and was warmly welcomed when he presented the letter from his Majesty. She made very different professions from what she had formerly done, and no doubt M. de Champigny will write at length thereupon; but for all her fair words, I am informed by an eye-witness that last night they took out from the Tower and shipped for Holland, a hundred and fifty barrels of powder of a hundred-weight and a half each, as well as six great hampers of morrions.

I enclose a statement made by a soldier who has arrived here from Flushing.

Statement of a Soldier who left Flushing on the 14th of February 1576 and arrived here to-day, the 18th.

He says he was in Ziericzee from the beginning of the siege, and left with those who recently brought provisions into the place. There are in Ziericzee eleven standards of soldiers, fifteen hundred at most, and fifteen hundred burgesses capable of bearing arms, besides women and children. The want of victuals is so great that nothing but bread and beer is left, and not much of that; they are expecting shortly large supplies. In Flushing there was news of the arrival of the fleet from Antwerp at Bergen with the intention of capturing a place called Pieterhook on the island of Platen.

There are in the island nine standards of soldiers, about seven hundred, and it was said generally that if Orange did not shortly go to its aid the place would be lost. It was said that six hundred Scotsmen were expected. He affirms that the Flushing

* It was prorogued on the 15th March (Simon D'Ewes).

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people had made preparations to stop our fleet passing Bergen, but that with the exception of a few Scotsmen their only hope of succour was from here. There are in Flushing two standards, two hundred soldiers, and a number of burgesses; in Middleburg three standards of worn-out troops, &c.

28 Feb. **444.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to (ZAYAS?).

On the 18th instant I sent my last report, and in consequence of contrary winds this week's post has not come from Flanders, nor has the reply expected by M. de Champigny arrived. The latter has been with the Queen and several times with the Council. He will report at length the many discussions he has had with them for the purpose of ascertaining their intentions with regard to sending or otherwise public or covert help to Orange and his friends. I believe that in answer to some of his questions they reply that they will not do so, whilst on other occasions they openly assert that they will not tolerate that Spaniard should bring under subjection the country which Orange traitorously holds. Amongst other things, they say that the Queen is willing to act as intercessor in the matter and to arrange a very honourable peace, to the full satisfaction of the King, and at the same time to take away from the rebels their cause of complaint. The business, however, seems not to ripen, because the Queen wants to be sought with prayers, and I understand that she is going to send Henry Cobham to his Excellency about it. In short, the affair is not now in a condition for immediate resolution, as they have their eyes on events in France, Genoa, and the Turk, and I do not believe that M. de Champigny will take any other answer than the only one that they themselves know how to give, namely, that perhaps they will and perhaps they will not. The matter has been discussed in Parliament, where they have offered the Queen the present subsidy, and much more, if she will accept the offer made to her by Orange. Others replied that the business should be left to the Queen and Council, and it was decided that Parliament itself should not further deal with it. The Captain of the Guard* came yesterday to visit the ambassador, and as he is very friendly and gracious to me, he took me aside and told me of the great satisfaction with which the Queen and Councillors regarded his Lordship (Champigny), and particularly commended his desire for peace and concord. He said the Queen was very willing to be a faithful intercessor in order to bring about a peaceful settlement of these affairs which, he said, was desirable for all parties; whereas if, on the contrary, matters were differently arranged, the dominions which Orange holds could not be recovered by us at a cost of twenty millions. When I said whoever prevented their recovery would find little repose at home, he replied laughingly that the Queen of England had incredibly great forces, but he hoped that, notwithstanding the present fears of trouble, all would turn out well. He is a gentleman of distinguished position and desires, above all things, harmony between the two crowns, but others with different views are constantly in conference with Alde-

* Sir Christopher Hatton.

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gonde and his friends. Their ships and troops have left and will now be in Holland. License has been given to a man to take thither the carcasses of a hundred oxen and many live sheep. There is no news about Aldegonde's departure; he is very busy at present drawing up a pedigree to persuade the Queen that the States of Holland and Zealand belong to the Crown of England. A gentleman has arrived here, sent by the duke of Alençon to the Queen with despatches in pursuance of his object.

I have received news from the captain of the cutter detained at Rye that since sending the orders of the Council about it they have restored everything to him excepting a bronze gun which bore the arms of England, and I have sent again to the Council about this. I feel sure they will surrender it.

Besides the English soldiers who went from here, as reported, they are now equipping and arming three or four hundred more, poor looking fellows, Walloons, Flemings, English, and French; and a friend of mine who has been amongst them tells me that with these and the former levy, with a few Scotsmen who they say have arrived in Holland, they are going to attack the new fort which was built last year, and if they cannot do this, to prevent victuals reaching St. Aland at Ziericzee.

I have heard from another friend from Ziericzee that the burgesses were talking of surrender, but a captain had begged them not to think of such a thing, as great help was expected from England, and it would be disgraceful to surrender before even they were bombarded. My friend says that the two expeditions which introduced stores had brought away many women and children, and that there was plenty of corn, and beer made from rain water, as well as some barrels of butter, but no meat or fish.—London, 28th February 1576.

6 March. **445.** Antonio de Guaras to (Zayas?).

On the 28th ultimo I sent my last report and have little now to say, as M. de Champigny will have to write at length regarding his negotiations with the Queen and Council. The substance of his communication is that she displays great willingness to take part in bringing about an honourable and advantageous settlement of the troubles, to the satisfaction of his Majesty, and the submission of Orange and his people. Her desire is to send Cobham or some one else to his Excellency with this message, and to arrange a suspension of hostilities at once It is to be hoped that the Queen's good intentions may produce a favourable result. Aldegonde and his companions are still at Court and there is no talk of their leaving; in the meanwhile troops and stores are constantly being sent to Holland and Zealand, probably without the Queen's knowledge, as M. de Champigny tells me that the Queen assured him two days ago that not a single soldier, and no guns or ammunition have ever been sent to the aid of the rebels from here in the Grand Commander's time, whereas in Haarlem, Tregus, Holland, and Zealand, four thousand of such men have lost their lives, and if it were not for the incessant aid in victuals and stores sent from here, the enemy would have been routed and overcome long ago. In a

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port in the north eight or ten ships have arrived with Scotch soldiers who were paid their wages there and sailed for Brille and Holland.

When M. de Champigny first arrived here they received him very sourly, as they thought that he brought some message different from that with which he is entrusted, but his great talent has changed them and he is now much caressed by the Queen and Council. Mr. Hatton, the Captain of the Guard, has entertained him like a prince, although lampoons greatly libelling Hatton have been circulated, of which M. de Champigny has a copy. They have not yet given a decided reply but no doubt M. de Champigny will manage the matter as such a great gentleman and wise servant of his Majesty should do.

Parliament has granted the subsidy to the Queen to the amount of six hundred thousand crowns, and those who wished to raise the question of the succession have been silenced, as also have those who wished to jeopardise the queen of Scotland. It is also hoped that others who are trying to pass new laws against the Catholics will be frustrated, and that the Parliament will close in ten or twelve days.—London, 6th March 1576.

24 March. **446.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

I sent my last report on the 12th instant, which I hope will have arrived safely. Copy is sent enclosed and the dispatch of this has been delayed until the departure of M. de Champigny, who leaves to-day. There is a constant stream of soldiers going over to Orange as well as artillery and stores. Aldegonde and his companions are still at Court promoting their treason, but the arrival of his Lordship (Champigny) here was so opportune that his great talent and valour have impressed the Queen and Council every day more, and they are now making demonstrations of their wish to preserve friendship and kindliness with our King. God send that this may be so, particularly since the Queen is making such earnest offers to bring about a settlement, and shows by her actions her great desire to please his Majesty.

Affairs are now in such a position that I have the greatest hope that the project of which I have so often written may be brought about easily, without costing anything until the service is done, in accordance with the plan I sent, and if it had not been for the death of the Grand-Commander it would have been settled already. When the new Governor arrives, I will give him information, and on no account shall I dream of conveying the matter to the Council of Flanders or to anyone else of their way of thinking. I only write this because of my great hope of being able to promote so notable an object. My meaning will be understood although I only send a good hand plan. As it is of so much importance I do not dare to mention it by name, but hope that it will be borne in mind, and the new Governor, who will come from Spain, be instructed to entertain the matter.*

The Regent of Scotland is governing entirely in the interests of the English, and a few pieces of money have been coined there, or rather here, bearing the inscription "*Jacobus Rex Scotia; Rex*

* The betrayal of Flushing, etc., by the English officers.

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Angliæ, protector de Hollandiæ et Zelandæ." The malice contained in this inscription is evident, and is intended to excuse the employment of Scotch and English forces in his Majesty's dominions, the using of the words "*Rex Angliæ*" being simply to throw dust in the eyes of the people. However amiable they may be to M. de Champigny, I have trustworthy information that they mean to attempt some great evil to the Netherlands, which intention is proved, as I have often pointed out, by the false money which they arranged to coin here, at (Scilly?) and in Scotland. They have done so and I send a specimen piece herewith. These wicked people will be the ruin of the world. They do not stop here for, by their heretical and diabolical arts, they persuade themselves that his Majesty (whom God preserve to us for many years) is to die before the 27th of June 1577, and, in the meanwhile, will be in sore danger. It is constantly being asserted at Court and elsewhere that he is already dead, and so with these vain and devilish hopes, in which they believe, they will continue to trouble the States. If it is expected that the Queen will bring about a settlement, time will prove to the contrary. They are rather plotting some new wickedness. This winter they were busy hatching a plan by which a score of men were to be sent to Scotland to steal the Prince and carry him to Friesland in order to raise up more discord, but the plan failed by reason of their fears. The Queen of Scotland is well, and the late King's sister died this week, leaving a daughter.—London, 24th March 1576.

26 April. **447.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

The enclosed is a copy of my letter sent viâ Flanders. I have now to report that some of the Queen's ships are being openly equipped, and a list has been made of seven hundred sailors for them, without counting officers and some soldiers, the object being for the ships to cruise in the Channel ready for any service that may be required of them. I do not know yet what this service will be. The Flushing people have liberated the flotilla that came from Bordeaux, but we have not learnt whether the rest of the ships detained in Ramequin have been liberated or not.

With regard to the matter of the plan of Flushing, I have had several conferences with Colonel Chester the Englishman, and have agreed that he and Colonel Daburd (Balfour?) of the Scotch forces will deliver the town of Flushing to his Majesty for three hundred thousand crowns and all the plunder that the soldiers can take. No part of the three hundred thousand crowns is to be paid until the town has been delivered into the hands of his Majesty's officers.

As the Colonels themselves have already agreed, the only thing wanting is the assent on the part of his Majesty, in order that the written agreement may be executed. There being no Governor, the matter apparently would have to be entrusted to the Commander of the fortress, Sancho de Avila, as the Council of Flanders is not to be trusted. They expect to carry the business through by pretending that all our forces are to go by land or sea to capture the isle of Walcheren or Zealand, which will certainly cause Orange

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to send a great force of English and Scotch to defend the island, who will be on our side, and we shall have the matter then in our own hands, as the inhabitants of Flushing are nearly all mariners who will have been sent away to prevent the disembarkation of men from our fleet. Orange, moreover, will send Colonel Daburd (Balfour ?) to defend Flushing and, as both of the Colonels think that Orange must shortly come to ruin, and they are only looking out for themselves, they may be depended upon to carry through this service by means of their captains and soldiers, whom they will carefully prepare. They stipulate that the sum mentioned is to be handed to them in Flushing itself on their delivering the place to his Majesty's officers, hostages being given by them for the peaceful possession of the town. It will be necessary for Sancho de Avila or some other person to be authorised to make the agreement and promise the payment on the surrender being made, and a person will be sent from here to negotiate it on behalf of the Colonels. It will be seen that this arrangement will totally ruin Holland and Zealand, and although the sum they ask is a large one, yet it will be the means of our recovering all the country, and will blight the bad intentions of the people here, as well as check the presumption of the French in desiring to set foot in the States. It will also prevent the expenditure of millions of money in continuing the war, and will utterly undo Orange and his friends. The Colonels are very determined to carry the matter through, in consideration of the great sum they ask and the booty they will get from the town. They are awaiting a reply, and are much grieved at the death of the Grand Commander. The messenger who takes this is going thither for his own affairs, and as he is faithful I write this in simple cipher thus openly. It must be borne in mind that, as the people here will continue to help the rebels as hitherto, it is only by some such means as this that we shall be able to complete the conquest of these traitors.

They have not yet given me an answer to his Majesty's letter, but when they do so, I will send it to the Secretary of the Council of Flanders, in order that they may see, if necessary, the answer given by the Queen.

Chester has sent some two hundred soldiers to Holland in the last three or four days. This does not square well with the Queen's assertions, but she probably does not know of it.—London, 26th April 1576.

28 July. **448.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

I sent my last report on the 21st instant and now have to say that the Queen's Vice-Admiral* arrived from Zealand three days ago accompanied by Beal, the secretary of the Council, who has been for some negotiating with Orange. The Queen abandoned her progress and hunting in order to return to the Palace here to await their arrival, the Council being also summoned. When these men had given an account of what had been done with Orange, the

* Sir William Winter.

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sorrow of the Queen and Council was very great and they at once gave orders for ten of the Queen's ships to be fitted out with the greatest expedition, and, at the same time, a general embargo has been placed on all ships in the country. Orders have been sent to the coast to bring into port all English ships coming from Spain and elsewhere, and a courier has been sent to Hamburg ordering that the ships there should be detained, and that no vessel should leave Antwerp for here, although many people believe that this courier will not be allowed to pass. The information brought by these men to the Queen is publicly stated to be that Orange has levied a forced loan, never to be paid, on the English merchants there, of thirty thousand pounds, on condition that he liberated their ships loaded with cloth, as he has done, assuring them that no ship shall go to Antwerp nor return without paying five per cent. duty on the merchandize. He has, however, refused to restore much of the property which he had stolen from the Englishmen. The Queen openly declared on her honour that she would be revenged upon him for this and other excesses, and according to appearances her intention is to send a strong force to Zealand for the purpose of seizing and holding it until these robberies are redressed. I wrote on the subject on the 17th and 27th of June, when I foretold what is now happening and mentioned the probability that the Queen would avenge herself on these bad people, as she herself told me she would. She said she considered them worse than wicked, and if things turn out as we expect, this will be a means of getting the Island (Zealand) surrendered to the King, as I am sure this Queen is wishful to please his Majesty in the matter. I will continue to report, although I expect that this courier will be stopped at Dover.

One of Orange's captains is here to receive four ships of his which were sieze in Falmouth the other day, but which are to be restored with all the stolen goods. Some of the Flushing people, having landed at Southampton the other day and committing robberies on shore, they have heen ordered to be set at liberty, which is incomprehensible.

(The enclosed document is with the above letter).

Since closing this letter, information reaches us from many sources that the arming of the Queen's ships and the embargoing of all vessels on the coast has not been ordered for the purpose of landing in Zealand but to go against Flushing. Opinions agree so much upon this that it is no doubt true, although time will show. I have been very anxiously awaiting the reply to the letter taken by Pedro de Barrientos on the 26th of April on the matter of which I wrote. The business is now ripe for execution and a person will leave for Antwerp about it in two days. I sincerely hope that it will be carried through successfully. I have been most careful not to mention it to any one, and have only written on the subject to Antwerp.*—London, 28th July 1576.

* In the handwriting of the King: "I do not know, or do not recollect, what affair he refers to. Let me know." The reference is to the proposed surrender of Flushing by Colonel Chester to the Spaniards.

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31 July. **449.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to ZAYAS.

On the 28th instant, I sent my last report by way of Flanders and a copy through Paris, by which road the present letter goes. The fickleness of people here causes me to write in the contrary fashion that I do. On the 25th instant, the resolute determination of the Queen was published to arm ten of her ships and thirty private ships to go against Flushing and land in the Island. On the 29th everything was changed to such an extent that Orange and his friends are no longer looked upon with enmity, and the embargo upon all ships on the coast has been raised, the arming of the Queen's and other vessels being abandoned. She left yesterday on her progress and hunting tour, and all the noise of last week has now come to nothing. I will give further details in my next as the bearer is obliged to go hurriedly, and I have not time to write at greater length now. I am greatly surprised that no reply has been sent to what I wrote on the 26th of April as the matter cannot be longer delayed it being now ripe for execution.—London, 31st July 1576.

450. SUMMARY of an ADDRESS from the QUEEN OF ENGLAND to his MAJESTY, dated Hampton Court, the 24th September 1576, and of the Memorial presented to the King therewith by the Queen's Ambassador, John Smith.

She begs his Majesty to receive and give credence to all that may be said or proposed to him by Mr. John Smith,* a gentleman of her family, towards the pacification and settlement of questions in Flanders and the tranquillisation of affairs.

She recalls frequently the many favours she formerly received from his Majesty, and has constantly endeavoured to benefit his interests, but, as her goodwill has not been duly appreciated, the results have not been commensurate with her desires. Wishing, however, to again display her sisterly affection in these new troubles, she had sent a gentleman to the States, where people were looking to her for help, for the purpose of learning from them the reason why they had taken up arms, and whether it was true that they were expecting aid from any other sovereign; at the same time admonishing them to submit themselves to his Majesty, whom otherwise she would be obliged to support.

In reply to this, the States shortly thereafter sent Baron D'Aubigny to assure her that their intention was not to disobey his Majesty in anything, but only to ask that the Spanish soldiers should be withdrawn in consequence of the injuries they had done them. They begged the Queen, in consideration of the old friendship and commercial connection between the countries, to intercede with his Majesty to pardon them and restore to them their ancient laws, customs, and privileges, which they enjoyed in the time of the Emperor, on their undertaking to pay all the salaries due to the foreign troops who were in the country.

In view of this and the apparent justice of their request she had decided to send and beg his Majesty to pardon them and receive

* Sir John Smith was a nephew of Jane Seymour and cousin-german of Edward VI.

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them again into his favour by her intercession, conceding to them what was just and reasonable in the exercise of his clemency and pity, as it is clear that, by this means, everything will be brought into accord and tranquillity.

29 Oct. **451.** The KING to ANTONIO DE GUARAS.

Master Miguel de Yerobi of Renteria in Guipuzcoa has stated to us that in the year 1568 he was on his way from Spain to the Netherlands in a ship belonging to Nicolas de Zabalaga, and they were obliged by contrary winds to take refuge in the port of Plymouth, where, after having supplied themselves with necessaries, they were about to sail when they were ordered by a warrant from my ambassador then in that country not to leave without further orders from him, and whilst they were waiting the ship and cargo were embargoed by the Queen; Yerobi himself owning, as he says, property in her to the amount of twelve hundred ducats. As in similar cases so much favour has been shown here to British subjects, it is only right that the Queen should reciprocate by doing the same for my vassals, and you will address her upon the subject and beg her to afford redress to this petitioner for the loss he has suffered, and you will also speak to the ministers about it if you consider necessary.—El Pardo, 29th October 1576.

3 Dec. **452.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to (ZAYAS ?).

The last report I sent on the 26th ultimo by the English ambassador, and I subsequently learnt of the arrival of Don Juan of Austria at Luxemburg. I have written to his Highness to-day, but, as it is my first letter, I send it in this form in order that he may be informed of the state of things here. I enclose copy herewith.

Isardo Capelo writes me the favour that your worship has done me about my house, and that my man Sancho de Leive was assisting in my business. God grant that I may be able to repay your goodness some day.—London, 3rd December.

3 Dec. **453.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to ZAYAS.

I wrote to-day by way of Paris, enclosing copy of the letter I had written to Don Juan of Austria, and I send another copy by sea though St. Sebastian saying as follows:

I have written to the governors of the city an account of affairs here, and I trust that they will have forwarded to your Highness the letters I sent on the 20th and 27th of October, giving an account of the approaches made towards me (*i.e.*, about the proposed intercession of the Queen) by the people here. Dr. Wilson, the Queen's ambassador, I believe, bore instructions to the same effect, and I believe that the sending of the ambassador from here to Spain was likewise principally with a similar object. The Queen will send a gentlemen of her Court named Sir Harry Lee to welcome your Highness.

All the English merchants are warned by the Court to withdraw their property from Antwerp in consequence of rumours of some fresh trouble. This is not groundless, because the councillors of

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this Queen are trying their hardest to bring it about by offers of money and forces to assure and assist the States, in order that they may come to no agreement with his Majesty. To this end they are resolute (although they speak fairly to us) in their attempts to have Gravelines, Dunkirk, Neuport, Ostend, and the Sluys handed over to Orange in order that the Queen may have all that coast at her command when convenient, in case his Majesty should refuse her intercession to settle affairs in the States. She desires to do this in such a way that the Spaniards and the rest of the King's forces shall be obliged to leave the country and, although she professes a desire to satisfy the King, if her terms are not agreed to or her intercessions refused, she will openly employ her forces in favour of the States. I am assured that this is her determination. If his Majesty deigns to accept her offices he will do so, but if he refuses, it is certainly to be feared that she will cast aside the mask, as both she and her Council desire to expel the Spaniards from Flanders more than do the Flemings themselves, in order to be rid of such neighbours as we are. She and her friends are surprised at recent events in Antwerp, and are in fear that London itself may be assailed some day in a similar manner.*—London, 3rd December 1576.

454. MEMORANDUM of POINTS submitted by the English ambassador, JOHN SMITH, to his MAJESTY, headed, "A short statement of the Memoranda which I have this day handed to your Majesty on behalf of my mistress, the queen of England, begging your Majesty, as I do, to be pleased to order redress to be provided." (I beg also that your Majesty will be pleased to note in the margin against each clause your Majesty's resolution.)

1. Memorandum respecting the Inquisition of Seville which has interfered with the title and royal style of my mistress, the queen of England, and the other points contained in the memorandum.†

2. Respecting the shameful and unworthy insult committed by the prior of Cambre near Corunna, against the person of my lady the Queen and her royal state; with other things contained in this memorandum.‡

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* The pillage and sacking of Antwerp by the Spanish soldiery, called "the Spanish Fury."

† In the Calendar of State Papers (Foreign) for 1574 will be found the petition of William Bond, citizen of London, to Philip, setting forth that he had a large amount of money owing to him in Seville and had given a power of attorney to one Lucas de Campos there to recover it. The Queen's title had been as usual incidentally set forth in the preamble or on the seal thereof, and her style was given of "Defender of the Faith." When Campos brought action by virtue of his power the latter was impounded by the Inquisition and the proceedings nullified. The petition was granted by the King and the Inquisition peremptorily ordered to return the power, but from Sir John Smith again bringing up the question. two years afterwards it would appear as if the King's orders had not been obeyed.

‡ The petition in this case is also calendared as above. Arthur Jarvis therein sets forth that being in company with the prior of Cambre, the latter used "lewd words" about the queen of England, whereupon Jarvis told him he lied to his teeth and was arrested and brought before the Inquisition for insulting a priest. He was find 500 ducats and imprisoned for three years. Philip expresses great annoyance at the case and orders strict inquiry to be made.

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3. Respecting the liberation of eight Englishmen who are prisoners condemned to the galleys and perpetual imprisonment by the Holy Office in Seville.

4. Respecting the promises made by the duke of Alba in your Majesty's name to the ambassador, Sir Henry Cobham, respecting the decree of the general Inquisition in Spain as regards the subjects of my mistress the Queen.

5. That permission should be given to a certain subject of my Queen to take his wife and son to England.

6. That the English ambassadors with their households should be allowed to live in this Court in conformity with the laws of their country, on condition that they do so privately in their own house.

7. Respecting the injuries committed on the subjects of my mistress the Queen in the recent sacking at Antwerp.

8. Respecting the injuries and vexations to which English merchants trading on the coast of Biscay and elsewhere in this country are subjected.

30 Dec. **455.** Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

I enclose copy of the last letters, dated the 3rd instant, which I wrote to Don Juan of Austria, and I have now to report that Dr. Wilson has sent hither several of his servants, one after the other, with despatches, and lately sent two men, named Rogers and Herll, cautious and zealous heretics, all to persuade the Queen that, if she will help the States secretly, at present, with troops and stores, and afterwards send aid openly, they will deliver to her all the coast of Flanders. They tell her that she will be acting in the common interest to resist his Majesty's forces and expel the Spaniards from the States, in which she will be supported by all. To confirm this, the traitor Zweveghem arrived here to-day and they have sent to France a similar man, such as D'Aubigny. The Council has been considering the matter all this week, and Rogers has been despatched to Dr. Wilson with letters instructing him to hold out hopes to the States that the Queen will consent. The principal people in London have been summoned by the Queen and Council, in order that this determination may be communicated to them, and the matter is already so public that it is spoken of openly by the councillors themselves, in order that the public may be favourably impressed with it. The earl of Sussex, Lord Steward, publicly declared that if the Queen would give him leave he would go over with such a force as to turn the Spaniards out of the States, and they are talking of sending the Governor of the Isle of Wight, one Horsey, to the Count Palatine, to induce him to continue the alliance which his late father had with the Queen, there being some suspicion that he may be unfavourable to it, as he is a Lutheran and not a Calvinist, as these people are, and unfriendly with his brother Casimir. The traitor Taffin, of whom I have written, is forwarding Orange's affairs, and the latter has sent to Brussels (since the conclusion and printing of the agreement between them) ten standards. After mass at the Cathedral last Sunday the congregation sang the heretical hymns of Geneva, and it is

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clear now that rebellion and heresy go hand in hand. Those who understand it say that great and public help will be sent, and three hundred soldiers, Walloons and English, leave here to-morrow for Ghent. Every week ships loaded with victuals leave for Zealand, and they are now collecting great quantities of wheat and food on the Queen's behalf for the enterprise. The fears they have of a close friendship between the king of France and his Majesty have made the Council apprehensive lest forces may be sent from France to Scotland, which those who understand the matter say would be a means of preventing these people from helping the States. Since it is publicly stated in Court to incense people against us, there is no harm in my writing freely that they say that Don Juan of Austria has come to the States, not only with the intention of conquering them, but also to marry the queen of Scotland and change religion and Government here. In this connection it is openly asserted that, at the place where she is imprisoned there has been seen in the firmament an appearance of which all the province bears witness, namely, a pillar upon which are fighting a lion and a dragon, with the letters clearly discernible N. (M.?), Q. E.,* and many of the people of the place have been examined in the matter. The Queen has sent to the earl of Westmoreland, telling him to ask for pardon and she will give it to him and restore him to his rank and estates.—London, 13th December 1576.

456. Document labelled "ANSWER that may be given to the "ENGLISH AMBASSADOR respecting the points referred to "the Council of the General Inquisition, marked A, B, C, "and D."

A. As regards Simon Bourman, who wishes to take his wife and son to England, and says that the Inquisition of Seville will not allow him to do so, no answer can be given until we learn the reason of the prohibition. This will be shortly, as inquiries were made by letter some time ago.

B. As regards the monies detained by the Inquisition of Seville from William Bond, because the queen of England, amongst her titles, assumes that of Defender of the Faith, orders have been given that they shall be restored to him immediately, and that in future no detentions shall be made on this account.

C. As regards the three points which are alleged to have been promised by the duke of Alba to Henry Cobham regarding the treatment of the Queen's subjects in this country, the following decision has been adopted: 1st. That they shall not be molested or interfered with for, nor shall any account whatever be taken of, excesses committed outside of these realms. 2nd. When they come hither they must duly reverence the holy sacrament of the Eucharist, and must salute it when they meet it in the streets. This applies only to Englishmen temporarily here; those who reside in this country permanently must, in all things, conform as if they were the subjects of his Majesty, and any Englishmen,

* Probably intended to indicate "Mary, queen of England."

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either temporarily or permanently here, who exceed or offend in any point of faith for which the Holy Office may proceed against them, shall only suffer sequestration of their own goods, but any property belonging to others in their possession shall be exempt, on sufficient proof being given of its ownership.

D. Respecting the seven Englishmen who are prisoners of the Inquisition in Seville, orders have been given that four of them shall be set at liberty, and, as regards the other eight, of whom seven have been sentenced, four to four years of the galleys to be followed by perpetual imprisonment, and the other three to perpetual imprisonment at once, no alteration can be made. Great clemency has been extended to them, considering their offences, but if the Holy Office, in course of time, sees that they are repentant of their errors, due grace and mercy shall be extended to them. With regard to the other man, whose trial has not yet been concluded, all possible consideration shall be shown him.

As regards to the sloop called the "Andrew," embargoed in the Bay of Cadiz on the 28th of February 1575, the master and Randalson (?), supercargo, of which, together with the agent of Bernard Fil and John Foxall, merchants of London, were imprisoned by order of the inquisitors of Seville, the following are the facts: The vessel and the two hundred and twenty-six cahices* of salt and other property on board of her, belonged to the said merchants, the salt having been bought on account of them for the price of thirty-five reals per cahiz, and, considering that salt is a perishable article and was depreciating daily, it was decided by a decree of the justices of Cadiz to sell it at public auction, the factor of the merchants having been duly apprized thereof, and the sale was made to Ortimo de Libino for 103½ reals per cahiz, the proceeds being handed to the sequestrator of the goods until the ownership of the ship and cargo by the said merchants should be proved. On the 30th of May of the same year the factor was liberated, and the sequestrator delivered to him the sloop and the proceeds of the sale of the salt; giving an account to the notary of the Inquisition in Cadiz, and deducting the costs incurred in the care of the ship and merchandise and the maintenance of the prisoners. The owners of the ship and cargo have no reason, therefore, to complain or to make any claim for injury, which they say has been caused by the detention and sale, as it is clear that, not only was the sloop delivered to them two years ago, but they have made a very large profit upon the sale of the salt, for which they paid thirty-five reals per cahiz, whereas it was sold for a hundred and three reals and a half.

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15 Jan. **457.** Antonio de Guaras to (Zayas ?).

News comes from the English ambassador in the Netherlands and from private sources that Don Juan had refused the offers of the States on account of the question of religion, and there was very little appearance of a settlement, much dissension existing amongst the Flemings, as Orange was trying to avail himself of the help

* The cahiz is an ancient measure of about 12 English bushels.

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promised from France, whilst the people desired to accept the aid of England, whence they received daily money, victuals, and stores. The States, fearing that Orange might seize the ports of Flanders, sent Zweveghem to the queen of England to offer to surrender them to her. He returned greatly pleased with grand promises and quantities of broad angels. Colonel Chester, with fifteen captains and many troops, are ready, and they are watching closely how the negotiations will end. If a settlement is effected they will not be wanted, but otherwise the captains will go to Flanders secretly and their troops will follow them unarmed and separately, the Queen helping the States underhandedly as much as possible; but she will not publicly declare herself against the King, for fear that Spanish forces may be sent *viâ* Italy.

A Scotch Earl has gone over to Ireland with fifteen hundred Scotsmen and as many more were expected there. It is believed that he is helped by the French, and six hundred soldiers are being sent from England against them.

The queen of Scotland is in great danger, as on the pretext that some of the Council will help her, she was to be brought to the Tower of London and placed in the power of the earl of Bedford, which will be to give the lamb over to the wolf, as the Earl is her great enemy and a strong heretic, and fears that, if ever the queen of Scotland or her son should come to the throne, he would be the first to suffer.

An old prophecy, 300 years old, is being interpreted in London, which says, *Talpa ore Dei maledicta fratris sui gladio perebit*, which some people think applies to this Queen, as she, like a mole, is burrowing in the lands of her neighbours and is accursed by the mouth of God, since she is excommunicated by His vicar, and must surely die by the sword of his Majesty, as she has so richly deserved.—London, 15th January 1577.

28 Jan. B. M. Cotton, Galba, C. VI. Original draft.

458. LETTER of INTELLIGENCE from London (unsigned) to DON JUAN of Austria, Governor of the Netherlands.

I wrote to your Highness on the 3rd instant with copies of my former letters, all sent to the care of Isardo Capelo, in Paris. Since then I have seen the personage and have had some conversation with him on the wicked and diabolical plots and deceitful inventions of these people, the principal of which now is the matter of the kingdom of Naples. He says he learns from their conversation that they are placing their confidence mostly in Cardinal Granvelle.

Truly, sometimes, the pen almost falls from my hand as I write such a bold thing as this, I having seen him (Granvelle) enjoying in Flanders the confidence of the glorious Emperor, your father, who raised him to the dignity that he enjoyed, and his present Majesty having entrusted to him the government of the kingdom of Naples. But, on the other hand, I recollect what his brother* told me here had been arranged with your Highness, which quite accords with the rest. The personage assures me of the truth of

* Champigny, who had now gone, like Zweveghem, to the side of the States.

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it, and, although it seems impossible, yet since he has told me, it would be bolder of me to keep silence than to repeat what he says, and I trust that my zeal may excuse my temerity.

The decision arrived at in France, that the King will not allow any religion but the true one, has so tormented these people that they, if left to themselves, would despair. But their councillor, the devil, has encouraged them to continue in their accustomed ways, and they will do the same in France as they do in Flanders.

If I were to lay bare the whole tale of wickedness on both sides, in fulfilment of my wish to serve the Holy Catholic Church, the quietude of princes, and the salvation of souls; which I have pondered over for four years in search of a remedy, I should still come to the same decision as I always have, namely, that there is no way except by a good and firm league between the Catholic King and his Christian Majesty. I have discussed this with the present and former French ambassador, as your Highness will see by the certificates enclosed (gives a long account of his desires and efforts to bring about such an alliance and mentions his former approaches to the Guises on the subject, all of which he begs his Highness to forgive in consideration of his zeal). I am in great need of a letter of favour for my king for the dispatch of certain claims I have in his Court, with which Secretary Zayas is well acquainted. I humbly beg your Highness will be pleased to remind the ambassador resident there to give me his support, and his Majesty may then be moved to succour me in my debt and need, which cannot fail to be great, since four years ago I was slandered in Portugal by a jealous and perverse man, for the service I was rendering here and have received nothing for my faithful services since. Señor Zayas knows the whole story and will recollect what he offered me in the King's name, which I refused, as my object was not to gain (favours). —London, 28th January 1577.

Note.—Much damaged by fire.

29 May. **459.** John Smith* to the King.

Your Catholic Majesty knows that the great affection and interest of the Queen, my mistress, towards your Majesty has prompted her to send me to this Court respecting the concord and pacification of your Majesty's Netherlands. This commission being concluded, I have endeavoured to negotiate certain matters touching my mistress and her subjects privately, in conformity with my instructions, hoping that in a short time I might be dispatched. As I have, however, remained here fully five months, and have been able as yet to conclude nothing, notwithstanding my diligence and desire to do my duty between my mistress and your Majesty, the delay will be a disappointment to my Queen, and may cause a great prejudice to my reputation, as well as grave damage to my private affairs in England. I therefore beg your Majesty to be pleased to

* Sir John Smith had a violent altercation, which nearly ended in blows, with the Cardinal of Toledo (Quiroga), a few days before the date of this letter, and no doubt this fact contributed to his desire to leave Spain as soon as possible (*see* Calendar of State Papers (Foreign), 19th May 1577, *and also* B.M. MSS., *Add.* 26,056c.

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grant me audience, fixing a day when I may finish my affairs and take leave of your Majesty, after having obtained your decision respecting the matters contained in the memorials that I have handed to you and referred to verbally.—Madrid, 29th March 1577.

June ? **460.** The KING to the QUEEN OF ENGLAND, by her Ambassador, John Smith.

John Smith gave me your Serenity's letter of the 24th of November, and verbally submitted to me what he was instructed to do by you. I was pleased to hear his good news of your health and the affection and kindness with which you propose to intercede with the object of pacifying my Netherlands. I thank your Serenity duly, and I am as much obliged for your offer as if it had been accepted. I would have availed myself of it, certainly, if it had been necessary, but this was not the case, as the matter was already in hand and had been brought to a forward condition by Don Juan of Austria, my brother, Lieutenant and Captain-General of the States, who informs me that you are maintaining with him the kind connection which I have always looked for as a consequence of our friendship and brotherhood, and which will always be sincerely continued by me. I have done all I have been able with respect to the other points submitted to me by Smith, with the willingness which he will describe to you. I am glad that he has been sent on this commission, as I have long known him and hold him to be a wise and good gentleman, as you describe him.—San Lorenzo.

26 June. **461.** ZAYAS to SMITH.

Although I have no doubt that your intelligence and good memory will have caused you to recollect what I said to you respecting the three points to which I referred in our recent conversation, I repeat here the substance of what I said, at your request. As the tribunal of the Holy Inquisition is simply and purely ecclesiastical and depends upon the Pope and the apostolic see, the King, my master, does not interfere in any way with it or its proceedings, and has nothing to do with its ministers, except to respect and assist them, as befits an obedient son of the Holy see, in order that they may do their duty with the dignity and independence which such matters demand. These duties are concerned solely in the preservation and promotion of the faith and the Roman Catholic religion, and you will thus see easily what it will be proper to ask of his Catholic Majesty and what he is able to concede; and I leave the point therefore to your discretion and great prudence.—Madrid, 26th June 1577.

July. **462.** Document headed, "What Sandero (*i.e.*, DR. SANDERS) has received from England."

B. M. *Add.* 26,056*c*.

Relation of a great miracle which our Lady has worked in England.

In the month of July of this year 1577 in the city of Oxford (which was formerly a flourishing seat of learning and is now a school of heresy) certain judges and the principal people of the

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province were met together, as is customary in that country, to judge criminal cases. The hearing of mass is held to be a crime, as is also the confession of sins to a priest, submission to the supreme pontiff, and the carrying or venerating of the cross or *Agnus Dei;* and these crimes were amongst those for hearing. Suddenly, in the midst of their deliberations, the wrath of God fell upon them in such a way that, although all there present had been perfectly well previously, the two principal judges, two viscounts, eight of the twelve jurymen, and many of the people in Court, fell ill of a strange malady. Numbers of them died on the spot, many others on their road home, and many more as soon as they entered their houses, so that within 24 hours 200 of these people were dead, and in the course of the three days 150 more, and the malady was still raging when the letter was written. Amongst those who died were some of the principal doctors and preachers of the sect called the Puritans, one of them being Lawrence Humphreys,* who translated the commentaries of St. Cyril from Greek to Latin and dedicated them to Queen Elizabeth, the dedication being very justly condemned by the holy Inquisition in Spain. It will thus be seen that God is fighting on our side.

27 Aug. **463.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to (ZAYAS?).

On the 12th instant I sent my last report, copy of which I enclose, and on the 3rd and 4th I sent a packet of letters to the Antwerp postmaster who requested me, through the postmaster here, not to send him any more. I have however, news from him that he has received my packet, but has not ventured to send it on. I wrote telling him to return the letters if he could not forward them, and afterwards sent copies of them to Capelo with my said letter of the 12th. I will send my future letters through him, as there is now no means of sending to Flanders.

M. de Lumay is representing Orange in this Court, and, although they greatly caress him, the probability is that the Queen and Council will give him no help; but time will show. Her man Davison is with the States and will go to Orange, it is believed with the intention of urging the Queen's good offices to arrange a settlement.

It is now asserted publicly that the three Queen's ships and the private vessels that accompanied them had arrived within sight of Rochelle, but the equipping of the four or five other Queen's ships which were being fitted out here has been suspended.

They write from Dunkirk that a courier, coming from Spain, had been captured at Gravelines and taken to Brussels.

The soldiers of the Prince of Orange remain at Neuport, this being the place which he was so desirous of getting, as will be seen by his own letter which I forwarded some days ago.

The so-called "States" of the prince of Orange, encouraged by

* Dr. Lawrence Humphreys had been in his earlier years one of the strongest leaders of the Vestuarian controversy, and had been consequently inhibited and deprived of his professorship at Oxford, retaining, however, his presidency of Magdalen, which was not in the patronage of the crown. In his later years he conformed and was made Dean of Gloucester.

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this Queen and Council, are understood to be resolutely determined to persevere in their heretical rebellion, the intention being to appoint Orange the Governor, although he does not trust them. It was a fortunate hour when his Highness got clear of them, as it had been settled, through the wiles of Dr. Wilson and others, to attempt their wicked purpose against the person of his Highness. I have certain information of this from a person who heard it in Brussels from Wilson, at the time he was leaving to come here, so as not to be in the States when the thing was done. He had been ordered to return hither, in order to make the public believe that neither he nor the people here had any knowledge of the wicked plot. Thank God, however, his Highness, having no doubt some suspicion of them, saved himself by leaving them. In order to conceal their wicked treachery and the vile plots of the people here, they have made up certain letters in cipher which are being circulated, pretended to be from his Majesty and his Highness, and to have been captured by the man they call Navarre and sent hither, although they really have been concocted by the Queen and Council and sent to Orange and the States.* The letters purport to contain directions to his Highness to entertain people with dissimulation, until he can by force or fraud get into his power a large number of the principal persons who are named, and then kill them. Matters are now in such a position that, unless some steps are taken to prevent these people from sending aid to Orange and the States, it will be waste of time to continue the present guerilla warfare. People who are well versed in the matter say that the only remedy will be the aforesaid one, and to utterly harry the land by means of foreign soldiers of various nations, rather than lose it. The two friends continue to offer to do the service mentioned,† and are in hopes that provision will be made for them to undertake it. The other friend has sent word that he is awaiting them. I am informed by them that the ambassador Smith has given the Queen a very different account of his embassy to that brought by Cobham. The latter has been much blamed and attacked at Court about it, he saying that his Majesty was well disposed to the preservation of the friendship and alliance, and that his power and resources were great, Cobham being of opinion that it will be well to propitiate him; whilst Smith reports that the King is very much offended with the Queen and is not inclined to be conciliatory, although at the same time his own trouble is very great and his needs so pressing that he is unable successfully to deal with Flanders. He says, moreover, that Spain is discontended and in some danger from the Christian King, and that an unfavourable answer was given to him (Smith) respecting the English prisoners of the holy office. All this has caused the Queen and Council some anxiety, notwithstanding their pride, but they expect to find a way out from all

* These letters are probably those, four in number dated respectively the 6th, 7th, 8th and 19th April 1577, which will be found in the British Museum, Cotton Vespasian, C. VII., p. 357. They are of the highest interest, but as they make no important reference to English affairs, they do not come within the scope of the present calendar.

† *i.e.*, the betrayal of Flushing by Colonel Chester and others for a sum of money.

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their trouble by sending aid to Flanders. The States are intending to send Zweveghem hither, and it is said that Arschot comes with him. I understand from Brussels that the Governors there are not badly disposed towards his Majesty's service, but that secret information with regard to them is given to Orange and the States by a secretary named Francis Grote. A Scotchman of position named Lord Seton has passed here on his way to Brussels, and another Scotchman who resides there has said that upon his arrival the Scotch would perform some notable act. I am hourly expecting letters from the queen of Scotland, who I learn is well; I will communicate her reply to the letters sent.

There are many indications that the earl of Leicester intends to carry out the project I have spoken of, and the fortress is being prepared, the rooms being fitted with scrupulous care. The people murmur that the intention is to bring thither the queen of Scotland, and if the Lord Treasurer has been with her it has been managed very secretly. I shall soon learn and will advise. A secretary of the Council named Beal is now preparing at Court to leave, to visit Orange and the States, and afterwards to go to Germany to see Casimir. I learn from a good source that the object is against France. The Queen has had a great quarrel with the French ambassador about some damage which the French are said to have done to her island of Alderney, near Guernsey. I learn that in the States the offices and positions are being distributed as if there were no master, and doubtless the same will be done in the Provinces, although I hope that these friends who are desirous of serving us may find means of taking Ramequin, where, I am told, there are not ten men to protect it. The friendly captain has given them notice and sent victuals and stores for more than a year, so that the place can be held for that time or until help arrives from us, which cannot be prevented. This may be a means of introducing troops and gaining the island and may lead to the perdition of all the States. Even though the help our friends demand do not arrive, they are determined to employ their own means and undertake the task, treating with his Highness afterwards for their reward. They expect a hundred thousand crowns for it. I have told them that, whilst they are making their arrangements, I shall doubtless have a letter from his Highness which will inform them what is to be done on our part. They appear determined, and I am therefore sending orders to Capelo to send the present messenger or another on to his Highness about it.—London, 27th August 1577.

20 Sept. **464.** Antonio de Guaras to (Zayas?).

B. M. *Add.* 26,056*b*.

I have heard nothing more of the friend who went to perform the service I have spoken of.

As the Council is warmly favouring the prince of Orange and the States, this Marquis (*i.e.* Havrey) will be able to arrange as he pleases, and I have received a frightful piece of information, namely, that all their efforts and those of Dr. Wilson were directed to depriving his Highness (*i.e.* Don Juan) of his liberty and delivering him into the hands of these people, who would treat him in the same way as they do the queen of Scots. As they carry on their evil

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plans with great calculation, there is a suspicion that Drake the pirate is to go to Scotland with some little vessels and enter into a convenient port, for the purpose of getting possession of the prince of Scotland for a large sum of money; whereupon he will bring him hither convoyed by the Queen's ships that are there. They have ordered Captain Bingham, whom his Highness knows, and other important people to embark, as if for the Indies, under the command of this sailor Drake, whereupon they are greatly surprised.—London, 20th September 1577.

28 Sept. **465.** Antonio de Guaras to (Zayas?).

I am told by my trustworthy informant that the States have written to Dr. Wilson asking him to use his influence with the Queen that she may fulfil the agreement entered into with them respecting the alliance between this crown and the House of Burgundy, on condition that his Majesty should have no part therein. At the request of this Marquis* it was at once confirmed, and a promise was given that it should be enforced if necessary by arms. The States write also asking him to induce the earl of Leicester to come over in due time with ten thousand soldiers, their belief being that if he is in command the Queen will take care to provide him with all that may be needful. They offered to deliver to him all the ports on the coast of Flanders, and I learn from a person of position who has seen the letter, that they assert in it that the States recently voted one million three hundred thousand crowns for carrying on the war. They have at the instance of the prince of Orange dismantled the fortresses, and Orange promised to go to Antwerp and Brussels for the purpose of congratulating them, which he has done. A general muster was to be made between Brussels and Namur, of twelve thousand infantry, Lalaing being in command and Champigny his lieutenant. M. de Guinelo (?) is to be given a high command, M. de la Motte is to be captain of the artillery, M. de Goigni to be marshal, and the prince of Orange, after having been much pressed, has accepted the position of president of the new Council which is to be formed. The letter says also that Mansfeldt is being greatly urged by the States to accept the oath of allegiance towards them, and it is suspected that he may agree to it. In consequence of the settlement arrived at in France, it is feared by them that the duke of Guise and other forces there will help his Highness, but that Casimir would enter the States with three thousand men in defence. He has been urged to this on the part of the Queen, who sent Beal, her secretary, to him to promise payment for his services. Victuals are being collected in the strong places, and Fugger and the captain of the fortress* who are prisoners, have confessed many very prejudicial things. They will be exiled, and the others to the number of twenty-three are following his Highness. It is said that his Majesty is negotiating some great accord with the king of France, and that

* The Marquis d'Havrey who was in England representing the States.

† Louis de Treslong, Lieutenant-Governor of Antwerp, who had been captured when the place was taken by the States' troops.

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the latter's brother would be married to our Infanta. I have also heard from a well-informed source that the Marquis (d'Havrey) is urging the Queen to give open aid, by assuring her that his Highness was trying to settle matters in Flanders with the intention of invading this country with a large force; which will make the cause a common one. It is said therefore, that her help will be publicly given, and great promises are made to him that the forces sent shall be sufficient for the purpose. If Leicester does not go with them the command is to be given to the earl of Warwick, his brother, and, to show the earnestness of the Council in the matter, they are holding their meetings in his house. I hear this from one source, whereas from another man, who has good means of knowing, I learn that, whatever may be said to the Marquis, the Queen will not venture to send forces in her own name, but will give all the secret help she can. I am also told that when it is necessary to strike a blow in Flanders, they have agreed to issue a proclamation saying that any soldiers who wish to go over to serve his Highness shall be at liberty to do so, the object of this being to show their impartiality, but they will be able to turn it in their own way. They have granted a loan to the Marquis of three hundred thousand crowns to complete the four hundred thousand which they had promised to Zweveghem, who took a hundred thousand with him, the States undertaking to return the same within a year and a half. Leicester, always in pursuance of his wish to marry the Queen, is bringing into the Council all of his adherents, and it is believed that amongst them will be Dr. Wilson, Horsey, the Governor of the Isle of Wight, the Judge of the Admiralty, and the Master of the Rolls, who are all, so to speak, his creatures. It is also said that Hatton, Captain of the Guard, is to be a member. If the Marquis or any other Flemings of importance could be seized on their voyage backwards or forwards it might be well, and if I am instructed I will have it done and get them carried to Spain. They would have attempted to capture the Marquis recently if orders had been received. I will await an answer on this point, as the people who are ready to make the capture, at their own risk and cost, only desire instructions. The same thing may be said with regard to giving these people trouble in Ireland, for which service faithful and trustworthy people are ready when it is agreed upon and I am instructed in the matter. As the prince of Orange has had his own way in the States, it is to be expected that a remedy will be found by some accord between his Majesty and the king of France for the purpose of following them up on all sides. In the meanwhile, these people here are not idle in their pretensions, as they have sent Killigrew to Scotland to obtain possession, for money, of the Prince, in order to compass the ruin of his mother and himself. People who understand the matter are of opinion that if he, the Prince of Scotland, were in Spain the welfare of the world would result, especially if the wish his good grandmother wrote to me years ago could be brought about, namely, his marriage with the Infanta. I have received the enclosed letters from the queen of Scotland. I have perfectly safe means of sending and receiving letters for her, and the world is praying that God may be preserving

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her for some great service, to the fear of this Queen and her friends. I am encouraging her with letters of comfort until she can be served by acts.—London, 28th September 1577.

4 Oct. **466.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to (ZAYAS?).

On Sunday the 29th of September, St. Michael's Day, the earl of Leicester invited the Marquis Abreo (Havrey) to dinner in the Great Hall of the Council in Windsor Castle. There were at table the earl of Warwick, Lord Hunsdon, Captain Horsey, Sir Thomas Gresham, and some others, and during the repast, the Marquis began to speak of affairs in Flanders. He talked of the plots which he said had been arranged by Don Juan, and how they had been discovered. He said that in Spain there was a Fleming, much favoured by the King and in his close intimacy, of whom the Spanish nobles were very jealous, in consequence of his friendship with his Majesty. This Fleming occasionally discussed State matters with the King, and endeavoured to persuade his Majesty to treat the States with mildness, and not by severity to sacrifice dominions of such importance. The hatred of the nobles at length reached such a pitch that on this Fleming leaving the King's chamber one day, he was arrested by the Alcalde of the Court in the King's name, whereupon he, astonished to find himself a prisoner, raised a great uproar, but was nevertheless taken off to prison, where he was kept for thirty months. At length, there being nothing proved against him, he was released, and the King sent him with Don Juan to Flanders, where he enjoyed the entire confidence of his Highness, and knew all his secrets. On one occasion Don Juan sent him with a letter of credence to the States in Brussels to discuss certain matters with them, and on his arrival there the States ordered his arrest, and threatened him with torture if he did not reveal the secrets and intentions of Don Juan. After pressure he at last consented to reveal them and put them all in writing. They were of such a nature that the nobles saw that it was time to look to the safety of their lives and properties which were in jeopardy. Leicester replied to this story that it might well be that this declaration was made under the influence of fear, but the Marquis said that this was not so, because the man is at liberty and can go whithersoever he pleases. He said it was all being printed in order that the princes might know of it.

He also spoke of the escape of the Duke,* his brother, and said that he pretended one day to want to try the speed of a courser, and when he found himself outside of the town, put spurs to his horse, and arrived at a village two leagues off, where he put the people on their guard, and pursued his way to Brussels. Octavio de Gonzaga followed him within an hour with twenty horsemen, but they were detained by the villagers, and were thus prevented from overtaking the Duke. The Marquis told all this at table in the presence of those who were in the chamber. The following

* The marquis d'Harvey was Charles de Croy, a brother of Philippe de Croy, duke of Arschot, the leader of the Catholic Flemish nobles, who had separated themselves from the Spanish cause.

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Monday the Marquis invited the whole of the Lords of the Council and other gentlemen to an entertainment in his lodging, which is at Eton College, a quarter of a mile from the Court, where he gave them a grand supper.—London, 4th October 1577.

Note.—The original draft of this letter, with corrections, in the handwriting of Guaras, is in the British Museum.—Cotton, Vesp., C. XIII.

4 Oct. **467.** ANTONIO DE GUARAS to (ZAYAS ?).

Time will certainly prove the sinister intentions of the Queen and Council. With the greatest astonishment I learned from a friend at Court, that a friend of his had told him that Secretary Walsingham had communicated to him the iniquitous plots which these people are carrying on with the Marquis, the States, and the prince of Orange; the object of which is to root out entirely, as they think, the name and power of his Majesty from the States. The intention is to form a new Council of twelve persons, one of whom is to be an English noble, and this Council will elect a native of the States to be duke of Burgundy for life. It is expected that the person to be selected will either be Arschot or the prince of Orange, and the Queen on her part, will undertake to defend him whenever necessary with seven thousand well armed soldiers, maintained at her own cost until they are landed in Flanders, after which the States are to pay them. The Catholic religion is to exist there for a time, but, for the satisfaction of the people, a national Council will be called to declare liberty for their heresy, in the belief that, by these means, they will entirely alienate the people from their obedience to his Majesty or the Governor representing him. They have sent an embassy to the Emperor justifying their actions and offering to recognise him as their superior. The fortresses are to be razed, and the towns are to be open and without castles. The Queen has sent promising them liberal aid in victuals, stores, and money, and the forces are to be commanded by the earl of Warwick, Leicester's brother, his lieutenant being Lord Grey. The people here, however, are murmuring that if public aid is thus sent against his Majesty, trouble will come to them by way of Scotland or Ireland, which may put this Crown in danger. The friend that went on the service about which I wrote* has returned here after having communicated with the other principal on the matter. He says that, without being provided with what they ask, they cannot carry the business through, and, as I have already said, it will be necessary for a person of confidence to go and speak with the principal friend and convey to him the instructions of his Highness. My friend tells me that everything is well disposed for the performance of the service. As it is said that the ciphers are read, I am suspicious that the present one is not so obscure as it ought to be, and I am therefore writing with suspicion. The merchants here have been conferring with the Council respecting the sending of their merchandise and bread-stuffs to the coast of Spain, and

* The betrayal of Flushing, etc.

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they have been told not to be in a hurry to send more, as there are fears that the two sovereigns may appeal to arms. It is, however, the people on this side who are desirous of war, and will certainly commence it, if opportunity is favourable to them ; but they (the English) have in Spain at least a hundred well fitted ships and more than a million's worth of property, besides two thousand five hundred mariners, so that if they do not cease helping the States, we have a fine pledge in hand belonging to them, the seizure of which would divest them of a great part of the wealth of the country, without our troubling to put pressure on them through Scotland or Ireland. With this pledge in our hands we could bring them to our own terms, and they would not dream in the meanwhile of helping Orange or the States. They must be paid in their own coin.—London, 4th October 1577.

31 Oct. **468.** JUAN DE AGUIRRE to ZAYAS.

The only object of this letter is to inform your worship that on Saturday the 19th instant at midnight, the sheriff of this city with an armed force, in the Queen's name, entered the house of my master Antonio de Guaras, arrested him, and seized all his papers, placing him in a house under guard, and four or five days afterward, they sent him to the house of the sheriff who arrested him, where he is at present detained so closely that no one is allowed to see him or speak to him. This has certainly been a most extraordinary proceeding for which there has been no occasion given. His steward was taken at the same time, and lodged in the goal with condemned prisoners, where he now is. God deliver us from these troubles, for I promise your worship that, unless some remedy be sent from there, my master, Antonio de Guaras, will find himself in sad trouble, as will all of us in his household, for we are much distressed. With all earnestness I supplicate that you will let his Majesty know of this, in the hope that deliverance may be sent to us.—London, 31st October 1577.

21 Nov. **469.** JUAN DE AGUIRRE to ZAYAS.

On the 31st ultimo and the 3rd and 5th instant, I wrote to you, and I now have to say that my master Antonio de Guaras is in very strict imprisonment, as also is his steward. This is a most extraordinary thing and we cannot learn the cause of such a tyrannical proceeding. It is to be hoped that his Majesty will not allow so faithful a subject as my master to suffer such misery and trouble as those of which I have written, but, if his Majesty does not order some redress, my master will be sorely distressed, and I again supplicate your worship to have something done for him.

I have just received a letter from your worship written to my master dated the 28th of September, to which I have no reply excepting to pray you not to forget him in his trouble.—London, 21st November 1577.

22 Dec. **470.** The QUEEN OF ENGLAND to the KING.

(Latin.) Elizabeth, by the grace of God, &c., &c., to Don Philip by the grace of God King of Spain, &c., &c., health and prosperity,

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greeting. Three reasons have moved us to send the bearer of the present, Thomas Wilkes, to your Serenity, which are as follows:—

The sorrow we feel for the calamities and miserable events which have befallen your Serenity's Netherlands, the excessive and terrible shedding of Christian blood, and our desire in all sincerity to promote your honour and advantage. Each of these three subjects, if properly treated, will tend to your greater glory and benefit, whereas the neglect of them, either by evil council or oversight, must result in great loss and evil consequence to your Serenity's interests. As the destruction and desolation of dominions hinders kings themselves from founding their power and glory on the opulence of prosperous citizens, and the diminution of public wealth strikes at the basis of the power of those who govern, so is it unworthy of the regal office and dignity to judge harshly those who love and strive for us. However badly good intentions may be interpreted, such is the strength of calumny, we have nevertheless decided to do our duty in this respect to your Serenity and at the same time to satisfy our own conscience, as indeed we have also done, to your Netherlands States openly in the sight of day, our object being to endeavour to arouse in your breast the same compassion for your subjects which has been aroused in ours, and to testify how sincerely and straightforwardly we desire to act, in order that all may be made clear and apparent to you, the bearer takes with him a clear and simple statement of our intentions and designs, in which, if there be any article which requires explanation or elucidation, he will dwell more at length where necessary, he being a secretary of our Council who has been present during the discussion of every part of the document. We have therefore thought fit to avail ourselves of his services in this embassy, in order that he may return with all possible speed with your Serenity's answer. We should have sent a more formal embassy if, as is usual with acute diseases, such a rankling wound as this did not need a speedy means of cure, and we beg very affectionately that all suspicions may be banished from between us, if any such have been raised by the arts of wicked men, with the object of destroying the close friendship which we enjoyed in our earlier years, and that we may, on the contrary, confirm and strengthen such friendship more and more. If your Serenity does not fail in this, we will, on our part, continue ever ready to take the same course.—In our Palace at Hampton Court, 20th December 1577, Elizabeth.

29 Dec. **471.** Antonio de Guaras to (Zayas ?).

I have written to his Highness that this Queen and Council, convinced that the world was all their own, and that rebellion and heresy would succeed in the States, were of opinion that I was a hindrance to their plans, because I kept my eyes on their evil doings, the plan being to place the dukedom of Burgundy in their hands, and exclude his Majesty from his royal patrimony, made up their minds to seize me by force, as they did at midnight on the 20th of October. They assailed me unawares, searched my dwelling, seizing all the papers they could find, and being surprised that they did not discover what they desired, for four days

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ransacked the house, in the hopes of finding letters from his Majesty or the queen of Scotland, but as I was already suspicious, I had taken care to place them in safety. They took me prisoner and placed guards over me who were not to lose sight of me, and they still continue to treat me in this way, no one being allowed to speak to me, in order to convince the world of my criminality. Although they have not said anything to me, the Queen and Council attribute their action to the contents of certain letters of mine, which they say they have in their possession, written to the Council of the States of Flanders, which, I understand, were brought here by Champigny in his instructions, as I saw them in his possession when the Grand Commander sent him here. I am sure that he delivered them to these people when he hatched his plots and plans with them on the death of the Grand Commander, although they have informed M. de Gate that they got them from Aldegonde. They are copies of statements which I sent from here, and I do not recollect that they contain anything more than an account of the bad proceedings of these people, and of their continual dispatch of soldiers, cannon, arms, munitions, victuals, and money to Orange and the States, which they affirm to be false, and say they have never sent any help at all to them, and that I am more than wicked for having sent such reports. It is no wonder they deny it to me, for they have solemnly sworn that it is false to M. de Gate, and say they never thought of such a thing and that I am deserving of punishment for my bad offices. They see, however (as the treasurer told the other councillors), that I was in duty bound to do as I did, and that the testimony against me in this respect is not strong enough, so they are now carrying the case further and are asserting that I was in close understanding with the earl of Westmoreland and other English gentlemen, persuading them to take up arms against this country. The Queen begged de Gate to believe her when she assured him that this was the case, whereas really it is simply an invention to conceal the outrage that they have committed in arresting me and seizing my papers. I can truly swear by my fidelity to the King that I never imagined such wickedness, nor has Westmoreland, as I truly believe, ever heard my name. I have never yet discussed any matter touching his Majesty's service which I have not reported fully, and it will therefore be seen by my letters how false this accusation is. I expect that the two men who have been sent from here to his Majesty and his Highness respectively, have been instructed to complain of me, but I can refer to the Portuguese ambassador, who has heard from a good source that they are very sorry for having taken me, and to the French ambassador, who knows that Champigny is at the bottom of it all, so that I should be prevented from giving an account of his evil plots. They were also prompted to seize me in the hope of finding letters from his Highness or the queen of Scotland, as they are very suspicious of having his Highness for so near a neighbour, and no doubt thought they might make use of my detention to liberate Hawkins and Tayler, with their Englishmen, who are in the galleys of the Holy Office, and for whose release the two ambassadors I have mentioned will strive. They have

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several times been about to release me, but have changed their minds, and I am so closely watched by my guards that I am writing this secretly and in great fear. I hope his Majesty and his Highness will not abandon me.—From this, my prison in London, Christmas Eve, 1577.

Postscript:—Since writing the above I have learned that the Queen and Council intend to proceed against me as a private person, and not as a public one, as I had no commission from his Majesty. Such is the trouble I give them. I beg for deliverance.—29th December 1577.

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472. The above letter is enclosed in another from JUAN DE AGUIRRE to ZAYAS, dated London, 2nd January 1578, saying as follows:—

As I have written on several occasions, Antonio de Guaras, my master, is in close imprisonment, with guards over him, and is now more strictly kept than ever. If some redress be not found I am sure that they will keep him there for the rest of his days, and he has already been almost on the point of death, but, thank God, is now better. I therefore humbly beg you to find a remedy, in order that he may be delivered from the hands of his enemies, who are many, as he is a good and faithful servant of the King, who, I hope, will not allow so good a vassal, as my master Antonio de Guaras, to be kept in such peril.—London, 2nd January 1578.

473. AUTOGRAPH DOCUMENT in the handwriting of the King, manifesting his displeasure at the manner in which Thomas Wilkes, the English envoy, presented himself, dated Madrid, 12th January 1578.

As regards the first matter, I believed the Englishman has deceived us, as you will see that he is not called Legatus but Nuncio, and is only a secretary of the Council, so that much of that which we may arrange with him may be repudiated. The first thing he did was to salute me on behalf of the Queen, and then requested me to read her letter at once. I did so, although I did not understand a word of it, and he then said some words to me, which I did not understand well, and asked me to read the other document which he brought, saying that, if there was anything in it which was not clear, he was instructed to declare fully the meaning of each clause. He said he was to be here for this purpose for a fortnight. It seems to me that, both upon this matter and the subjects contained in the documents, the Queen wishes to lay down the law for us here; and, if I have understood well, I can see no good to come from the matter, and no doubt this man lied to you, the same as he did on the first point (*i.e.*, his standing), respecting which in good truth he was abashed. I refer to the style which as been given him. He is no doubt one of the men they call clerks of the Council. Let the document be translated at once, and copied as clearly as possible, for it is rather obscure to me, and let it be considered in the Council. It will be well to

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send the man off long before his fortnight is up, and this before he commits some impertinence which will oblige us to burn him. If it (the document) is not translated in time for the Council to-morrow, let it be read in Latin, and the following day in Castilian.

474. PETITION of ANTONIO DE GUARAS, begging for a grant of twenty thousand crowns, the proceeds of forfeited goods in London, which had been promised to him by the Grand Commander prior to his death, as a recompense for his services.

Antonio de Guaras says that since the death of the bishop of Aquila he has served his Majesty in England, in fulfilment of the orders sent to him by Madame de Parma, and subsequently whilst Diego de Guzman de Silva and Don Guerau de Spes were there he continued to assist and accompany them, and, to the best of his ability, helping and favouring your Majesty's subjects when molestation was offered them. Since then, for more than seven years from the beginning of the troubles, he has served and still serves your Majesty. Although the Marquis Vitelli, Fiesco, Zweveghem, and others were sent thither to negotiate treaties at great cost, but were unable to do so, he, Guaras, by his diligence and industry was able successfully to settle matters to the surprise of everyone.

475. DRAFT of INSTRUCTIONS from HIS MAJESTY to DON BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA, dated Madrid, 8th of January 1578.*

The King.

The things which you, Don Bernardino de Mendoza, my captain of light horse, are to do in England, whither we now send you.

Affairs in my Netherlands States having, since the last disturbances there, arrived at a state which again demands an appeal to armed force in order to pacify them, and maintain therein the

* Don Bernardino de Mendoza was a son of the Count de Coruña, and a member of the most illustrious family in Spain. He had greatly distinguished himself in the Netherlands as a captain of light horse, and his contemporaries are emphatic in his praise at this period. Albornoz, the Secretary of the duke of Alba, writes to Secretary Zayas in Madrid in 1572, saying, "Don Bernardino de Mendoza has asked for a "'habit' (*i.e.*, of knighthood), and tells me his application is referred to a board in "Madrid. Truly he has acted in a way that deserves something better than a habit, "and the Duke, my master, orders me to write as much to you, that you may ask his "Majesty to grant the request." Don Bernardino accordingly got his "habit" of Santiago, in which order he afterwards rose to high rank. He was sent to England in 1574 to conclude the commercial treaty which had been informally negotiated by Guaras, which treaty was finally ratified in December of that year (*see* letter from Mendoza to Dr. Wilson in Cotton, Galba, C. v.). He was on friendly terms with Leicester and other courtiers, so that on his arrival here in 1578 he was no stranger. His epistolary style is in marked distinction to that of his predecessors. He had already published a work on the "Theory and Practice of War" in 1577, and was subsequently the author of several historical works, some of which are still in high repute. After leaving England he was for some years Spanish ambassador in France. In the end he fell blind, and become a monk in the monastery of St. Bernard, in Madrid, where he died at an advanced age.

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Roman Catholic religion, and my authority, it has appeared advisable to us to inform the queen of England thereof as our ally and neighbour. We have therefore decided to send you, post, with this commission, both on account of the knowledge you have of my Netherlands dominions, where you have served for so many years, and because I am convinced of your intelligence and good understanding, and believe also that you will be as acceptable to the Queen as you were when you were sent to negotiate with her in my name certain things then pending, by the Grand Commander of Castile, my former Governor of the Netherlands. You will bear in mind the following points.

That notwithstanding my concession to the States of all the favours and advantages which they could rightly ask or desire, and my having sent my brother Don Juan of Austria there to reside as my Governor and Captain-General, he having made these concessions punctually, and withdrawn the Spanish and other foreign soldiers, delivering the fortresses to the natives, and signed the pacification, as is known, when it was thought that they would be satisfied and peaceful as they ought to have been, they proceeded in such a manner towards my brother as to make it necessary for him to retire to the castle of Namur for his safety, and thence to provide for the government of the States. All this was related fully in the instructions borne by M. de Gate, one of my gentlemen-of-mouth, who was sent to England by my brother, in order that the Queen might be informed thereof, and be requested not to allow any help to be sent from her country to the rebels, but that she should rather aid me, in accordance with our friendship and alliance, and for other reasons which you will also adduce. A copy of the said instructions will therefore be handed to you, in order that you may convince the Queen, in conformity therewith, that everything that my brother has done has been entirely justified, and that the people of the States have strayed from the straight path, as will be acknowledged by any one who understands the true state of the case, it being notorious that they made fresh and exorbitant demands of my brother, in excess of the conditions set forth in the agreement which he made with them on the 12th February last year, as will be seen by their address to him of the 25th of September, a copy of which, together with that of the agreement, will be handed to you.

I have advised my brother that I had appointed you for this commission, in order that he may send you such instructions as he may consider necessary, according to the state of affairs. This he will send to the care of Juan de Vargas Mejia, my ambassador in France. You will pass through Paris and salute, politely, in my name, the King, his wife and mother, the duke of Alençon, and Madame Marguerite his sister, informing them, in general terms, that I am sending you to England on affairs respecting which Juan de Vargas will inform them. You will stay in his, Vargas', house, and I have ordered him to accompany you and assist you to obtain audience. I wish you to tell the King and his mother that I do not write to them because I so recently did so by their Secretary, Julio Gassot.

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When you arrive at the Court of the queen of England you will salute her from me and hand her my letter, and, in the best terms you can employ, you will give her to understand that I duly esteem her and hold her friendship in good account, saying that ever since her ambassador John Smith left here it has been my intention to send you to her, but your departure has been put off, in order that we might see how things went in the Netherlands, so that she might be informed of them through you with the more authority.

After this you will tell her that she will no doubt have learned from private sources, and also from M. de Gate, all that has happened in the States, both with regard to the forced retirement of my brother to the castle of Namur, and the other things which have happened, and it will therefore not be necessary for you to repeat them to her. We doubt not that she knows well how often the States were admonished and requested by my brother to come to harmony and concord, he assuring them of the fulfilment of the agreement that he had made with them, but that nothing sufficed to persuade them to adopt a course which was so advantageous to them. On the contrary, they started every day new and various demands such as could not possibly be entertained, or even listened to without offence, since, amongst other things, one was that the Queen should be included as a party to the treaty of peace. Say that this would have shocked me much, if I had not understood that the object of it was to raise up a feeling of distrust between us, and, if no other cause had arisen but this for your going, I would have sent you on this point alone. You will dwell upon this, and assure her of my goodwill and friendship in order to oblige her more to meet our wishes.

You will also call to mind the manner in which the States at the same time seized the castle of Antwerp and committed many insults and excesses, in direct contravention to the agreement to which they had only a few days before pledged themselves, it being clear, from their behaviour all through, that their intention was directed not to quietude and contentment, even if they had been granted everything they asked. Notwithstanding all this we, being a benign prince and desiring the peace and quietude of our States and subjects, did not desire to again appeal to arms, but have tried repeatedly to bring them to reason and tranquillity. Not only, however, have they refused, but, in return for our clemency, they have tried to bring foreign princes to their aid, and have attempted to adopt one of them as governor without our knowledge or consent. This has been so insulting an excess that the example cannot fail to be a bad one to the subjects of other princes.

Seeing this, and that the gentleness with which we proceeded was only hardening them and making them more insolent and obstinate, we determined, greatly against our will, to take up arms and go to the aid of the multitude of faithful subjects we have in those countries, in order to liberate them from the oppression in which these bad men hold them. In view of the aforegoing, and

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the gathering in Brussels which they call the "States General,' having written to us on the 8th September last year begging us to receive them into our favour, on condition that they observed the Catholic religion and acknowledged their submission to me in the same way as in the time of the Emperor, we accepted their offer graciously, as you will see by copy of the document which will be handed to you, sent to them by the hand of M. de Selles, lieutenant of our archers of the guard. They are assured therein that, if they comply on their part with their promises, arms would be laid down and everything would be again tranquil and peaceful, as we have always desired. You will show the copy of the said document to the Queen, and may leave it with her if she desires, as it is advisable that she and the Council should be well informed of its contents, and assured that my desire is as keen as ever that the promises contained therein should be fulfilled, and that, if the States do not demand or attempt to obtain fresh terms, as they always have done when they had obtained all they asked, we consider all cause of disquiet in the Netherlands to have been removed. You can confidently assert that this is the case, and that we never desired to gain any advantage or fresh power there, other than what was enjoyed by my father the Emperor, but rather to preserve and enlarge their privileges where possible to the advantage of the inhabitants, and the increase of their wealth and prosperity.

This will demonstrate clearly that it has been solely in consequence of the straying of evil-minded people in the States from the straight path, that the idea has been spread that my wish was to oppress them and treat them differently from the way in which they were treated by the Emperor, and that this has been a wicked invention spread by bad people, who try thereby to mislead others.

It must be evident that our intentions and efforts have always been directed to satisfy, to the fullest extent possible, the people of the States, and when we learnt that the dismissal of our brother Don Juan of Austria from the governorship, would have this effect, in which he himself concurred, I consented to withdraw him and employ him elsewhere, as they were informed by him personally. We should have sent a successor already if they had been pacified, so that any delay in doing so has arisen solely from their own action.

You will convey this to the Queen, and tell her that I have thought well to inform her fully of the progress of events in the States, and my intentions with regard to them, that she may be convinced that nothing has been neglected on our part to endeavour to bring them to quietness and reason, and may see how fully justified we are now in appealing to arms, in order to bring about by force a state of things which gentleness, kindness, favour, and leniency have been powerless to produce.

Notwithstanding this we still desire to proceed in a fatherly way with our subjects, and, even though it may be necessary to bring them to obedience by force, it is not our intention to abrogate their privileges and customs, nor to oppress them or reduce them

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to the position of a Spanish province as they have been persuaded, but only to bring them back again to their obedience to me as their natural sovereign.

Much less is it true, as has been asserted by bad people, that it is my wish to treat them with rigour if they voluntarily recognise their fault and ask for pardon, which they know that we shall give them most willingly, as on so many other occasions we have done since the disturbances began; not only restoring the honours and estates, of which some have been justly deprived, to those who have submitted, but also to those who were actually still in arms, as a proof of our clemency.

All this being so notorious that the Queen cannot be ignorant of it, we beg her most affectionately as a good sister, ally, friend, and neighbour to prohibit with all severity any sort of help or countenance, direct or indirect, being sent from her country to the States, but that, on the contrary, she will help us with the supplies and other things requested by Don Juan in the promotion of a peaceable settlement, which will be of no little benefit to her, as she knows perfectly well without further representation. I wish to point out to her also that this matter is one which touches all princes, as it concerns the obedience of subjects to them, and the example of my vassals may well have its influence upon hers, whereby she may be troubled and disturbed. Her own prudence will show her this, and you will place the matter before her in such a way as to bring her to the desired object, which in fact is that she shall be satisfied of our intentions and withdraw from connection with Orange and his friends, refraining from helping them, and holding out her hand to us. You will remain there (in England) pursuing this task until our further orders, giving us full information of the Queen's answers and of what you can gather of her designs. You will endeavour to keep her in a good humour and convinced of our friendship, banishing the distrust of us which she now appears to entertain, and for which we have given no cause.

As it will be necessary for you, and is of great importance, that you should be on good terms with the principal ministers who manage affairs, you will consider if it will be advisable to give them some money or presents, and will advise us what is to be done for each one of them.

You will keep up a friendly intercourse with the ambassador of France, and the Portuguese agent resident in London.

If any English Catholics approach you, you will receive them kindly, consoling and encouraging them in general terms to persevere, but you will not enter into any negotiation or plans with them against the Queen.

I have heard that Antonio de Guaras has been arrested on suspicion that he dealt unfavourably with the Queen's affairs, and, as we shall be glad for him to be well out of his difficulty, we wish you to help him to this end by endeavouring to get him set at liberty as soon as possible.

A copy of your instructions is being sent to Don Juan of Austria in order that he may be informed of the details of your commission,

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and you will be careful to report to him fully and frequently all that happens to you in England, following his orders as if they were my own.

You will also keep up a correspondence with Juan de Vargas Mejia whilst he resides at the court of France, and I have ordered him to do the same with you. You will receive with this a general cipher which is in use between us, our brother, and the other ministers whose names are attached thereto, and you will carry on your correspondence in this.—Madrid, 8th January 1578.

476. SECOND INSTRUCTION given to DON BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA, 26th January 1578.

The King.

You are aware that after you were appointed to go to England in compliance with instructions given to you, Thomas Wilkes, a servant of the Queen, arrived here bearing a letter from his mistress, dated the 20th December, and a document referring fully to affairs in the Netherlands. This document dwelt upon the extremity and danger in which my States were, and in it the Queen says that she has used her best efforts to keep the country obedient to me, and complains that her efforts have been misunderstood and not taken in good part. She justifies her actions and intentions, and concludes, in substance, by saying that the only remedy for the evil will be found in the withdrawal of our brother, Don Juan of Austria, and the appointing of another Governor of our family who would be more acceptable to them (*i.e.*, the States), we, at the same time, extending our favour to those who have offended and maintaining the privileges of the country, in fulfilment of the edict of pacification. She assures us that, if I concede these things to the States, they will be tranquillised and submit to me, whilst, if they afterward make any attempt to break their word, she will turn her arms against them and defend our authority.

She says that if the course she recommends is not adopted she cannot refrain from helping them, as you will see by the copies handed to you of her letter and the document.

You are also aware that, after the matter had been considered, I at once sent the messenger back again with a letter, saying that the answer would be sent by you, he having been informed that you had already been appointed to go to England on the question, and it was desirable that both she and the States should understand, through you, that what we have decided to do has proceeded from our own free will and favour, and was resolved upon long before the arrival of Thomas Wilkes. You will make this clear as soon as you arrive where the Queen is, and will repeat it when you deliver our letter to her and subsequently, as she, by this means, will the better understand the answers we have instructed you to give to her letters. You must bear in mind that you will have to pass over and make light of all the complaints and grievances of the Queen, as there is no need to discuss them, unless she again repeats them, in which case you will not be able to

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avoid giving some general answer for the purpose of assuaging her suspicions and assuring her of our friendship.

On the principal points, you will say that we thank her warmly for the kind words she sent by her messenger respecting her efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement between us and our subjects in the Netherlands, and to cause them again to return to our favour, but that there is nothing fresh to say about this, because, long before we received her message, we had taken gracious measures, which, she will see by the copy of the document you will show her, were ample for the purpose of assuring my subjects that, if they would comply with the two promises they have given, namely, to observe the Roman Catholic religion and submit to our rule as they did to that of the Emperor, hostilities would be abandoned and peace and concord restored.

There is nothing particular to say, either, respecting the appointment of a successor to my brother Don Juan of Austria in the Government of the States, as we had, some time ago, granted this request.

This was announced to them (the States) so long ago, that we are much surprised that they should not have informed her of the same before she wrote her letter, but, no doubt, she will have learnt it ere this. You will say that, in compliance with our promise, we are willing to send to Don Juan a successor who cannot be otherwise than acceptable to them, so that in this particular, also, the Queen's recommendations have been anticipated. It is, however, desirable that neither she nor the States should imagine that the new Governor is to be my nephew, the Archduke Mathias.*

After this you will point out to her that everything that has been done there by our brother, in unison with us, has been so completely justified that we are sure that, if the States are not henceforward quiet and contented, she will turn her arms against them as she promises, but that if, contrary to our expectations and notwithstanding the aforegoing explanations, she should still send aid in troops and money to the rebels, we should be much surprised, as it would be against all reason, and a violation of our alliance and friendship which would cause us much sorrow. You will tell her, however, that neither this nor any other consideration will cause us to relinquish the determination we have adopted to bring our subjects back again to obedience, using against them and their adherents all the force that human and divine right permit us to employ and our royal dignity demands; but I hope and trust that, she being a just and prudent princess, will not give cause for this, but that we shall have her on our side, and that, as a friend and sister, she will turn her arms, as she promises to do, to our support,

* The Archduke Mathias, a younger brother of the Emperor, who was a youth of 22, had recently been brought into the States as Governor by the duke of Arschot and the Flemish Catholic nobles, as an avowed rival to the Protestant prince of Orange. This had given rise to the tumults at Ghent and the imprisonment of Arschot and his party, but, at the date of the present letter, the prince of Orange had prevailed upon the States to accept Mathias as Governor, with himself as Lieutenant, the object being to separate the Catholic Flemings and Walloons from Don Juan and the Spaniards, and to arouse jealousy between the two branches of the house of Austria.

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or, at least, that she will not, privately or openly, help the rebels, in violation of treaties and ancient bonds and alliances.

The other points of the Queen's letter and documents do not call for reply, as they are fully dealt with by anticipation in your formal instructions. You will advise both me and my brother of all that happens, as you have already been instructed to do.—Madrid, 26th January 1578.

16 Feb. **477.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to ZAYAS.

I wrote on the 10th from Valladolid, and I have been unable to write again until my arrival here at Irun to-day, in consequence of the most dreadful weather, rain, ice, and snow, in addition to which the relays of horses were very poor, and from Burgos hither little diligence was displayed. I now find that Franco de Eraso has left here with six horses, which has been the cause of delaying me until to-morrow, when I hope to go forward, as Domingo de Iralta assures me that the road is clear. I have given him your letter, and we have arranged how my letters are to be sent to him by sea. The English ambassador* has sent to tell me by a courier from France that he would wait a week for me in Paris. I am sorry that I shall not be able to reach him in time.—Irun, 16th February 1578.

26 Feb. **478.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to ZAYAS.

I wrote to you on the 16th from Irun, and arrived at this place this morning, not without trouble, both in consequence of the heavy rains and because the flight of M. D'Alençon† has put the whole of this country in turmoil, and might well cause difficulty to a travelling foreigner. I have been also much delayed by the bad supply of horses, but, although I have been so tardy, I have found here no letters from Don Juan. I send him the letter from his Majesty by Franco de Erasco, who, as he has a passport, will go quicker than any courier. I write to his Highness that I expected to have found a despatch from him here, and after I have visited their Majesties, I shall leave Paris and tarry on the road until I have received his Highness's reply, since the recent victory‡ cannot fail to have altered the position of affairs in the States, and it will be well for me to understand matters before I speak to the Queen. I have decided not to stay here, so that the Flushing people may put no spies upon me.

Between Bordeaux and Poitiers I met M. de Muisan, who is the lieutenant of the prince of Bearn. He was accompanied by some French gentlemen, and amongst them an Aragonese highwayman from the mountains of Jaca, who asked me whether I had met large numbers of Burgundian Frenchmen in companies on their way as pilgrims to Santiago. I told him that I had, and he replied

* Thomas Wilkes, who was returning home to London.

† The duke of Alençon had fled from Paris and had joined the Huguenots and Germans in the north-east of France, where he was openly defying his brother's authority. This had aroused the Protestants all over France, and, at the moment, seemed to portend a re-commencement of the religious wars in a worse form than ever.

‡ The battle of Gemblours, 31st January 1578.

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that it was a serious matter that so many should go together, most of them being young and strong, with their wallets and staves new, which I had already noticed, as I had met many bands of them as far as Poitiers and beyond. I have thought it not sufficiently important to write to his Majesty about, as I had nothing else to say; but you may tell him. I have not yet asked for an audience of the King, as I am hardly yet out of the saddle, and just write to say that I have arrived. The English ambassador passed through here to Calais without stopping.

As I was sealing this I learnt that the Queen had been expecting me in England for some time, and if I had received Don Juan's instructions, it would be well that I should hurry forward, as Thomas Wilkes has done, in order that they may not be forearmed with his information.—Paris, 26th February 1578.

4 March. **479.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I arrived here on the 26th ultimo, and Juan de Vargas Mejia requested audience for me which their Majesties granted on the 2nd. They received me very well and were pleased to hear of the good health of your Majesty, the Queen, the Prince, &c. I visited the King, the Queen, and the princess of Bearn, but the Queen-Mother is not here, she having left for Angers to see M. D'Alençon when he fled, and is still there. Juan de Vargas spoke to the King in my presence respecting the flight of M. D'Alençon, and he replied that he was sure your Majesty would be sorry for the trouble, but that his brother had sent him a gentleman with a letter assuring him that his departure from this place would not cause him to be other than his very obedient brother, and he might take the letter as a pledge of this. The King referred to this twice with pleasure, apparently desiring that your Majesty should know of it. He seemed to have been alarmed and not yet to be entirely reassured.

I learn from the English ambassador here and other sources that the Queen has been pressing the Seignory of Venice to send an ambassador to her, she being desirous of having one in the Republic, in order that she may be better informed upon Italian affairs, notwithstanding the intelligence she has on all sides. The Seignory not having responded favourably to this, the Queen, I am told, has taken away the privileges enjoyed by the Venetians who went to England to trade. She has treated them so badly that she wants to stop trade with them altogether, as a Venetian shipmaster who recently came from England told the ambassador here.

They tell me also that the Queen is much alarmed at news from Florence that Stukeley had left Civita Vecchia with six hundred men in a galleon, and this alarm has been increased by her being told that his leaving Rome with these forces could only have been with the consent of your Majesty, and that, as your Majesty is busy with the war in Flanders, you would not have countenanced this rebel subject of hers without an understanding with the king of France, whom she has so much offended. This idea has alarmed her so that she has made great preparations all over the country, both to raise men and to reinforce the guards in the ports as well as

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ordering the equipment of a large number of ships. She summoned the Council, at which the magistrate and heads of the City of London were summoned, which is a great innovation. In view of the matter I have mentioned and the victory of his Highness, the subject of the best course to be taken by the Queen was considered. Opinions differed greatly, and the Queen ended by saying that it was clear to her that the majority were desirous that she should take the worst step, namely, to break with your Majesty, which she would not do as she owed her life and throne to you. Some people think, however, that this was only a stratagem, as there were a large number of people at the Council, and she wanted this expression to get abroad.

She has sent a lord to Scotland to try and steal the King who, as he is now growing up, says that he cannot help being sorry that his mother is in prison and wants to get her released. This lord was sent on the 12th ultimo, and she has since sent two ambassadors hither as she learns that the Scotch people are discontented with their governors.

Thomas Wilkes arrived in England, and it is reported that he told the Queen that your Majesty was resolved to be friendly with her if she pursued the same course towards you, but if the contrary was the case and she failed in anything, you would at once declare war.

The English ambassador here, as soon as he learnt that I had arrived, sent a courier to England, and, although I found no instructions from Don Juan here, I will leave to-morrow morning, so as not to lose time. I sent your Majesty's letter to his Highness on my arrival here, and wrote him that, when I had fulfilled your Majesty's instructions here, I would leave on my voyage but would tarry on the road until I received news from him as to the state of things in the Netherlands, for my guidance.—Paris, 4th March 1578.

4 March. **480.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to ZAYAS.

I wrote on the 26th ultimo when I arrived here, and since then have had an audience of the King on the 2nd, as I report to his Majesty. I give to the King an account of my proceedings here in fulfilment of my commission and, as for the rest, I can assure your worship that there are plenty of people here who were only too anxious to send any news that I may have omitted. I beg your worship to overlook any shortcomings in this respect as I am only a beginner and his Majesty has changed my mount.

I shall leave to-morrow for Calais where, with God's help, I shall take ship as soon as I arrive, if there be no news of pirates. I bear a letter from the Christian King to M. de Jordan, but if I hear that the pirates are about and there is any danger in passing over, I will wait until the Queen sends a ship to take me, as I shall request her to do.

I have received no reply from Don Juan and it will be awkward if it is longer delayed, as it will not be well if I have to wait very long after landing at Dover before speaking with the Queen.

People at Court here took a good deal of notice at seeing me so

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finely tricked out on the day that I had audience, and your worship's advice seems to have been good.

The Nuncio and other ambassadors resident here have visited me and it has not been a bad lesson for a diplomatic chicken, such as I am, to mix with so many ministers, each one of whom sought to draw me.—Paris, 4th March 1578.

8 March. **481.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to ZAYAS.

I wrote from Paris on the 4th, saying that I was leaving there on the following day. I arrived here on Thursday evening, but the weather was so contrary for the passage to Dover that I have been obliged to wait all to-day, but now at sunset the weather may change, and in that case I hope to be at Dover at daybreak to-morrow, as I shall embark at high tide after midnight to-night. I have been helped by the Governor of the town, M. de Jordan, for whom I brought letters from the Christian King, and he has been as careful in keeping me secret as if he had been a minister of our own King. I have thought well to let you know this in order that his Majesty may see that I do my best to hurry forward on my voyage where obstacles are not insuperable. I have no answer from Don Juan.—Calais, 8th March 1578.

11 March. **482.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to ZAYAS.

I wrote from Calais news of my arrival there and the cause of my detention. I embarked the same night and God blessed me with fine weather, so that in four hours I arrived in Dover where the Governor of the County* sent me word to proceed on my voyage. I therefore came on hither where I will tarry, for the reason explained in my letter to the King, and also to recover from the fatigue of the passage, during which I was furiously sea-sick. In addition to this I have no news at all of my servants who embarked more than a month ago. Whilst I have been idling at this inn several friends have come to me and I have learned what I write.

The Queen sent a gentleman to visit me with many kind expressions, and others are to come to take me to London.

Antonio de Guaras has been more strictly confined since my arrival, and one of his servants who was free has now been shut up, so that no one is allowed to communicate with them. Orders have been also given to capture a man who was in Don Juan's service and for the seizure of all letters for him. I should be very sorry if I did not receive a reply from his Highness during the next two or three days, as it appears to me that things are in such a state here as to make it impossible for me to defer my interview with the Queen.

I am informed from Bruges that the intention of taking the plate from the churches and trade guilds was already very far advanced, and that Don Juan has surrendered Diest.—Gravesend, 11th March 1578.

* Lord Cobham, Lord Lieutenant of Kent.

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19 March. **483.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 11th instant from Gravesend, and departed the next day, a gentleman having been sent from the Queen at Greenwich to bring me to London. Another of her pensioners met me on the road thither to salute me from her and told me that she would give me audience when I pleased. I replied that I was travel-worn and unwell, but that, as soon as I was better, I would request audience.

I made this my excuse for a day or so in the hope of receiving a reply from his Highness, but as I heard that part of the hundred thousand pounds had been raised, which the Queen had agreed to lend to the States when M. d'Havrey was here, through the Fuggers of Cologne and other merchants, on the guarantee of certain citizens here, and also, as I was told, that Havrey was coming back, I resolved to ask for audience, being greatly pressed thereto by Smith and others who came to see me from the Queen, and were curious to know why I did not do so. I thought, moreover, that there would be no great harm in my seeing her before I had letters from his Highness, whilst, if I delayed doing so, the doubts already entertained by her at the instance of the rebels here might be augmented. They tell her that I am only here to entertain her with words, whilst I try to stir up strife in Scotland and disturb her own country.

The Queen gave me audience on the 16th, and received me in privy chamber, where, after I had saluted her in the name of your Majesty and the Queen, I told her that I would convey to her the message your Majesty had given me before you received her letter by Thomas Wilkes, and afterwards would give her your Majesty's reply to that letter. She said that was a very good way of proceeding and that she would hear me with pleasure. I then represented to her the various shortcomings of the States towards Don Juan as regards the arrangement made by him with them, but said that, in order not to tire her, I would state the matter at length to her Council, or to her when she thought best. She was full of complaints of his Highness, saying that it was he who broke the agreement and caused the new trouble, by seizing Namur and arranging with the Germans not to leave the country, which, she said, was proved by letters of his Highness which had been intercepted. I replied by showing her the absolute need which had occurred for his Highness to retire as he had done to Namur, and told her how often he had begged the States from there to be tranquil, on his promise to fulfil the agreement made with them. She replied that she would be glad if this were so, and dwelt upon her efforts in the same direction, with a view of bringing the States to submit to your Majesty. She said that the States had written to M. D'Alençon and he had replied to them, as she would prove to me by seven or eight letters signed with his own hand. She had, she said, recently sent word to the king of France through her ambassador that she could not allow him or his brother to take possession of the Netherlands.

Coming to the point of her being made a party to the fresh capitulations which the States now demanded, she told me that the

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reason why they had introduced her name was that she had lent them monies to pay the amounts stipulated, without which they could not make peace, and in this it might appear that she had failed to fulfil her treaties with your Majesty, as she had not advised you of it; but the reason of her not doing so had been that there was no time, and she thought she was complying with her obligation by informing his Highness of what she had done. When I pointed out to her how improper it had been to make her a party, she told me that it had been done without her knowledge or consent, and that she was very sorry.

With regard to the seizing of the Castle of Antwerp and the bringing of the Archduke Mathias, she said nothing, and did not speak of his retention of the Government, only saying that he, being of the blood royal, as the Governor would have to be, they had summoned him after having written to your Majesty their letter of 25th. I offered her a copy of this letter and your Majesty's reply thereto, but she declined it, saying that she knew nothing of it as your Majesty wrote many letters that never reached the States at all, for which she blamed his Highness. I said in this case that point did not arise, as M. de Selles had taken the letter direct to Brussels without seeing his Highness. She said she approved of what your Majesty had promised them in the letter, which was in accord with her recommendations, and, if they remained obstinate after that, it would be well to punish them. She was glad that M. d'Havrey was to arrive that night and she would tell him her opinion on the matter.

I carefully made the representations to her which your Majesty ordered me, the Queen being seated on a low stool, and another being brought for me, in order that she might listen to me at ease. She ordered the chamber to be cleared of people and summoned thither the members of the Council who were at Court, to the number of six, to whom she repeated very fairly what I had said, to the effect that your Majesty, in your accustomed clemency and goodness, had made offers to your subjects who, if they did not accept them, ought to be punished. When she dismissed the Council I noticed that the earl of Leicester left in a great hurry, I understood for the purpose of writing to M. d'Havrey, because when I asked for him they answered me significantly that he had gone out. The Queen again spoke to me and said she was glad to see me again in her country, although she had been told that the object of my coming was to plan many things to her prejudice. I answered her that the best proof I could give her that this was not so would be my actions and proceedings whilst here. She said that, even if I were not a minister of your Majesty, she did not think that I should try to do her any harm or disturb her country. She entertained me with this and other things of a like nature for a long while until I took my leave. The next day she sent her Secretary of State, Thomas Wilson, to me to ask me to give him in writing what I had said, in conformity with your Majesty's instructions, and that her Council wished to speak to me, fixing the 20th after dinner for the interview. I went accordingly, Cecil having come to London to attend this Council, he having been

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absent from Court for some days. There were eight members there, and the earl of Sussex, speaking for the rest, said that the Queen and Council had considered my verbal and written communications and requested that I would answer the points which they would submit to me arising therefrom. I send enclosed a copy of their document and my answer thereto, which they requested in writing, after I had given it verbally to the Council. They said that this was the form in which they usually proceeded with ambassadors.

After much conversation with me, Cecil spoke about the violation of the agreement entered into by the States with his Highness, upon whom they cast the blame. The Queen had submitted to your Majesty four remedies for the tranquillisation of the States, as to three of which your Majesty had replied that you had already promised them, whilst as to the fourth, with regard to the fulfilment of the terms of pacification, no answer had been given excepting that they (the States) must observe the edict. The Queen could not force them to submit to your Majesty, but if the terms were offered to them and they refused them she would take arms against them. At this point Walsingham took the earl of Leicester apart, and, together with Cecil, seemed to be urging something very forcibly upon him. So far as I could understand, it referred to one of the articles providing for the departure of the Spaniards and foreign soldiers, the Queen having told me in our first conversation that she did not want the Spaniards so near to her. I replied that the States had requested of his Highness new conditions contrary to the edict, which signified that they were not satisfied with it. I said, moreover, that your Majesty had frankly offered them in your letters the two other points, and I supposed that was the reason why the particulars to which he referred had not been answered by your Majesty. Cecil said that the Queen was desirous of making every effort to tranquillise the States, as she had offered your Majesty and his Highness by her ambassador, and she had also sent to the Grand Commander word to the same effect, the answer having always been that your Majesty would settle matters with your own subjects. She therefore did not know if your Majesty would be willing to accept her mediation, although your Majesty replied that you had offered, and were still offering, to your subjects the terms she recommended; which was repeated to me at every conversation, with the expressed opinion that the first step towards an agreement should be a suspension of hostilities. By means of this talk, between Cecil and the rest of them, they tried to draw me out, and to learn whether I had been authorized by your Majesty to treat for peace, and whether I was to remain here as ordinary ambassador, or had come simply on this errand; my answers on these points being ambiguous.

After they rose Cecil told me before all of them that the Queen and Council could not help being surprised that I brought no authority for the Queen to negotiate an agreement, since your Majesty offered your subjects the terms which she had advised. I replied, that although the Queen said the States would be satisfied, she gave no assurance that this would be the case, and, until this was done and

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there was a certainty that no new conditions would be demanded, it was not necessary to bring any such authority. Although I suspect that the Council will very shortly give me a reply as they have my written answer before them, I have thought well to advise your Majesty what had been done so far.—London, 19th March 1578.

31 March. **484.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

With my instructions I received the memorandum directing me to make inquiries with regard to a certain voyage undertaken by the English two years ago by order of the Queen. As the business is managed with great secrecy, and any person concerned in it who divulges the details is to be punished with death, I have had much difficulty in discovering particulars. I have, however, got a clue, by which I think I shall be able to learn the whole story from the beginning for your Majesty's information.

The captain who made the voyage is called Frobisher, and reached the country two years ago, whilst attempting to discover some of your Majesty's Indies by way of Chile, although in the opinion of some pilots no such way thither exists. By this road others assert that he was trying to arrive at Cathay, a land of vast population and trade, which is reached through Muscovy. This captain tried the first year with two little vessels of thirty-five tons, in which he sailed in May from London, going round the North of Scotland to Iceland by West-north-west, which, allowing for the variation of the needle, is equal to North-west by West. From Iceland he went West-south-west until, after having sailed six hundred leagues, he discovered land, two islands, in sixty-two degrees North latitude. These islands were very high, and consisted of enormous rocks which glittered in the sun, and were quite treeless. They were about five leagues long and three wide, the space between the two islands being some fourteen leagues, forming a small gulf. At a distance of some five leagues from the islands they discovered a coast from which flowed a great river of salt water into the gulf formed by the two islands. The mouth of the river was five leagues across and very deep, and although they sailed seven leagues up the stream, they could not ascertain for certain whether they were off the mainland, although they thought from appearances that they were.

The land they discovered, they say, is near the country called Labrador, which joins Newfoundland, where the Biscay men go in search of whales. This may well be believed, as they say the natives they saw are much like the savages found there, and dressed in the same way with the skins of seals. They caught one of the natives, and when the English complained much of the cold, he gave them to understand by signs that they should go up the river, where it was warmer. These people fight with bows, and three of them attacked thirty Englishmen and defeated Frobisher, who tells the story. On discovering these two islands they made some excavations amongst the rocks, digging a hole three fathoms deep, in which they found that the ore they discovered was finer and the lode thicker as they went deeper. They brought away with

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them a quantity of the earth, and when they returned to England at the end of September* the Queen had it reduced, and found that it rendered a great deal of silver. Frobisher was therefore ordered to return the next year, with the two small vessels and another of two hundred tons, orders being given that if any unauthorized person should attempt to make the voyage, or should divulge anything about it, he should be punished with death. He returned thither in the following May, and on his arrival at the islands captured a man, a woman, and a child, with the loss of some Englishmen. With fifteen or twenty men he excavated for twenty-five days in the island nearest the West, as before, and took two hundred and fifty tons of the earth, which he shipped on board his three vessels and brought to England, the three natives dying on the way. The Queen ordered this earth to be taken to Deptford, a league and a half from London, where it has been smelted with great secrecy, all persons concerned being threatened with death or confiscation if they divulge particulars. It is said that the ore differs, although all of it contains silver to some extent, one variety producing sixty crowns the quintal nett. I send your Majesty a very small piece of this and small specimens of the others, which I have obtained with very great difficulty, and, if it had been possible, they should have been assayed before sending them to your Majesty, but that was not possible to do with the necessary secrecy. It appears almost incredible that the ore can produce such a quantity of silver as this, but it is known that the Queeen pays the German who smelts it four thousand reals a year, as well as ten reals every day he works, all the other men employed being very well paid. The shipmasters who go on the voyage are paid three reals a day maintenance until they sail, and the sailors two reals a day. Much favour is being shown to Frobisher; and all this proves that the business must be a prosperous one to bear such heavy charges. Large warehouses are to be taken a mile from London, in which to store the earth which will be brought in October, the ships which are to go having been fitting out since the 23rd of March. There are eight ships, six of a hundred and fifty to two hundred tons, carrying sixty or seventy sailors each, and the original two little vessels carrying five-and-twenty men each ; the commander of the expedition being Frobisher, as before. He also takes with him a hundred men under sentence of death, whom he will leave there to see whether they can exist in that climate, which is intensely cold, and he is accompanied by forty mariners with four boats to explore the river. He carries great quantities of picks and spades, with wood for building and fuel, the intention being, if these Englishmen can bear the climate, to take people next year from here to colonize the place and build two forts at the mouth of the river. It is understood that the Queen is carrying out this expedition in union

* Frobisher left Blackwall on his first voyage in June 1576, and returned to Harwich on the 2nd October. His second voyage lasted from the 26th May 1577 to the 28th September of the same year. An interesting account of the three voyages is given in Hakluyt.

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with the Muscovy company in London. If this voyage is undertaken from Spain, I am told by a person who has seen the chart, that they must first make for Cape Clear in Ireland, and thence sail north-west, providing for the variation of the needle until the land is made. I have tried to get one of the six charts which the Queen has ordered for this voyage, or to have another made by the same man, but it has not been possible, probably in consequence of the penalty threatened by the Queen. The man, however, by dint of promises and other means, has begun to entertain the matter, and I will follow him up with all care until I can send a chart to your Majesty.*

I have also heard that six weeks before Christmas Captain Drake, with four or five ships left here for Nombre de Dios and the land of Camanones (Camaroons ?) which voyage he made before with Captain Hawkins very successfully, and fought with Pero Menendez. These ships were fitted out here on the pretence that they were going to Alexandria for currants.—London, 31st March 1578.

* Sir Philip Sidney, writing to his friend Languet (Zurich Archives, Parker Soc.) on the 1st October, gives the following account of Frobisher's discovery:—"I wrote to you "a year ago about a certain Frobisher, who, in rivalry of Magellan, has explored that sea "which he supposes to wash the north part of America. It is a marvellous history. "After having made slow progress last year so as only to pass in the autumn the Feroe "Isles and an island which he supposes to be Friesland, discovered by the Venetian "Zeni, he touched at a certain island for the purpose of recruiting himself and his crew. "And there by chance a young man, one of the ship's company, picked up a piece of "earth which he saw glittering on the ground and showed it to Frobisher, who, being "engaged in other matters and not believing that the precious metals were produced in "a region so far north, considered it of no value. But he returned home at the beginning "of the winter. The young man kept the earth by him as a memorial of his labour (for "he had no thought of anything else) till his return to London, and there, when one of "his friends perceived it shining in an extraordinary manner, he made an assay and found "that it was the purest gold and without any admixture of other metal. Wherefore, Fro-"bisher went back to the place last spring under orders to explore the island and, should "it answer his expectations, to proceed no further. This he has done, and has now "returned bringing his ships, of which he had only three, and those of small size, fully "laden, and he is said (for they have not yet unloaded) to have brought 200 tons of ore. "He has given it as his decided opinion that the island is so productive of metals as to "very far surpass the country of Peru, at least as it now is. There are also six other "islands which seem very little inferior to this. It is therefore at this time under debate "by what means these our hitherto successful labours can be still carried on in safety "against the attacks of other nations, among whom the Spaniards and Danes seem "especially to be considered, the former as claiming all the western parts by right from "the Pope, the later as being more northerly and therefore nearer and relying on their "possession of Iceland they are better provided with the means of undertaking the "voyage." Sidney then urges upon his friend to send him information about the regulations for working silver ores in Germany, of which he says the English are as ignorant as of growing vines, in order that he may show his letter to the Queen, "as the thing may some time or other be of use to the professors of the true religion." Hakluyt says that Frobisher took on his second voyage the "Aide" of 200 tons and the "Gabriel" and the "Michael" of 30 tons each, and that the island whence the ore came was given the name of Hall after the Captain of the "Gabriel," the group of islands being doubtless those at the mouth of Frobisher's straits. Hakluyt's account of the ore is as follows:—"One brought a piece of black stone much like a sea coal in colour which by the "weight seemed to be some kind of metal. This was a thing of no account in the judg-"ment of the captain at first sight, and yet for novelty it was kept in respect of the place "from whence it came. After his arrival in London, being demanded of sundry friends "what thing he had brought them home out of that country, he had nothing left to "present them withal but a piece of this black stone. And it fortuned a gentlewoman, "one of the adventurers' wives, to have a piece thereof which by chance she threw and "burned in the fire, so long that at length being taken forth and quenched in a little "vinegar it glittered with a bright marcasite of gold . . . . and was found to "hold gold, and that very rich for the quantity."

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31 March. **485.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 19th that M. d'Havrey had arrived here and the Queen gave him audience on the 21st. He told her that the States were much grieved that the earl of Leicester had not gone over with the troops he had promised them, but that, since she had taken steps for so many soldiers to be raised here, and had provided the money which she was to lend them, they had taken fresh courage and hope. He said she was not to be anxious at so many places being surrendered to Don Juan as they were places of no importance, which they were glad to leave unprotected in order that his Highness might waste his force upon them. She would see by the middle of April what a powerful army they would place in the field to face your Majesty. She was not to trust in anything to my coming, as its sole object was to entertain her with words, and she was to beware of the Spaniards in the Netherlands, who were arriving so famished from Italy that all that the Netherlands contained would not satisfy them, and they would come over to her country as they threatened. The Queen received him, Havrey, in the Privy Chamber, five of her councillors being present, namely, Cecil, Leicester, Sussex, Walsingham, Hatton, and another Secretary. The day after Havrey arrived Leicester came to his house and was with him for more than two hours. He told him that the Queen had not sent troops, in consequence of the dissensions which she understood existed in the States, and the difficulty of her trusting them. She would, however, not fail to help them as she had promised if they would agree, and would use every effort to induce your Majesty to remove his Highness and the Spaniards. They have never been able to agree about the places which they are to hand to her on the arrival of Leicester with his forces, as she wishes that the places should be surrendered to her empty of troops, so that she may garrison them with English soldiers. The States know that this would probably end badly for the natives.

News comes from Scotland that Thomas Randolph, this Queen's ambassador there, is in prison, and that the earl of Crawford has murdered the Chancellor of Scotland, Lord Glamis, in consequence of a feud between them.

The Scotch captain that the French ambassador had sent to France, has returned and says that the King is rather luke-warm about sending help to Scotland, whilst M. de Guise is very discontended in Paris and his lieutenant is in Brittany looking after the ships which are there being equipped.

The Queen is very suspicious at the news she received from France that M. de Guise has had an interview with his Highness. She says that, for this reason, and in view of the fleet being fitted out in Brittany, where ten thousand men were to be raised, she knows that your Majesty was entering into a league with the king of France, and that Alençon's flight was not concealed in order the better to dissemble this understanding. The French ambassador here assures me that the Queen has frequently told him that she heard from many quarters that your Majesty, the Pope, and his King were in league to destroy her, and troops are being raised for

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this purpose in all countries, even some Englishmen being desirous of going over to his Highness.

M. d'Havrey is mixing with many English gentlemen and some of them offer to raise troops and take them to the States, although the number and commander are not known.—London, 31st March 1578.

31 March. **486.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

On the 19th instant I wrote to your Majesty what had passed between me and the Queen and Council, and that the latter had sent the Secretary to request a reply to the points which had been presented to me, a copy of which I sent to your Majesty. They also said that the Council wished to see me. I took this opportunity of requesting audience of the Queen, which was fixed for the 25th, the Council, however, desiring to speak to me first. There were eight members present, Cecil being away; and the earl of Sussex in a very long speech represented to me the efforts the Queen had made for the pacification of the Netherlands. For this purpose she had sent to your Majesty and the Governors of the States eight or nine ambassadors, the last of whom, Wilkes, took letters of credence in order that he might verbally execute his errand. He also took a long document which had been drawn up with great care, fully setting forth the state of things in the Netherlands, and the risk they were running, and proposing a remedy for the troubles. Of the four remedies suggested to your Majesty, one, namely, that touching the treaty of pacification, had not been answered, and she had also been informed that his Highness had signified to the States that the agreement for peace made with them would not be observed. The States had not mentioned this agreement in the letter they wrote to your Majesty, as they considered that it was a settled thing, it having been signed and sealed; but now as they saw Don Juan with armed force taking and sacking places every day they were desperate and ready to deliver themselves to any one' For this reason, and seeing also how far advanced were the negotiations being carried on with France by the States, which would be greatly to her prejudice and that of her country, she had decided to send an ambassador to his Highness to inform him of the fact and request that at least a truce might be entered into, whilst your Majesty was advised and your answer as to conceding the treaty of peace received. She requested that I would accompany the ambassador and negotiate the matter with his Highness, or, if that were impossible, that I would write, although she would be more greatly pleased if I would go in person; and she begged me to do so most sincerely. If a truce were not granted she could not avoid giving resolute aid to the States and succouring them in every way, Havrey having come to tell her that, if she did not make up her mind in a week, they would give themselves over to France, which would be very bad for her and her country, and, even if she would consent to overlook it, her subjects would not do so. He said all this with great emphasis, and the Queen herself repeated it to me when I saw her afterwards. I replied to them that, as for the Netherlands handing themselves over to the king of France, even if they desired

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to do so, I did not believe that he would accept them, as they were subject to your Majesty and part of your patrimony. I said this was amply shown by the fact that the king of France had sent his soldiers in aid of his Highness, which was a much better proof than the doubts they raised when they told me that the States had sent private persons to ask M. de Alençon to come and help them and be their Prince, he on his part promising to do so with twelve thousand infantry and four thousand horse, which could not be believed; but if he were to do so and the States were to give themselves over to him, your Majesty had power to recover them, however strong might be the Prince who held them. As regards my going with the ambassador, I said I had no instructions to do so, but would write to his Highness, as the Queen and Council told me that they were not sending to your Majesty about it in order to save time, which could only be to the prejudice of the States, as they were not armed and his Highness was. She could not wish that either side should be prejudiced as she desired to become the mediator. Respecting the question of the truce I replied that here the prejudice was distinctly on the side of your Majesty, as during the suspension the troops that had been raised might be brought by the States from Germany and the places fortified, as indeed they had already hurriedly commenced to do. To her reply that if Don Juan did not suspend the hostilities she would aid and succour the States, I said that this would be a violation of the treaties with your Majesty, and if the States were so obstinate as to refuse the favour held out to them by your Majesty, who graciously conceded what they had asked for in their letters, your Majesty would not desist from the course you had adopted until they were punished and brought into submission, for which purpose you would use against them and their friends all the force which was warranted by human and divine rights. After this, she raised some religious questions which I pretended not to understand, and diverted her from them by other subjects which I knew would interest her, such as saying how good she was, and so on. From what I understand, God has been pleased still to maintain some Catholics in this country, and I am told that many persons openly observe the religion, notwithstanding the penalties against it. They have been much encouraged by an event that happened this summer at Oxford, which was foretold by one of the men whom the judges sentenced to martyrdom three days before it happened. He said he hoped that God would punish those who condemned him as a testimony of his innocence and that of the other Catholics.

During the few days I have been here and in my conversations with the Queen I have found her much opposed to your Majesty's interests, as may be seen by the answers she has given me, and most of her ministers are quite alienated from us, particularly those who are most important, as although there are seventeen councillors with the two secretaries, Hatton and the new ones, the bulk of the business really depends upon the Queen, Leicester, Walsingham and Cecil, the latter of whom, although he takes part in the resolution of them by virtue of his office, absents himself on many occasions, as he is opposed to the Queen's helping the rebels so effectively and

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thus weakening her own position. He does not wish to break with Liecester and Walsingham on the matter, they being very much wedded to the States, and extremely self-seeking, as I am assured that they are keeping the interest of the money which the Queen has lent to the States, without counting the presents they have received out of the principal. They urge the business under cloak of preserving their religion, which Cecil cannot well oppose, nor can he afford to make enemies of them, as they are well supported. Some of the councillors are well disposed towards your Majesty, but Leicester, whose spirit is Walsingham, is so highly favoured by the Queen, notwithstanding his bad character, that he centres in his hands and those of his friends most of the business of the country, and his creatures hold most of the ports on the coast, so that your Majesty's friends have had to sail with the stream, and it will be a difficult and lengthy task to reassure them and bring them back again. This can only be done in the way that your Majesty knows of, as to attempt it by any other, whilst the general feeling is so much in favour of sending aid to the States, would make the business impossible altogether. It is very bold of me to say this, and I humbly beg your Majesty to forgive me, as my desire to serve your Majesty urges me to write upon subjects which I but little understand.

I spoke to the Queen with regard to the liberation of Antonio de Guaras, but she was very much irritated, and said that it was only because he was a subject of your Majesty that she had not hanged him, as he had been in correspondence with her rebel subjects and the queen of Scotland, and she had letters of his greatly prejudicial to the peace of her country. She said she would get rid of him in due time after she had got some more information from him. I will not fail to do my best to hasten his release, although they have kept him closer since I came.—London, 31st March 1578.

12 April. **487.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 31st ultimo, and on the 4th instant received a letter from Don Juan dated the 14th, with one for the Queen in my credence.

I thereupon requested audience, which was granted on the 10th, when I handed to the Queen his Highness's letter. As soon as she saw it she said it was very old, which I excused. She mentioned that the object of the letter was to advise her of his Highness's victory, respecting which I gave her a full statement, in conformity with his Highness's instructions. She replied that it was a great pleasure to her to hear of victories won for your Majesty, and by his Highness, unless they, being against your own subjects, might tend to the destruction of your own patrimony. She said she had sent Thomas Wilkes to his Highness, and that if her requests were not acceded to she would help the States with all her strength, and this she said in a loud voice, that it might be heard by every one present. I replied that the people were already talking of this, as money had been lent to M. d'Havrey, and troops were being raised here for Flanders, against the treaties with your Majesty, whose rebel subjects she was thus helping. I also

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said, as his Highness had ordered me, that if the States were so obstinate as to be dissatisfied with the concessions which they themselved had begged for on the 25th of September, and which had been granted to them, I could not help telling her, much attached as I was to her by her kindness to me, that your Majesty had very long arms, and, that if need arose, their strength would be felt in any country upon which they were placed. She swallowed this with rather a wry face, and replied that she did not consider these people to be rebels, as they were satisfied with what your Majesty had granted them before, and she would not allow either the French to set foot in the States, nor the Spaniards to rule them, on any account, and she would stand to this while she had a man left in her country. I told her that the French were not thinking of such a thing, and I could believe that they had their eyes fixed rather elsewhere. She said she knew what was going on in Ireland, and that the king of France had sent the Order of St. Michael to an Irishman, as she was informed of what took place everywhere. When I assured her that she might have confidence in your Majesty, and reminded her of the steps taken in the year 1560 to prevent the French from entering Scotland,* she replied that she was well aware of the league between your Majesty, the Pope, and the king of France; and knew how long it had been hatching, as the Emperor Maximilian had told her five years ago that he had been asked to join it. She also knew what was the object of the visit of two Spaniards to this country. I tried to satisfy her on these points, and she said that the letters that had been captured, written by his Highness, proved what she said. The letters were confessed to be his, although he said that he had not ordered his secretary to write what he had. She was full of complaints of his Highness as usual, saying that he had broken his promise and the oath of peace, and she knew very well that his Highness was on the look-out for a kingdom that belonged to her. She ended by swearing three times in the name of God that if the perpetual edict was not granted she would help the States whilst she had a man left in England. This is all I can report to your Majesty, but as things here change so rapidly and continually, it is difficult to keep pace with them, and to send their latest decisions. These people are so fickle and wavering that they are indeed insular. With regard to the release of Antonio de Guaras, I spoke to her warmly, as his Highness instructed me. She said that she had been very merciful to him, that the honour and dignity of her country forced her to keep him in his present condition, but that if these two points were not involved, she would not detain him a moment, but would send him out of the country. I returned to the subject later, when she begged me earnestly not to mention him to her, nor his servant Damian either, as he was as great a rogue as his master. She said I should soon have two packets of letters which he had left in Calais to be sent to me, and which he had not brought hither in order

* Particulars of these negotiations will be found in the letters of De Glajon and Bishop Quadra in the first volume of this Calendar.

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to prevent their seizure. I said I hoped that my despatches would not be tampered with in her country whilst I was your Majesty's minister here, and I was much surprised at the complaints made to me by Spaniards that their servants were stopped at the ports, and their letters taken from them. She replied that she was very glad that her people were so alert, although it was not by her orders; as certain people came here with no very good objects in view, and anybody who was captured in future on account of such plots should be hanged first and your Majesty informed afterwards. She said that I need not be surprised if your Majesty did not receive all my despatches, as some of them, and the secret messengers who bore them, had been sent back from Dover, and other ports, as they could not be allowed to pass.—London, 12th April 1578.

12 April. **488.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

The 31st ultimo was my last letter to your Majesty, in which I advised you of the troops being raised here, of whom the commanders are to be Henry Cavendish, George York, and Thomas Morgan, who they say are to take them to Flanders, but all that is known for certain is that Cavendish will take fifteen hundred soldiers to Dunbar for Scotch affairs, whilst a thousand soldiers from the fortress of Berwick, with two hundred horse from the Border (where also three thousand infantry have been raised), are to go and help Morton and his friends, who are adherents of this Queen, whilst those on the side of the prince of Scotland are the earls of Huntley, Athole, and Argyll, and Lord Erskine. Thomas Randolph has left Scotland, and they are sending as an ambassador to this Queen a Protestant abbot. The Queen has given orders for various ships to be equipped, and they have taken from the Tower two hundred bronze pieces, large and small, which are now on the shore ready for shipment. Some people think that these great efforts on part of the Queen to ensure affairs in Scotland are caused not only by their great importance to her, but also in order not to miss the opportunity, as she is informed by her friends that the king of France will not help the other side with much warmth, although he has been incited thereto by the assertion that your Majesty intended to seize the prince of Scotland, to which he replied, that such a course was a bad one, as the business was so important, and he was much disturbed at the intelligence. The Queen has sent for Henry Sidney, the governor of Ireland, to come over and take charge of the queen of Scotland, the affair having been settled by his brother-in-law, the earl of Leicester, as they are not sure of the earl of Shrewsbury, who guards her now.

The man who came here from Alençon has returned, accompanied by a merchant sent by this Queen with him to see the prince of Condé, it is suspected about some projected enterprise in Gascony. There is much talk here of a marriage between Philip Sidney, Leicester's nephew, the heir of Henry Sidney, of the earl of Warwick, and of Leicester's property, and a sister of Orange, who enters very willingly into the suggestion, and

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promises as a dowry to make him lord of Holland and Zealand, by this means and other gifts gaining over Leicester, who has now turned his back upon France, to which he was formerly so much attached.

M. d'Havrey is said to be leaving every day, and is generally at Court.

On the 5th the Queen, attended by two ladies, came to Leicester's London house, where Havrey presently joined her, and returned with her to Greenwich by land. Some people think he will stay here until the receipt of his Highness' reply to Wilkes, who has been sent as ambassador. The meeting of Parliament has been prorogued until 26th May.

The ambassador sent by the Queen to the king of Sweden has returned. He was sent respecting the 100,000 ducats the King owes to her and others, and the answer he brings is far from satisfactory, being to the effect that the King does not owe the money, and will not pay it. He would not reply to the letters. It is said the King has sent his submission to the Pope.—London, 12th April 1578.

22 April. **489.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

On the 31st ultimo I wrote to your Majesty what I had been able to learn about the voyage which had been undertaken by the English, and reported that they were fitting out eight ships to send on a similar expedition. Since then four more vessels have been added, making twelve in all, and the number of men for colonization has been increased. A quantity of easily erected wooden houses and other necessaries are being taken. Frobisher, who is to command the expedition on the Queen's behalf, and the other captains have taken leave, receiving great signs of the Queen's favour. She expressed herself very warmly as to the great importance of the undertaking for the welfare of her realm. I am still persevering in my attempts to get a chart of the voyage. I have the greatest hope of being able to obtain one, in which case I will at once send it to your Majesty. The pieces of ore did not go in my last letter in consequence of the risk, but I send them herewith as this letter is taken by one of my own servants, and I have ordered him, in case the ship in which he sails is overhauled, to throw the letters and samples into the sea, as I have another similar set of specimens here.—London, 22nd April 1578.

22 April. **490.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Since writing the enclosed Jeronimo Gondi* has arrived here, it is suspected on a special embassy to the Queen. I was informed before his arrival that he was coming to represent to the Queen the evils that might result to her from the happy successes which God is sending to your Majesty in the Netherlands, in order to draw her the more towards them (the French), and other plots of the same sort, of which I can say nothing more decided yet. It is also said

* Count de Retz, an Italian confidant of Catharine de Medici, the Queen-Mother of France.

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that he is going with an embassy to Scotland, from which country ambassadors are to arrive here to-morrow.

M. d'Havrey has left here but is still at Gravesend, ships being ready at Dover to take him across.—London, 22nd April 1578.

22 April. **491.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since I wrote to your Majesty on the 12th, Thomas Randolph arrived here from Scotland and his coming and the account he gives of affairs in that country have altered the intention which I wrote was entertained here, of sending Cavendish, son of the countess of Shrewsbury,* with fifteen hundred men to Dunbar, it appearing that the adherents of this Queen there are not in such good case as will warrant their appealing to arms. They will rather delay matters and await a more favourable opportunity. They have therefore decided here simply to remain on the alert, and do not seem to have been much disturbed by the change of government there, pending the arrival of the ambassador from Scotland who, as I said, was on his way hither. The troops raised by the said Sir Harry Cavendish, with Captains George York and Thomas Morgan, are to slip over to Flanders quietly, pretending that they are not sent or paid by the Queen but by Cavendish, who is a rich young man, but is not a soldier and knows nothing of war. He has bought great quantities of arms which have been packed up like bales of merchandise, and a thousand pounds sterling worth of powder, most of the men being shipped in Gravesend and lower down the river, attracted by the money paid to them. They are told that they are to be lodged at Bruges, Malines, and Antwerp, five hundred in each place. It is also said that as soon as Casimir and the others with the German troops arrive in the States, Henry Sidney, who is coming from Ireland, will go over with ten thousand men. I wrote to your Majesty on the 12th that they had sent for him, in order to give him the queen of Scotland in keeping, but as Scotch affairs are not to be taken in hand at present, they think it will be well not to make this change. They will not send so many men to Flanders as to deprive themselves of sufficient force to deal with Scotch affairs when the time comes. They are in great fear about them, as their designs can only be frustrated from this quarter.

The Queen has sent all through the country fully authorised officers with powers such as never have been granted before, to seize and imprison Catholics, without appeal, in consequence of its having been stated that the queen of Scotland had many adherents on account of religion. Most of these officers are pernicious heretical Puritans and creatures of Walsingham, who is a great supporter of their sect. Walsingham said the other day to some people, who he knew would tell me at once, that the Queen knew full well that your Majesty had made a truce with the Turk, she having learnt this by recent letters from Constantinople and reports from France.

I sent to ask for audience as soon as I heard that the troops were

* The countess of Shrewsbury was the celebrated "Bess of Hardwick" whose second husband had been Sir William Cavendish, the ancestor of the dukes of Devonshire.

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being shipped at Gravesend, notwithstanding what had been promised me, but I have been attacked with a very bad tertian ague, which has prevented me from seeing the Queen personally, and it was not a business that could be entrusted to a third person, so that I shall not be able to speak to her about it until I can get out, which shall be at the first possible moment.

Parliament has been summoned in Scotland for the 10th of June and great things are to be done. This Queen is sending Henry Killigrew, Cecil's brother-in-law, to be present.

Walsingham and Leicester have had a conference with Havrey in consequence of what they heard from Gravelines. Fearing that the same thing may occur in many other towns, they have decided that the dykes shall be broken in other places, by which, wherever possible, land may be isolated.—London, 22nd April 1578.

5 May. **492.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to ZAYAS.

On the 22nd ultimo, I wrote to his Majesty and yourself the letters of which I enclose copies, by which you will learn what passed at the audience with the Queen. I also sent a separate letter to the King on another matter which I thought required attention. I beg you will communicate about this with the King and the Duke, whom I also address on the subject. If it is his Majesty's wish to continue this negotiation it will not be bad to apply to its promotion the jewels or money which you said his Majesty had signified that I should have brought hither. The opportunity is a good one, and I have taken much trouble to forward it as I thought it was desirable.*

The Queen has urged me very strongly to obtain the release of the men mentioned in the memorial which I send to his Majesty and, particularly the two especially indicated. Her minister have also signified that they are desirous of coming to some agreement with regard to the punishment by the Holy Office of Englishmen who go to Spain to trade. They say that, although the matter was discussed when Sir John Smith was there, nothing was effected, and that some of the men are punished for exercising their religion on board their ships whilst others are not. They therefore desire to have some settled rule about it, so that it may be laid down what is legal and otherwise. Your worship may mention the matter to the King if you think well.

When I left Paris Juan de Vargas gave me a very small cipher in which to correspond with him as he said he did not use the general cipher. As my letters were so closely watched here I did not use it, but wrote to him in the general cipher, giving him a full account of everything that passed here. He simply replies acknowledging my letter, without referring to any particulars or giving me an account of affairs in France. I do not know whether this is caused by my not using his cipher, but I learn from him by a note of the 5th ultimo, which I received through the French ambassador, that he was sending an express courier to Domingo de Iralta.† I

* This refers to the plan for bribing the Queen's ministers.

† The King's Postmaster at Irun on the Spanish frontier.

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am very vexed at this as the ambassador's secretary forgot to send forward a packet of mine for Domingo de Iralta which consequently remained behind at Calais; this blunder, although it was not my fault, your worship will please carry to the account of the others which are committed by a light cavalryman who is a new ambassador.

The Scotch parliament will open on the 7th July but there are very few men here upon whom I can depend for trustworthy information about things in that country, as the Flemings who reside here are so obstinate that they are the worst enemies I have and are simply spies for the English, to whom they tell everything that passes with me, particularly to Walsingham. It will be necessary to send some person specially to Scotland, and to have others in different parts of the country to report what is going on, which will only be possible at a heavy cost. The same also may be said with regard to sending my letters, as the only way is by Calais, and Englishmen cannot be trusted with them at all. I beg your worship in consideration of this to remind the cofferer Garnica about the provision for my extraordinary expenditure.

A gentleman of high position living near Milford, the principal port in this country, whose name is Edward Stradling had an unsigned letter delivered to his house the other day, saying, "Sir, "we have regarded you as a good Catholic and worthy gentleman, "and beg that you will be minded to show yourself as such when "need shall arise." He at once brought the letter to the Council fearing that it might be a trap, although it probably was not. Walsingham has ordered a man named Smeaton, who is considered very bold and fit for any daring enterprise, to embark at Rochester and go to Scotland.

M. d'Havrey left apparently in great contentment and fully satisfied with the result of his negotiations with the Queen. Antonio Fogaza has begged me to remind your worship of his need and long service, respecting which, as your worship is no doubt very fully acquainted with them, I have nothing more to say.—London, 5th May 1578.

5 May. **493.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 22nd ultimo that I had requested audience with the Queen but, in consequence of illness, I was unable to see her until the 29th. At this time Thomas Wilkes had just returned from his mission to Don Juan, and the first words she uttered to me were to the effect that she was very sorry that he had not accepted her mediation. She told me what his Highness had replied to Wilkes upon the subject, and when I spoke to her about troops leaving this country to serve the States, she said that there were so many people leaving and arriving in so large an island that she could hardly prevent men from leaving without permission, as these men had done. As regards arms and powder, she said the Flemish merchants had sent them, and as license had been given to them to bring merchandise from the Netherlands she could not prevent them from trading in her country, they not being her subjects. This and other excuses of the same sort she gave with much more

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suavity than seriousness, and afterwards showed me copies of two letters written by your Majesty to M. de Selles on the 16th of February and 15th of March which had been sent to her by the Archduke Mathias, and when I had read them she said that the quietude of the Netherlands depended entirely upon your Majesty's granting them the edict of pacification.

After this she begged me earnestly to write to your Majesty asking you to release certain subjects of hers who are in the galleys of the Inquisition, as they had already served part of their sentence, and the rest might be respited on account of their being her subjects and one of them a servant of hers. I enclose the memorial.

I have tried to convince the merchants of London and other personages of this country, how prejudicial it may be to the tranquillity of the realm for the Queen to lend so much money to the States, in which loans Leicester is so deeply interested. I have pointed out to them also how they personally might suffer to an even greater extent, as well as the Queen. The whole sum has therefore not been placed, and if my hints have not been instrumental in this no doubt the Queen of Scotland's affairs have tended thereto because, as I wrote, two ambassadors were coming from Scotland hither and were due here on the 23rd, a servant of theirs having already arrived to provide lodgings for them here, when the Queen sent a secret order for them to stay twenty miles this side of York, as they had entered her country without a passport. Some people assert that by the treaties in force no passport is required for them, and that the reason of their delay is that one of the ambassadors is ill. The principal cause of their coming, besides giving the Queen notice of a change of Government, is to claim the inheritance of the countess of Lennox, grandmother of the king of Scotland, and when this is obtained the King would claim to be the heir to this throne. It is asserted that his succession is barred by a law made by Henry III. or Henry IV., and confirmed by Henry VIII., by which an alien cannot inherit property here; but as the words used in the Act are "*in partibus ultramarines*," it appears that Scotsmen are not debarred, as they are born in the same island, and the kings of Scotland formerly possessed the county of Huntingdon.

Jeronimo Gondi* was to have gone to Scotland with an embassy from the king of France, as well as addressing this Queen on behalf of the Queen-Mother, as I wrote. The Queen, however, has delayed seeing him for ten days, and signifies that she will not give him a passport to go to Scotland, as the treaties she has with France forbid any Frenchmen from passing through her country to Scotland without her leave, although the Queen cannot refuse it according to the treaty if she be asked. It is not known whether Gondi will go to the length of standing upon the letter of the law and demand his passport.

I am told that the duke of Arschot has sent a gentleman to beg the Queen to succour the States, and an Englishman tells me that he has seen a letter from Davison in Antwerp, written to Walsing-

* Jerome Gondi, Count de Retz, referred to in a previous note.

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ham officially, saying that Orange had summoned him to tell him how pressed they were for money and men, which would cause them to lose Maestrich, notwithstanding that he, Orange, had done everything in his power, even sending thither certain jewels and money for their help. He said that, in addition to this, it was necessary to provide for fifty places and begged Davison to write to the Queen representing to her the state they were in, and her obligation to help them, as they had undertaken the war on her persuasion. Davison also said that the Englishmen who had come over had been placed in a fortress which they could hardly hold, as it was very large and they were in poor case. They tell me here that this fortress is Lire, the desire of Leicester and intention of Orange being to place all the other Englishmen in Antwerp to make sure of the place. This seems probable as the English have already been brought into the neighbourhood.

The Queen had fixed the 28th for my audience with her, but as she was walking in the garden that morning she found a letter which had been thrown into the doorway, which she took and read, and immediately came secretly to the house of the earl of Leicester who is ill here. She stayed there until ten o'clock at night and sent word that she could not see me that day as she was unwell. I have not been able to learn the contents of the letter, and only know that it caused her to go to Leicester's at once.

M. D'Alençon wrote to the soldiers at Gravelines with great caresses on hearing that they were in favour of the States, and it is believed that the same thing has been done with other towns, as he is in close negotiation with Orange and has a secretary of his with Lalaing, through whom the communications are carried on.

After Gondi had been here for ten days the Queen received him, but with less ceremony then is usual with ambassadors. She told him loudly in the audience chamber that she know very well he had come to disturb her country and to act in the favour of the worst woman in the world, whose head should have been cut off years ago, although she was sure that his coming was not by the wish of the King, but that of some of those who surrounded him; to which Gondi replied that the queen of Scotland was a sovereign, as she was, and a kinswomen of her own, who was a prisoner, and it was not surprising, therefore, that efforts should be made on her behalf. The Queen answered him angrily that she should never be free as long as she lived, even though it cost her (Elizabeth) her realm and her own liberty. The Queen-Mother, she said, must surely know what she (Mary) had attempted against her.—London, 5th May 1578.

8 May. **494.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

There are so many changes here from hour to hour that I ought to be sending despatches all day long to keep pace with the fickleness of these people in their decisions. Whilst Gondi, who takes these letters as far as Paris, was taking his leave, the news which I write in his Majesty's letter arrived, and we have news from

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Antwerp of the 27th ultimo that Philippeville had surrendered and Casimir was killed.*

The Queen left yesterday from Greenwich on a progress which will last about a fortnight, she being about to hunt at various gentlemens' seats, and will return to Greenwich to stay, as the plague is increasing here. They are talking at Leicester's house of killing his Highness under cover of the war and, although there is not much in the matter, I write about it to Prada.—London, 8th May 1578.

8 May. **495.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

After I had written the accompanying letter, Gondi took leave of the Queen, and in the course of a long conversation with him of over four hours, she told him that the common enemies of his King and herself were trying to breed discord between them, and asked Gondi to warn his King not to listen to them or to be drawn into a war.

The earl of Leicester sent to the French ambassador and to Gondi before he took leave of the Queen, to say that the earl of Morton had taken the prince of Scotland out of the keeping of his opponents and now had him in his own power, and, although it is not accurately known whether this is true, it is certain that they (*i.e.*, the Catholic party in Scotland) are much weakened and Morton in better case than before. He has (as I wrote to your Majesty on the 22nd ultimo) been temporising until a good opportunity presented itself. This he arranged by incensing the earl of Mar, whose father had the care of the prince of Scotland from his birth, and on the late Earl's death, his son being under age, the prince remained in the hands of the widow until the Government was changed, when he was confided to Erskine, the uncle of the present Earl, who is not yet 18 years of age and too young to take charge of him. By the diligence of Morton, who urged that the Prince was being alienated from the Earl and his mother, the Earl went in force to the castle where he was and captured it, a son of Erskine being strangled in the entrance and the earls of Athole and Argyle taking to flight, although it is not known for certain yet in whose hands the prince remains. It is much feared by many Englishmen that if he is in the power of Morton he will kill him, as orders and money had been sent by this Queen to Morton.

Six ships of two hundred tons each are ready fully equipped in the west country, Cornwall, to carry a hundred and fifty seamen each, with master Stockwell, a servant of the Queen, as Commander. Rumours says they are going to a certain island discovered by Stockwell, other than that of which I wrote to your Majesty whither the twelve ships are going; but I have heard that his real intention is to rob the ships on their way from your Majesty's Indies. This may well be true as Stockwell has been on similar voyages before with other corsairs and his ships are well adapted for this purpose, and without any of the equipment for discovery such as the other ships had.—London, 8th May 1578.

* This latter intelligence, of course, was untrue.

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16 May. **496.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

On the 22nd ultimo I wrote to your Majesty and sent the duplicate on the 8th. As regards the voyages to be undertaken by these Englishmen, I am every day getting more information, and I learn that, although the assays of the ore, which they brought, have produced large quantities of silver, as has been announced, they tell me that this has been brought about by those who smelted the ore putting in a quantity of silver, so as to improve the result. This may well be believed, as the assays show also the presence of gold, which it is against reason to believe can be found in such a cold land as that, so far north as it is. Notwithstanding this, the ships are being fitted out with great diligence and supplied with all that is necessary for the expedition.

Humphrey Gilbert, with a son of Knollys, treasurer of the household and member of the Council, has four ships in the river, which he has bought with his own money and fully armed, and intends to take out with other gentlemen. It is said that he is to accompany master Stockwell with his six ships now ready in the west country, on a voyage of discovery, but the design of Humphrey Gilbert is understood to be to land on the island of Santa Genela, and he is therefore to take with him a man of the Chaldean nation, who is here and well versed in that navigation and language.—London, 16th May 1578.

16 May. **497.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

On the 5th and 8th instant I wrote to your Majesty and sent duplicate by way of Rouen. The rumours of the troops which are being raised in France with the intention of sending them to the Netherlands, have moved this Queen to send Lord Cobham, governor of the province of Canterbury, and Secretary Walsingham, to negotiate with Orange and the States, as she fears that the warm communications between Orange and Alençon may cause the former to turn his back on her friendship and bind himself to the French. This suspicion has been greatly augmented by the fact that the English who went from here have not been sent into Antwerp, which had been the design of Leicester and Walsingham in accord with Orange, in order that the latter might make sure in any case of keeping the town in his hands and incorporating that place with the rest of Holland and Zealand. This is all the more remarkable towards the English, because Orange cannot trust the others, and the design was not carried out because the burgers of Antwerp said they would not receive a garrison at all. The English write also that they have had a very poor reception, in consequence of which not so many have left here as was expected, and they fear that it may be all a trap and a piece of deception on the part of Orange. It is believed that Cobham and Walsingham will leave on the Queen's return to Greenwich, where she is expected on the 18th from her hunting visits.

From some time past the murder of his Highness has been discussed at Leicester's house, the war being an excuse for again bringing up the question. I have advised his Highness of it and have told him at the same time that, on the 10th instant, the

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Queen released Edmond (Egremont?) Ratcliff, the brother of the earl of Sussex, who was put into the Tower three years ago for his participation in Northumberland's rising. He has been secretly released by the Queen and exiled, and at once decided to go and serve his Highness. I have advised his Highness that he is a rash and daring young man, ready for anything, and his sudden liberation and decision to serve us may well engender suspicion.

News comes from Scotland that the Prince remains in the hands of the earl of Mar and his uncle, Lord Erskine, and three other personages, the castle of Edinburgh being in his possession. The Queen has sent Hunsdon, governor of Berwick, to his post, and is dispatching five hundred soldiers thither, where it is stated that a large force will be gathered in consequence of the flight of the earls of Argyle and Athole. The ambassadors from Scotland who were coming hither have returned, partly on account of events in their country and partly because the Queen stopped them on their road to prevent them from seeing Gondi.

The Palatine has sent a gentleman to the Queen, accompanying an Englishman, who had been sent to the Palatine by her. It is understood that they are coming about money matters and to ask for some further security on account of the troops which he has undertaken to raise, as the hundred thousand pounds of which I wrote have not yet been entirely provided.

The magistrates at Amsterdam on the 1st instant published a proclamation, after having received forty shiploads of wheat and a promise of others the next day, ordering all the inhabitants who had been exiled and had returned under the treaty of peace, to take the oath of conformity with their religion. They refused and asked for a week's delay that they might inform Orange of this. It is said that the Catholics had bought over the three captains recently elected for the defence of the place. The people of the Sluys were much aggrieved that the traffic which they enjoyed had now gone to Amsterdam, and have complained of it to Orange, whose party they have followed so faithfully to their great detriment in this.—London, 16th May 1578.

16 May. **498.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

I learn by your worship's letters, to my great joy, of the happy delivery of our lady the Queen, and am delighted to know that her Majesty and the infant are well. I will inform this Queen thereof on her return to Greenwich, which will be on the eve of Whitsuntide.

By the letters to his Majesty you will see what is occurring here. Although I have written many letters to Don Juan, I learn by his of the 23rd ultimo that he has only received mine of the 11th of March, and my letters are so long leaving Paris in consequence of these troublesome passports that I have no facility for advising his Highness of events by that way, and all others are so insecure that letters are very uncertain.

Last news from Brussels says that Orange had suddenly gone thither to meet Alençon's commissioners; Dunkirk was being fortified with furious haste, and the English were lodged in the

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gardens of Antwerp. The wife of Orange, sister of the duke of Saxony, is dead.

The States have again imposed excessive taxes on everything, including wine, in addition to the former imposts. They have put eighteen crowns on every weapon.

As I am closing this I have heard that the people here have held a Council, and one who was present informs me that it was resolved that the Queen should dismiss me, as there is no business of importance which need detain me here. The thing has been discussed many times and has been pressed forward by Leicester and Walsingham, in order to take away the last hope entertained by their opponents in the presence here of a minister from your Majesty. They have been offended at the opposition they have met with from their opponents in consequence of the secret measures I have adopted, and they will, in my absence, be perfectly free to do as they like about the navigation to the Indies and elsewhere, as well as in furtherance of their own designs. I do not report this to his Majesty until I have confirmed it, but if you and the Duke (*i.e.* of Alba) think well you may tell him, and, if it is undesirable that our interests here should be abandoned, which is undoubted, it will be necessary for his Majesty to make some pretext of business for me as an excuse for my further stay.—London, 16th May 1578.

21 May. **499.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

After writing to your Majesty on the 16th I was informed that the Queen desired to see me and that I was to ask for audience. I did so, and it was granted on the 20th. She said that she had intended to send two members of the Council to me, to inform me of the negotiations which were being carried on by the French in the Netherlands, but she was better pleased to see me personally that she might tell me by word of mouth, the matter being so advanced that they had already entered Artois. She said she had informed his Highness of these negotiations by Wilkes, but he said he did not believe them. She had sent to the king of France to tell him how badly he was acting in helping his brother to take your Majesty's dominions, in return for the aid you had given him to defend himself against his people, and she had told him that, if the enterprise were proceeded with, she would send to the States twenty thousand men, which she had ordered to be raised, and which would be ready in a few days, for the purpose of preventing it; and if these were not enough for the purpose she would send over every man left in her country and avail herself of the forces of all her friends and allies. She also intended next week to send two Councillors to the States (whose names I mentioned in my last letter to your Majesty) to request them to fulfil the oath and promise which they had made not to summon or admit any foreign prince, but to observe their duty to your Majesty, in respect of which she had aided them. She asked me to write at once to your Majesty by special courier, and said much to the same effect praying to God that his Highness' ambition and high-handed pro-

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ceedings might not spoil the whole business. I answered her that the proceedings of his Highness were in conformity with your Majesty's instructions and were the most appropriate, considering the obstinacy of many of those in the States, who should not be allowed to oppress the rest. She repeated two or three times to me afterwards that everything could be remedied if your Majesty would again grant them the treaty of peace, in the form of a ratification of the Edict, to which I did not reply excepting that I would convey to your Majesty what she said. She said she wished your Majesty was here now, to be an eye-witness of the good offices she was executing in her desire that your Majesty's dominions should be peaceful.

I have been informed that Cobham and Walsingham will be instructed to use every effort to get Don Juan to enter into negotiations with them to this effect, and that they will carry over fifty thousand pounds sterling which the Queen has ordered to be paid in the exchequer, and part of which is now ready packed in cases, twenty-seven thousand pounds being in money and the rest silver which is to be coined there. She afterwards repeated very carefully what had passed with Jeronimo Gondi, who had brought her a message from the Duke D'Alençon, to which she had replied that she was astonished that, after two years of absolute silence, he should wake up to her existence. She said she was informed that one of his gentlemen would come to see her within a week; and she kept me more than two hours in this sort of talk, at the end of which time, she asked after the health of your Majesty and the Queen; I told her that God had been pleased to grant the birth of another Infante, and she seemed much pleased at the news.

Affairs seem quiet in Scotland since the recent disturbances, and I hear that Lord Herries is coming as an ambassador to this Queen. I am told that two servants of the earl of Leicester and Captain Winch (?) are leaving in certain ships for Barbary in order to treat for peace with the King, who is at war with Portugal, and to request authority to sell in his country the Portuguese goods they may capture, in which case they will return in October with two ships for that purpose.

During the audience the Queen again asked me whether I had written to your Majesty about the release of her subjects who were in the galleys. I told her that I had, and she said she was very anxious for their release, particularly for that of Edward Tayler and Robert Williams, and asked me to write again.—London, 21st May 1578.

21 May. **500.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

I wrote on the 16th, and have since informed the Queen of the delivery of our Queen. I expect the resolution taken by the Council on the 16th, to the effect that the Queen should dismiss me, will not be carried into effect, as there was some difference of opinion about it. I can certainly assure you that the earl of Sussex is sincerely attached to his Majesty's interests, and Cecil also, although not so openly, but if he and Sussex, who is a man of

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much valour and understanding, are properly treated, they will both be favourable, and their good disposition will be much strengthened when they see it rewarded. It will be necessary, if they are to be entertained, to give them something more than jewels. His Highness writes to me on this subject, as follows :—

"I am always assured that it is possible for some of the Queen's councillors to be won over by money if the matter is treated dexterously, and as this would be of great importance in every respect, it will be to his Majesty's interests that you should attempt to do this by finding some means of gaining them. You will advise me and his Majesty in order that due provision may be made."

I have attempted, and am attempting, by every means possible to manage this, and the present is the best opportunity which has ever occurred, if his Majesty will be pleased to award something to Sussex, Cecil, and the Controller.* I have advised his Highness of this, as it is very necessary in the present position of affairs not to miss the chance. You will please speak to the Duke about it, and I, for my part, cannot help enlarging upon the desirability of doing this, and will try to carry it through with all my might. It will be well also to give some jewels or a horse to Leicester, as if it came from me, in order that he may not feel himself slighted or treated as an enemy, which would much offend him.

The Queen again spoke to me about the liberation of her subjects, especially of Edward Tayler and Robert Williams. I beg your worship at least to favour these two men, as all London is speaking to me about them, and it is most important to me to keep these people in a good humour, particularly as the Queen is so anxious about the matter.

In this audience and the last the Queen treated me with much consideration, because, in addition to the long interview she gave me on business, she ordered a seat to be brought for me in the presence chamber, where dancing was going on, and entertained me for a long time, saying how pleased she was that I was here on this occasion, and signified that she did not disapprove of my mode of proceeding. The presence of trouble, no doubt, has had something to do with it. The man who is coming from Scotland is called Montrose, and not Herries ; he will be here in three days.—London, 21st May 1578.

3 June. **501.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

I wrote on the 16th and 21st, and have only received your letter of 29th April which came to hand on the 29th May. The cause of this delay you will have learnt from my other letters. I am much grieved that my correspondence is so much delayed, and, although I never have the pen out of my hand, my efforts are unfortunately of little use. As if this were not enough, beside the difficulty of getting my letters to Paris, Juan de Vargas answers a request of mine that he should send some special messengers to his Highness,

* Sir James Crofts.

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that I must consider the cost of it, as there are many claims upon his small means there. I advise you of this as some excuse for the delay of my letters.

You will see by the letter to his Majesty what is occurring here, and I can assure you that, if money is provided for me, much may be effected. If I am kept short of means all my gold mines turn out to be dross, and, even if there were no chance of winning over some of the ministers here, affairs are in such a condition that it is of much importance that his Majesty should have some one here of position to inform him of the schemes which are hatching. These are infinite in number, and of considerable importance, mostly promoted by Leicester and Walsingham. I have been able to gauge affairs since I have been here, and already see the results of my presence, as the English think that as I was sent by his Majesty, my words will be listened to, and they are therefore more encouraged to be on our side. I presume to speak thus openly because it seems desirable for the King's service, and I trust you will find an opportunity of representing my views to his Majesty.

Regarding the seizures of property, formerly made in this country, the settlement arrived at was that whatever goods were found on either side which had not been registered might be claimed by their owners, and when their right was proved, the property should be handed to them. If no claimants appeared, the sovereigns respectively should take them. In virtue of this, English goods have been restored to their owners by your Majesty, but I am informed by an Englishmen that he knows of quantities of money in the hands of Englishman, which was not declared, and the owners of which did not appear; the larger part of the money being in cash. He suggests that your Majesty should claim this money, promising him a share of it, on his declaring where these sums are, and he would get the Queen speedily to restore it. If you think well, you may give an account of this to his Majesty, as it will be better that the money should be given away than that it should be kept by those who have stolen it.

I am informed again from Rouen that my wages will only be paid for six months, and the need I shall be in through this, to his Majesty's dis-service, obliges me to ask you to inform the King thereof, and direct Garnica to continue the credit, as well as sending me another credit for my extraordinary expenses. I do not send an account of my expenditure herewith for want of time, but it must not be imagined that I can raise a penny here, or become a banker. M. de la Motte,* has written asking me to send him some saltpetre and cross-bow strings from here. I am doing my best to fulfil this commission. I have also advised him of certain things hereof which he should know, in the interests of the safety of that fortress.

I learn nothing fresh from Flanders, excepting about the reduction of Philippeville and the rout of the Frenchmen, but Don Juan has written to me under date of the 6th ultimo, expressing his

* The King's commander at Gravelines.

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satisfaction at what I am doing here, and has ordered me to be paid in Paris what was owing to me on account or my company until the end of April.

After sealing this letter I received advices, dated Antwerp, 28th ultimo, that the people at Mons had arrested M. de Lalaing for attempting to introduce Frenchmen into the country, whilst in Amsterdam there had been a great revolt, in which the Protestants and Anabaptists had got the upper hand of the Catholics, and had expelled from the country all friars and priests, but there is no certainty of this.—London, 3rd June 1578.

3 June. **502.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

On the 21st ultimo I wrote to your Majesty an account of affairs here, and reported the intention of sending Lord Cobham and Secretary Walsingham to the States on behalf of the Queen. I am now given to understand that this course has not yet been decided upon definitely for two reasons; the first being that a gentleman was sent from here last week to Orange in order to ascertain whether it was at his request that the French were coming, so that the Queen might resolve what to do. It seems that the answer sent was that the States were greatly pressed for money and men, and as she, the Queen, did not openly espouse their cause, they were obliged to turn to the French, but they would at once desist from the French connection if she would undertake to find them the help they needed, by which means the States would remain friendly with France,* whilst he, Orange, would be in a stronger position, having Antwerp on his side, which was the point which principally interested the English. I have been making great efforts lately to get to the bottom of this, and it is clear that people here are not quite able to understand Orange's proceedings, of which they are suspicious, many people thinking that he is deceiving them, and is getting too closely bound up with the French, whilst others believe that it is merely an artifice to urge the Queen to provide the needed succour more liberally and speedily than hitherto. If the help sent is not quite so grand as they would like, it is nevertheless sufficient to keep them in hand until the English can get to the truth of the matter, as men are recently slipping over in considerable numbers to the States, and the twenty-seven thousand pounds sterling which I mentioned have been taken to Antwerp. From the latter place the Queen has received news that your Majesty is in agreement with the king of France, and that the coming of the French troops is a subterfuge. The second reason for doubt about the going of Cobham and Walsingham is that the Queen is awaiting the reply of the gentlemen she sent to the king of France, to explain to him the reasons why she had not allowed Gondi to go to Scotland, and also to endeavour to discover whether the departure of the duke of Alençon was by consent of the King and his mother, and what forces he had with him. If these were so large as to prove that the King had provided

* *i.e.*, with the King and Government of France, in contradistinction to Alençon and the Huguenots.

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them, and that the two brothers had thus taken upon themselves the war in Flanders, the gentleman was instructed to address the King in the terms I mentioned to your Majesty in my letter of the 21st. If, however, it turned out that the king of France was not in league with his brother the gentleman was to approach Alençon and the Queen-mother and try to arrange with them to send four thousand or six thousand infantry and two thousand horse to the States and no more, this Queen undertaking to send a similar force, and that together they might thus succour the States, and keep your Majesty busy. The English ambassador in France is much alarming the Queen by his reports, some of which have not much foundation. The last news he sends is that the going of the Huguenots to the States had caused the duke of Lorraine, and Guise and his household, to retire to Lorraine, where they had raised three thousand horse and a force of infantry.

They say the earl of Leicester will leave this week for Buxton near Derby, ostensibly to take the baths there, the place being only twelve miles from where the queen of Scotland is; great suspicion is engendered here about his going, as Walsingham, who is his familiar spirit, will be away at the same time, and the abandonment of business by both of them at once seems to prove that the matter they have in hand must be one of great importance. All the Councillors are extremely jealous and distrustful as the design, whatever it is, is kept closely between the Queen and Leicester. Some of them even say that she is the person who is being deceived; Cecil being one of those who is most anxious about it.

The English consul at San Lucar reports that Stukeley had arrived at that port with ships and men provided by the Pope, it is feared for the purpose of landing in Ireland. The Queen has ordered six of her ships and two great ships to be armed, and Frobisher, who was ready to leave on his expedition to the mines and Cathay, has been ordered to delay his departure and accompany the rest as far as Ireland, from where he can start on his voyage if there is no disturbance there; so that all the ships that are ready will be dispatched thither. The Queen has also sent to Ireland the earls of Ormond and Kildare, who has been detained at this Court for a year.

The ambassador who I said was on his way to Scotland has been ordered to stop on his way, and the king of France who was about to send to Scotland a Norman gentleman named Mandeville has been requested not to do so by his ambassador here. This Queen sent Sir Orlando York to Casimir ten days ago respecting the levies of men, and Thomas Randolph is going to the Diet of Germany with three legists and three Puritans (who are called spirituals) to assist in the discussion of religious questions.

There are some firms of merchants here who trade in Spain, the principal of them being George Bond, Alderman, and nephews, who send three hundred thousand crowns' worth of wax a year to the coast of Biscay, Whiteman and Hermon, and John Spencer, both of whom send as much. I understand that they bring back most of the value in cash, which may well be the case, as one cargo of wax, even of one hundred and fifty tons only, will be worth thirty or

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forty thousand crowns, whilst the whale oil they bring back as cargo will not be worth more than two thousand crowns, the rest of the proceeds of the wax being withdrawn in money, with which no one is trusted unless he be an Englishman. Most of this comes through Biscay although some of the business is done in Seville.

There is a ship here ready to go to Barbary with a great number of dogs and well trained horses on board, and some dresses, presents, for the king of Fez, who is at war with Portugal. The assertion is made that they are going to bring back saltpetre, but there is a certain Julio here who claims to be descended from the princes of Jaranto and who, it is thought, is a Morisco. He speaks eight or nine languages beautifully and is closeted for hours every day with Leicester and Walsingham and sometimes with the Queen. I do not know what he is up to, but it is believed that he will go in this ship, and has been heard to say that he will be revenged on your Majesty.—London, 3rd June 1578.

3 June. **503.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

On the 16th ultimo I wrote to your Majesty about the ships which had been fitted out by Humphrey Gilbert, and although it is given out that he is bound on a different voyage from that undertaken by master Stockwell, it is believed that when they are out at sea, they will join together and go towards the Indies, unless there be some disturbance in Ireland or Scotland which should detain them. They are taking with them a Portuguese called Simon Fernandez, a great rogue who knows that coast well and has given them much information about it. He has done the King of Portugal much dis-service in consequence of the large amount of property which his subjects have lost here through him. When Champigny was here it was agreed with the earl of Leicester, in his own chamber, the Queen being present, that the way to be safe from your Majesty and to injure your prosperity was to make the Indian voyage and rob the flotillas, if they could not set foot on the coast itself, as by this means, they might stop the receipt by your Majesty of so much money from there. Orange continues to urge this course, he being of the same opinion.—London, 3rd June 1578.

4 June. **504.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

At the last moment a letter from Ghent, dated 1st instant, has arrived here saying that they have expelled from that place all the clergy (religiosos) and two sermons had been preached publicly on the same day. They do not confirm that Lalaing is a prisoner, but that he had had a difference with the people at Mons and his lieutenant had gone to see Don Juan.—London, 4th June 1578.

4 June. **505.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

After writing and sealing the enclosed my spies who are watching Julio report that he is trying to deceive them, and says that he is not going in the ship which is sailing for Barbary, but the contrary is believed to be the case, as the vessel has gone to the mouth of the river to await fine weather for her departure, and yesterday he Julio, went down to the shore. The ship is called the "Mignon,"

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and if she should touch at a Spanish port and Julio should land, it would not be undesirable that he should be seized, as he is certainly plotting some villainy. He is a lean man of healthy appearance, bent, and of the colour of a Morisco, which he probably is. He usually looks on the ground with his left eye as he walks.

They tell me also that Orange is to send some ships to the coast of Spain, but the business is being forged here, so that I do not think there is very much in it, but I have thought well to mention it as nothing is lost by vigilance.—London, 4th June 1578.

10 June. **506.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Saltonstall and two other merchants, subjects of this Queen, have had a ship confiscated at San Sebastian in consequence of a certain sum of money having been seized in her and the ship not being the property of the master who commanded her. I have been requested by the Queen to write to your Majesty to beg that you will have the business disposed of speedily and justice done, as it certainly will be, by your ministers.—London, 10th June 1578.

10 June. **507.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote to your Majesty yesterday, and since then the Queen has received news of the arrival on the 2nd instant off Bristol of one of the ships with which Francis Drake sailed from Dartmouth in November 1577. There were three ships and two sloops,* the intention being as I have already told your Majesty, to plunder the Indies. Various news has been current here with regard to them, some saying that they were lost and others that they had landed at Camarones (Camaroons). This ship-master, however, relates that, after they had victualled for the second time in Barbary, they had gone to discover the Straits of Magellan, but at the entrance thereto they experienced so great a tempest that most of the sailors mutinied and refused to proceed on the voyage. Drake, understanding that the principal ringleader was an English gentleman on board of his ship,† arrested him and put him on his trial, the judges being the sailors themselves, who condemned him to death, but, as none of them would execute the sentence, Drake himself did so and with his own hand cut off the man's head and proceeded on his voyage through the Straits. The tempest increased to such an extent that this ship could not follow when the other vessels had entered the Straits. The captain tried to stand by in the hope of continuing the voyage when the weather abated, but the sailors refused and forced him to return to this country. The captain has not yet seen the Queen, but she and her ministers are much pleased that the English have succeeded in making this voyage. When he arrives I will advise your Majesty what I hear.

The three ships which I wrote had left with Fortescue for the purpose of robbing on the track of the Indian vessels took with them

* The expedition consisted originally of the "Pelican" of 120 tons and 20 guns, the "Elizabeth" of 80 tons, a small pinnace, and two sloop-rigged boats of 50 and 30 tons respectively.

† This was a certain Master Doughty a gentleman adventurer who was acting as second in command.

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a great pilot named Harper (?) who had been twice before on the same voyage. The ships have had an encounter with two vessels of the king of Denmark, one of the latter being burnt whilst the other one escaped. One of the English ships in which Harper was, went to the bottom.—London, 10th June 1578.

11 June. **508.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to ZAYAS.

I wrote to you on the 3rd and 4th, and you will learn by my letter to the King the decision arrived at about Antonio de Guaras, in whose favour I have done everything that I could.

They have informed me that his Highness's servant who was arrested here had brought for Guaras a credit of a thousand crowns, which, perhaps, may be the sum which his Majesty requested his Highness to give him in consideration of his imprisonment. I wrote to his Highness about it, saying that I had also received a credit of a thousand crowns for Guaras, and requested instructions. I have no reply, but Guaras is in such great need that it will be necessary to give him something for his departure from here. The Queen sent to thank me for writing so many letters to his Majesty and to you on behalf of her subjects. Pray pardon me the trouble I thus give you, as although their requests may not be granted, yet it is something to please them by willingly giving the letters for which they ask; and it helps to facilitate matters if I can keep in their good graces.

With regard to the negotiation about Ramequin, Don Juan instructs me to find out whether there was anything serious in it and to give him my opinion. I have done so, and have told him that I do not think there is anything in it at present.*

Four days ago a ship of eleven tons arrived here from the Indies in a very bad state, another of a hundred tons which was in her company having been lost. Captain Baker commanded both of them, and most of the men in the expedition landed and were lost. If this sort of reception were always extended to them, and their ships and men sent to the bottom in this way, they would not be so fond of undertaking the voyage. It is understood that the Queen has ordered the master to be arrested for not having stood by the other ship and crew.—London, 11th June 1578.

11 June. **509.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 3rd instant I wrote to your Majesty, and on the same day they carried Antonio de Guaras to the house of the Lord Keeper, Chancellor, when he was informed, in the presence of Secretary Wilson and Councillor Walter Mildmay, who had examined him, that the Queen, in the exercise of her clemency, ordered him to leave the country within ten days, notwithstanding the offences he had committed against her, as appeared by his own letters which were exhibited to him, and which were not in any way privileged, as he had no commission to write as he had done. He replied that the commission was merely a matter of form, and they

* This refers again to the proposal of certain Englishmen to betray places in the Netherlands.

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knew very well that things were not as they said; he retorted on many points, and, after much altercation, which ended with little satisfaction for Guaras, he was sent back to prison again, with orders that neither he nor the two servants of his, who are to be exiled also, were to communicate with me.

The Queen's agent in Antwerp has informed her that Lalaing is at issue with the States and is dealing underhand with the French, whilst he holds the town for your Majesty. This would be most important, although I have no confirmation of it, and I have only heard of it from the one quarter. Although the Queen's ministers sometimes report things which are not true, this matter is making them suspicious, as they recollect what happened at Gravelines.

The ship which is to take Cobham and Walsingham over has sailed for Dover, and they will sail as soon as they arrive thither. Thomas Randolph and Harry Wall (Wallop?), who are Puritans, accompany them, and I am informed that, if they cannot arrange with his Highness for your Majesty to concede similar terms of peace to the former ones, they will urge Orange to destroy the religion and churches, and so bring things to submission in the same way as has been done with France.—London, 11th June 1578.

13 June. **510.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Since my last, there has arrived here one Cook, master of a ship which two years and a half ago left for the Indies in company with another ship, both being commanded by Master Baker. He says that some of their men landed on the mainland near the Rio de la Hacha, where they remained a year and a half about the Camarones (Camaroons?). It was they who robbed the son of Don Cristobal de Eraso, their prize, however, being recaptured from them at once, with twenty thousand crowns more that they had stolen from other people. This Cook had eighty men on board of his ship, which was the smaller of the two, of whom only fourteen have returned, but he can give no account of Baker or the others, as he, Cook, and those with him escaped from the land in a launch, as they call it, with which they afterwards captured a little sailing ship, which brought them to the Scilly Isles off Cornwall. It was said that the Queen had ordered Cook's arrest for having returned without his captain and crew, but it is not believed that the arrest will be carried out, as he is talking of returning in the ships which are being taken out by Humphrey Gilbert, moved by the hope of gain, notwithstanding past experience. The Queen has given permission for Gilbert to sail, and to Frobisher also. I am having this ship-master shadowed by spies, in order to discover whether he starts on the voyage, and to know for what purpose Gilbert wishes to take him. I am very hopeful now of being able to obtain a chart of Frobisher's voyage.—London, 13th June 1578.

13 June. **511.** The King to Bernardino de Mendoza.

Since you left here fifteen of your letters have been received, all of which have been much delayed. From them I learn what had passed with the Queen and her ministers respecting my Netherlands, and I fully approve of your proceedings in respect thereto, which

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were in accordance with your instructions and my wishes. No further orders can be sent to you other than to continue as you have begun, and to follow the instructions you may receive from my brother, Don Juan of Austria, as he, being on the spot, will be the better able to judge as to what course should be pursued there. You will, in the meanwhile, continue to deal gently and amiably with the Queen and her ministers, this being the desirable course at present. Send me a copy of the instructions given to you by my brother on your arrival, as he has not sent them, no doubt believing that you would do so.

In one of your letters were received the three pieces of ore mentioned therein, and, the assay having been made of them here by persons of experience, it has been found that what looks like gold is really marcasite. The other two little black pieces were nothing at all, so that, bearing in mind what you write of the large quantity of ore brought and the rich result of the smelting, it is probable that the person who gave you the three pieces did so in order to appear complaisant and throw us off our guard here, or else that, as they brought several different sorts of ore, they have concealed what was of any value. You will therefore send the other pieces which you say you have and any more you can get, so that we may see whether there is any greater value in them than in the pieces you have sent.

They have not told you the truth either, apparently, about the navigation, because, if they went to Iceland, which is said to be in latitude 65, although they afterwards ran down to 62 degrees, which is the land they call Labrador, it is difficult to believe that in so cold a region there can be any richness of metal. It is very necessary for the investigation of this matter that you should get the chart you speak of, and we urge you much to make every effort to obtain it and send it to us.—The Wood of Balsain, 13th June 1578.

13 June. **512.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

Since I wrote on the 11th, the Queen has appointed Lord Howard to be Admiral of the six ships which are being fitted out, with Henry (Philip ?) Sidney, a nephew of Leicester's, to be Vice-Admiral; the other captains being selected men. It is understood that these ships will take three standards of infantry raised by the Guilds or trained-bands of this city, although some suspect that they will go over to Flanders. Walsingham is going there, and he is such a devilish heretic that he constantly favours those like himself, and persecutes the Catholics, in order to pledge the Queen more deeply to his way of thinking. I am told that, some months ago, he went to examine a Catholic prisoner and asked him if he held the Queen to be excommunicated. The Catholic answered that he did not concern himself with that matter, and did not know whether she was or not, but Walsingham put down that he (the prisoner) held her to be excommunicated. He then asked him if, the Queen being excommunicated, he considered that she ought to be obeyed as sovereign or not, and the prisoner answered him the same way as before, but Walsingham put down that he had said that,

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being excommunicated, she could not be Queen. He then went to the Queen with the so-called confession, and told her that this was a proof of what Catholics in general thought, from which she could see what it was desirable to do with them.

The Queen came into the presence chamber the other day, and read a letter from Casimir saying that he offered to serve her on horse or foot with twenty thousand men, anywhere and for anything.—London, 13th June 1578.

13 June. **513.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 11th what I had heard about the going of Cobham and Walsingham. I have since learned that Pelham, Master of the Ordnance to the Queen, who is a sort of general, is going with them to reconnoitre his Highness' forces minutely. He is a man who is in their confidence, and they think he will understand the matter well, being a soldier. He is afterwards to go to Casimir and give him an account of what he has seen, returning with him to the Netherlands; Captain Villiers (?) is also to go, and is subsequently to visit the Landgrave of Hesse, to ask him to send by him to the States two thousand horse. Peter Aschio (Haselby ?) is going also to take the two thousand Scotsmen back again who were in the service of the rebels before, and left Holland for Sandwich when the peace was made. Master Lee is to go for the purpose of bringing Count Swartzenburg's cavalry, as the Queen wishes to have people of her own in all the forces which go to the States, so that they may act in conjunction with the respective commanders, and she may thus be better informed as to their proceedings. The are also to advise the commanders of the best road by which to enter the States with safety, in accordance with Pelham's opinion. As regards this, Pelham will not be able to give them much guidance as his Highness will not not remain in one place, but will go where need may call him.

Ernest Brabazon is also going with them. He has already served Orange, and knows the language well, his task being to treat with some of the Germans who serve your Majesty, and particularly with . . . . .,* and persuade them to mutiny, and other things of the same sort. He is also to try to get some of them to give information to the States and to Orange as to the movements of the army, and he depends upon his friendship with some of them and his own cleverness, to get them to do this.

They also say that negotiations are being carried on with the Prince of Condé for him to send from Gascony and Guienne in the Queen's ships four thousand Gascons to aid Orange in Zealand, the ships being sent to that coast on the pretext of taking merchandise, and bearing the passport of the king of France. Winter of Norfolk has been appointed to go with the ships, and I am informed that in addition to what I have already advised, Cobham and Walsingham's principal instructions are to urge the States to place the English troops and commanders selected by the Queen into certain fortresses which she desires to have in her hands in view of eventualities. She

* In original: "Left blank in cipher, as he could not ascertain the name." *See* page 599.

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thinks by this means that the fortresses may be held by her without her asking the States to formally surrender them to her or appearing distrustful of them. Orange will warmly favour this and the other things they desire. It is thought that the envoys will remain over two months there.

The Queen has received news from Ireland that Stukeley's ships have been sighted, and she has sent with all speed a son of James Crofts, her Controller, to Sidney, the Viceroy, urging him on all accounts to bring the earl of Desmond to submit to her favour. He is at present plundering in the mountains with a number of his people, and she wishes to persuade him by promising that she will not allow his great enemy the earl of Ormond to leave here, but that if he will return to her favour she will make it more profitable to him than if he allows Stukeley or Sir John Fitzmaurice to land. The latter is an Irish rebel, who has been in exile in France, and is also reported to have left there for Ireland. Desmond is told what enemies they are to him, and how they will make war upon him if they are allowed to land.

The Queen gave Frobisher leave to sail on his voyage, but with instructions to put into an Irish port, and if he found any disturbance there, he was not to proceed without further orders.

It is said here that affairs in Scotland are now harmonious, and Walsingham consequently summoned Morton's agent, and told him that the Queen was much surprised, seeing that she had done so much for the peace of Scotland and Morton's own aggrandisement, that the latter had not communicated his opinions since the conventions which had taken place.

He (the agent) replied that he himself had not received letters from Morton for a long while, and as it was only the interior questions of Scotland which were at issue, he did not wish to trouble his neighbours with them, which he, the agent, thought was the reason for Morton's not writing. Parliament is to open there on the 25th instant, and the King of France has informed his ambassador here that he will send M. de Pepin thither, although it is not known whether he will go by sea or through this country with the Queen's passport.

The Countess of Shrewsbury whose husband is guarding the Queen of Scotland has come to see the Queen, it is said on private business, but it is rather suspected that it is respecting the queen of Scotland's affairs as Leicester entertained her on the way, and is lodging her here in his house. He, Leicester, is having a meeting with his brothers and kinsmen at the place where he is to take the waters (Buxton).

The French ambassador had audience with the Queen on the 11th, when she complained of the departure of the Guises from his master's Court, saying that she could not avoid being very suspicious of it, and that they had gone with the King's consent to negotiate something with his Highness. He excused it, and said that children might believe those things, but not a person of her experience in Council.

As I was dispatching a courier express to his Highness with my news, Cobham and Walsingham came to see me, and told me that

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the Queen had instructed them to inform me that she was sending them to his Highness and the States, and she had no doubt that some badly intentioned persons would tell me that it was for the purpose of fanning the flame, but they were to assure me that the only object was to promote peace, and, with this aim, and to know how they should bear themselves towards his Highness, they desired to know how they would be received, asking me to give them my advice and a letter for him, and that they would go first by the States in order to be sure of their intentions. I answered with very sweet words, and with as much double dealing as Walsingham himself, and said that, so far as I knew, I could assure them that his Highness would receive them very well as ministers of the Queen, and particularly as they came in the interests of peace. I said that peace had been, and was still being, constantly offered to the States by your Majesty, as would be seen by the way in which his Highness had graciously treated, in your Majesty's name, those countries which submitted themselves to him with an acknowledgment of their past errors, and the same treatment would be meted out to the rest if they opened their eyes and repented of their misdeeds. We conversed on the subject for nearly two hours, but I will not trouble your Majesty with a repetition of what was said. At one time they began to bluster, but I replied even more loudly in the same strain, which was in accordance with my instructions from his Highness, and they thereupon trimmed their sails. I told them that I had sent to request audience of the Queen, to ask her to order all Englishmen in the States to return, they having left without her permission, as she herself had confessed to me; and that, if she did not do so your Majesty would resent it as being contrary to the alliance and treaties between the two countries, and they would feel severely the evils which would result to them for this violation of treaties in thus helping such contumacious rebels.

They replied that, if they did not prevent it, the French would take the Netherlands, in which case they then protested they could not avoid sending aid to the States; to which I replied that I also would protest very strongly if the Queen did anything of the sort, as it was a violation of neutrality, but they might be sure that, the States being your Majesty's dominions, would be retained at all costs. I said that if they thought of adopting any such course they would lose much more in France than they would gain in Flanders, and that the way to checkmate the French was certainly not to send English troops to the States, but to join forces with your Majesty, if you needed their help, which you did not. They always returned to the same point, namely, that the whole business depended upon your Majesty's conceding to the States the agreement of Ghent, to which I again replied that I believed his Highness had already replied to the Queen on this point by Beal. They asked me whether his Highness would be annoyed at ambassadors being sent to endeavour to bring about peace, to which I replied that he would not be so, as was proved by his efforts to avoid hostilities with them. At their request I gave them the letter for his Highness, of which I enclose copy. Cobham is only

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going for the sake of appearances, and I am assured that if the wind change in this country he will not be amongst the worst of these people, as he is much aggrieved against those who are now rule, although he does not show it. So far as I could judge, their principal object in coming was to discover from me whether your Majesty would concede the Ghent agreement and abate the war, as they said that if you did not do so the States would be lost. They are making great pardons and promises of favour to the English in the Netherlands if they will return hither or help them in their designs. The name of the German captain who is to be approached is Peter Vanest. I could not learn this before as it was not in the instructions, but hidden in Walsingham's breast. A courier came in great haste to the French ambassador on the 11th from the King. There was no money to give him in Paris, and he had to take an order on the receiver at Amiens where he waited a day and a half before he could get any funds. He (the Ambassador?) went the next morning to a house near to where the Queen is, and saw the earl of Sussex and Secretary Walsingham. I have not been able to ascertain what the business is, but have been told that the king of France desires to know the reason why the Queen is equipping ships, and requests a passport for an envoy he is sending to Scotland. It is more probable, however, as I am told, that the business in hand is concerning Scotland, as the ambassador went the same evening to a place three miles from here with only his secretary, which he does not often do, and it is believed that the French are attempting to get possession of the prince of Scotland, and take him to France, they having in their interest six of the Governors, who, however, hate the business.

The Queen dispatched, in a great hurry, on the 11th, Thomas Brown to France, West to the Prince of Condé, and another gentleman to Scotland.

I had asked for audience of the Queen for the purposes I have mentioned, and have just received a letter from his Highness instructing me to inform her about the success at Philippeville and other things. I will duly report her reply.—London, 13th June 1578.

17 June. **514.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

The irresolution of these people is the cause of the uncertain way in which I send my letters. I have had some long talks with them, and the only way for me to keep my temper is to bear in mind that I am one of the school of the Duke (of Alba) and a soldier of his. I fancy they have repented of their attempt to bully me, seeing that the answer I gave, which was such as I thought the case demanded.

The Queen has ordered seventeen hundred bullocks to be slaughtered at Portsmouth, and seven hundred here, besides a like number in the Isle of Wight. Great quantities of biscuits are being made in the Tower and at Plymouth, and butter and many other things of the same sort are being got together for the victualling of the ships. I am told that in Flushing they were

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arming ships and I therefore sent a man to get information about it. He says that it is true, and that they said they could get together a hundred crookstems, and although the number seems exorbitant yet as they draw but little water, are swift and can bear cannon, I have thought well to report, in order that, considering their description, an opinion may be formed as to whether they are likely to be for the Indies, Barbary, or elsewhere.—London, 17th June 1578.

17 June. **515.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

After closing the accompanying letter ready for the courier, Stafford, whom this Queen had sent to France, arrived here on the 13th, which was the same day that Cobham and Walsingham came to see me when they told me they would leave on the following day. His arrival, however, has delayed their departure, and I have consequently thought well to keep the letter back, particularly as I was to have audience with the Queen on the 15th. When I saw her I gave her an account of the surrender of Philippeville. She said that such successes, being against your Majesty's own subjects, could give her but little pleasure. As regards ordering the English to return from Flanders, she said that they had left without her permission, and, as they were people of small account, they would take good care not to return to her country, and they were not of sufficient importance for her to order them to do so. I replied that this was quite true with regard to them personally, and it did not matter about their small forces being with the rebels, the only important point being that they were subjects of a sovereign with whom your Majesty had so close an alliance. We had a long conversation on this point, in accord with what had passed between Cobham and Walsingham and myself, although it was carried on with more suavity and less vapouring than they had employed, as I had treated them in the same way. I gave the Queen a punctual account of what his Highness had ordered me to say in his letter of the 7th May and of what he had said to her ambassador, which in effect was that your Majesty only asked that the States should submit to you and observe the Roman Catholic religion in accordance with what they had promised in their letters of the 8th September, and, if they really and effectually fulfilled this, your Majesty would restore matters to the same state as in the time of the Emperor; withdrawing foreigners from the country and restoring to the natives their privileges and ancient government. I said as this was so just she ought to endeavour to bring it about, even for her own sake; and, apart from what I was instructed to say to her, I could not help, I said, repeating this to her and pointing out how bad it was of her to support rebellion. As I found her well disposed, I dwelt very emphatically upon this, as also on the point which his Highness ordered me to press, namely, that if she were to declare war it would mean very little more than what she was doing now by helping the rebels, and I said I might assure her that if your Majesty aroused your friends to action it would not be to come

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hither with a leaky old ship; I having been informed from Portugal that the vessels brought by Stukeley from Italy were making so much water that they could not sail any further. To this she replied that she hoped to God that his Highness' ambition would not spoil everything, and that she desired nothing but peace, which would certainly be brought about if your Majesty would grant to the States the agreement of Ghent. She said that they were pressing this as Holland and Zealand would separate from them if it were not conceded, they fearing the carrying out of the placards respecting religion, and she then said, "What did it matter to your Majesty if they went to the devil in their own way?" I said it was not in the power of princes to enlarge or restrict religion, as the law thereupon had been ordained by God himself, and your Majesty could not consent on any account to persons living in your dominions except in conformity with the true Roman Catholic faith, and reminded her of what was being done in her own country. She replied that she did not punish the Catholics except for refusing to acknowledge her as Queen, as in other things she thought as they did. The people in Holland were desperate, she said, and she did not want to see them fall into the hands of the French. I pointed out to her as well as I could that France was not in a condition of strength which would make this possible, since your Majesty's power was so great everywhere, and could prevent their entry into the States, besides the damage you might do to them by way of Italy, Provence, and Spain, which well might cause them, the French, to confine their regards to Scotland, which was of much more importance to them, and where they were carrying on very lively negotiations, a French ambassador having recently arrived there by sea. She replied that she knew that very well, and that his name was Seton. She ended by saying that Cobham and Walsingham would not go to his Highness unless they learned that he was willing to treat for peace, which is different from what they decided before. Their changes, indeed, are so frequent that I am at a loss to convey any fixed intelligence to your Majesty, excepting by giving an account from day to day. Even whilst I am with them they are constantly contradicting me and never tell the truth even by chance.

The Queen was very glad of Stafford's arrival as he assured her that the king of France was at issue with his brother about affairs there, and their disagreement will probably lead to hostilities. One of the councillors tells me that the matter about which the French ambassador saw Sussex and Walsingham was, that the King had sent the courier I mentioned to tell him to urge upon the Queen forcibly how bad it would be both to France and England for your Majesty to end matters in Flanders by conquest. Whatever it was, the ambassador has not yet received a reply although he is very pressing to send off his courier.

The Queen has received news from Portugal that the ships which Stukeley had brought there were so old and leaky that they could not go any further, and he had begged the King of Portugal, by virtue of the Pope's letters, to give him others but he had been told that the King did not wish to break the friendship between

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himself and this Queen.* She has consequently ordered the suspension for a fortnight of the equipment of her ships. I have just been told that the earl of Leicester has been with the queen of Scotland for three days, and that she complained bitterly to him of the treatment extended to her by this Queen. They have recently kept her more closely than ever.

M. d'Alençon is sending an ambassador hither who will arrive in a week.—London, 17th June 1578.

20 June. **516.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

On the 10th instant I gave your Majesty an account of the arrival of a certain ship on this coast. The captain has since arrived here and has been received with extraordinary favour by the Queen, who was closeted with him alone to hear an account of his voyage. He has been treated in the same way by the Council at large and by each member in particular, so that it has been impossible to get at him yet. The Queen has ordered that both he and the crew should be very well treated, considering their having returned without finishing the voyage or bringing anything back with them, and the execution of the gentleman by Drake is not to be spoken about until his return.

The captain affirms that he entered the Straits with his ship and arrived at fifty-five degrees south latitude in the southern sea, where he found an island with traces of habitation, and a gallows erected, whereon, it is said, Magellan had executed a man. The description he gives of the Straits is similar to that given of Magellan's discovery, and he says that, at its widest part, it is about seven leagues across, narrowing in some parts to less than two. He came across two islands in the Strait itself, one of which was crowded with birds like geese† and the other had on it a large quantity of fish,‡ which came on shore. He said that these stood him in great good stead for his maintenance. He left Drake ten months ago and came to the coast of Brazil to victual for his voyage hither. He captured one of the negroes living there although some people have tried here to make out that he is from the land in the South Sea, where Drake told them to rendezvous in case they were separated from other ships by tempest. This is in forty-seven degrees south latitude in the South Sea. The captain has told the Council that some of the sailors on the outward voyage sank a Portuguese ship on the coast of Brazil the whole of the crew being drowned.—London, 20th June 1578.

517. Document headed "On Tuesday, the eve of St. John, I, "Antonio de Guaras, was examined, by Sir Walter "Mildmay and Dr. Wilson, on the following points, so far "as I can remember:"

1. The first point was that I was not a public officer but a private person, as I could produce no letter from the King to prove that I

* Stukeley was prevailed upon to accompany the young King Don Sebastian on his ill-fated expedition to Morocco, and was killed, with the King himself, and most of his followers, at the disastrous battle of Alcazar, on the 4th August 1578.

† Penguins.

‡ No doubt seals, such as now frequent the Straits.

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was here on his affairs. To this I replied that I was a public person and, as such, would answer their interrogations.

2. Had Captain Dyke (?) written a letter to me? To which I replied Yes; and that I had sent a letter of his to Flanders as he was desirous of serving his Majesty.

3. Had I received a letter from Captain Cotton respecting certain grievances suffered by him at Bruges? I replied, Yes; and that a letter had been sent to him for his Excellency, through his Secretary, in favour of a certain Charles Brown who was also going to serve.

4. Whether I had written that I was afraid they were going to put me in the Tower? I replied that, to the best of my recollection, they referred to what I had written by the ambassadors who come from Flanders, and the two despatches which Zweveghem took, although they denied this. I said that what I had written was that, as everyone was saying that war would break out, I begged his Majesty or his Highness not to let me be forgotten.

5. Had I any understanding with the earl of Westmoreland or any others of those whom they called rebels? I replied that I had never thought of such a thing, which is true.

6. Whether I had received letters from the queen of Scotland requesting me to write to the Grand Commander, asking him to provide for the needs of the earl of Westmoreland? I replied that I did not recollect such a thing as my memory was a poor one.

7. If I had sent her any letters of my own or from other people? To which I replied, No.

8. Had I any understandings regarding her release? To which I replied, I had not.

9. If I had written to the Queen's prejudice and a statement regarding the ships of war which were plundering in the Channel? I replied that I had not, and referred them to my letters.

10. They examined me as to who it was that was going to serve with ten thousand men, giving his son as a pledge? I replied that, so far as I recollected, it was Colonel Chester.

11. They asked me who was to undertake the service from Ireland? To which I replied that I had no recollection of such a business.

12. They asked me what I had written about the money which was being taken out of Spain? To which I replied that I wrote generally in consequence of the disorder of things.

13. They told me that his Majesty was poor and consequently did not provide for me; dwelling much upon my poverty. They said that his Majesty spent much more than his revenue, and was full of debts. They asked me how I knew the Queen's revenue was small? I said that what she had was well known, and that Ireland cost her twenty thousand pounds a year to maintain, more than it was worth to her. When she had spent thirty millions on war, as his Majesty had in Flanders, and still had as much again to settle matters there by the hand of his Highness, they might talk about her riches. The rental of a single city in Spain, Seville, I said, was greater than all the revenues of this Crown, for they, at great length, sought to belittle the King's greatness, but I told him the truth in a very few words.

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14. They asked how I knew that the queen of Scotland and her ambassador were unjustly imprisoned? I replied that the French envoys had affirmed it, she having come to this country of her own free will as to the house of a person who was much indebted to her, and, in conformity with the arrangement made shortly before by the two Queens to visit and congratulate each other, for which visits the liveries had been openly prepared.

15. After having examined me as aforesaid, they insisted upon my signing the examination, and, on my saying that I, as a public man, was not called upon to sign it, as it was a matter touching the sovereign, they replied that they would make me sign it by force; and the two members of the Council afore-mentioned made a note thereof at the foot of the confession.

16. I told Dr. Wilson apart that I wished to speak with the earl of Leicester as question No. 10 concerned his brother-in-law.

Without date, but amongst the papers of 1578.

5 July. **518.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to ZAYAS.

I send duplicates of my letters of 11th, 13th, 17th, and 21st ultimo, as the weather has been very bad for the transmission of letters lately. I have been a long while without anything from your worship, which makes me more anxious than I can say, as I receive no approval of what is being done here nor any reply to my many letters to his Majesty. My only consolation is that your worship has so fully instructed me that I cannot go very far wrong, unless I forget your instructions; but I beg you do not fail to give me constant light for my guidance, which so new a Minister as myself urgently needs.

As soon as Walsingham and Cobham arrived at Dunkirk, they requested M. de la Motte* to come and speak to them, and they would send hostages for his safety. As he did not accept the invitation they sent a gentleman to treat with him, to whom he replied that he would convey the message given to him to Don Juan. These people are making earnest attempts to continue their expeditions to the Indies, and, as you will see by my letters to his Majesty, they are still equipping ships for the purpose. If he wishes to take away from them their relish for the enterprise, it would be well for him to order resolutely that any ship of theirs that is captured should be sent to the bottom and not a soul spared. If any mercy is extended to them, they will never desist from their attempts, and, as they take but little force with them, it will not require great efforts to do as I say. If once they set foot on land the task will be a much more difficult one.

The Scots have twice recently crossed the border and taken a hundred prisoners and two thousand heads of cattle, which is a great haul, as they have not, for a long time past, made these raids.

Guaras has again been examined since they put him in the Tower. I will speak to the Queen about his affair at the audience I am to have with her before she starts on her progress.—London, 5th July 1578.

* The Governor of Gravelines for the King of Spain.

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19 July. **519.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to ZAYAS.

Speaks of the difficulty of forwarding letters, and refers to private letters to and from relatives, &c.

In addition to the difficulties I found on my arrivel here, I am hindered by Juan de Vargas having written, as I previously mentioned, saying that sending special couriers was costly and that he had but little money for such purposes. I sent in my letter of the 12th of April the communication which I received from Don Juan on my arrival here with a statement which contained the only instructions I had, but, I am afraid, from what his Majesty says, that they will have been lost.

The Queen has been very suspicious of me hitherto, as she has been assured that I was coming to perform I know not what bad offices, but she is being undeceived and is turning her eyes now more towards his Majesty. The same may be said of some of her ministers, who have begun to get friendly with me, and I can assure you that, if his Majesty wishes to retain them, I see a way of doing it. It has been a good deal to bring them so far; seeing how distrustful they were of ever having any interest taken in them by his Majesty, because, as they themselves tell me, no account was made, even of their mistress, much less of them. Any money that may be given to them will not be wasted. God knows the trouble I have had in getting her and her ministers even so far as this towards the condition which you mention, as they always want to see something substantial beforehand, which is the natural character of their countrymen. I am told by a person in the Palace that, even in the matter of giving me audience readily, the Queen has been considerably influenced by the gloves and perfumes which I gave her when I arrived.

Before the Queen started on her progress, I spoke to her about the change made with Guaras. She said that, after she had ordered him to leave the country, an Irishman had divulged a certain plot in Ireland in which Guaras was concerned. This having caused her to send him to the Tower until the matter could be investigated; and, after that was done, she would send him to his Majesty to be punished, as his actions had been so much in her disservice and to the prejudice of her crown.

With regard to the arrested property misappropriated here, about which I wrote to you, I am pressed by Hatton, the Captain of the Guard, to claim it, making an arrangement with him to give him a certain share; upon which, he says he will have the persons who now hold the property denounced, and will see that justice is done. I beg you will report this to the King, and get his instructions. I expect that the amount will turn out to be a large one, as Hatton is in such a hurry for his share of it, and it would be a pity that the property should be lost.

On the last day of this month the credit which Garnica sent expired, and, if I am to remain here, I beg that it may be extended, as well as the other credit for my extraordinary expenses, since God has endowed me with no means of my own to meet them. I have not recovered a penny of the back pay which was owing to me yet, although Don Juan ordered me to be paid; nor has the Marquis de

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Ayamonte paid what his Majesty ordered of my revenue. I am dealing with one of Walsingham's officers and a great man in his office. He is entertaining my advances, and is giving me some information already, from interested motives, in the hope also that his payment will be regular if I stay here.—London, 19th July 1578.

20 July. **520.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

Since making up the packet I have received yours of the 13th June; I have nothing to say, excepting that those who are desirous of claiming the misappropriated property, part of the seizures, are pressing me again upon the matter, which makes me think, seeing the hurry they are in, that the sum will be a large one. If we can get anything out of it the money may, perhaps, be employed in gaining some of the personages here, without bringing funds from Spain, besides which, if we let this opportunity slip, we shall never be able to recover this money, as the people themselves tell me.

I am very sorry the spectacles arrived broken, as your worship thinks them good. I will send another box in my next packet.—London, 20th July 1578.

14 Aug. **521.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

Speaks at length regarding the delay and difficulty of forwarding letters, complaining much of the ambassador in France, Juan de Vargas, to whom some were entrusted for transmission.

This Queen has greatly feasted Alençon's ambassador,* and on one occasion when she was entertaining him at dinner she thought the sideboard was not so well furnished with pieces of plate as she would like the Frenchman to have seen it; she therefore called the earl of Sussex, the Lord Steward, who had charge of these things, and asked him how it was there was so little plate. The Earl replied that he had, for many years, accompanied her and other sovereigns of England in their progresses, and he had never seen them take so much plate as she was carrying then. The Queen told him to hold his tongue, that he was a great rogue, and that the more good that was done to people like him the worse they got. She then turned to a certain North, who was there in the room, and asked him whether he thought there was much or little plate on the sideboard, to which he replied there was very little, and threw the blame on Sussex. When North left the Queen's chamber, Sussex told him that he had spoke wrongly and falsely in what he said to the Queen, whereupon North replied that if he, Sussex, did not belong to the Council he would prove what he said to his teeth. Sussex then went to Leicester and complained of the knavish behaviour of North, but Leicester told him that the words he used should not be applied to such persons as North. Sussex answered that, whatever he might think of the words, North was a great knave, so that they remained offended with one another as

* The Duke D'Alençon had instructed M. de Bacqueville and M. Quissé, on the 30th July, to explain to Elizabeth the reasons that had moved him to enter Flanders, to solicit her advice as to his future proceedings, apparently to ask for a loan of 300,000 crowns, and to renew the demand for her hand.

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they had been before on other matters. This may not be of importance, but I have thought well to relate it so that you may see how easily matters here may now be brought into discord if care be taken on one side to insure support against eventualities. The next day the Queen sent twice to tell the earl of Oxford, who is a very gallant lad, to dance before the ambassadors, whereupon he replied that he hoped her Majesty would not order him to do so as he did not want to entertain Frenchmen. When the Lord Steward took him the message the second time, he replied that he would not give pleasure to Frenchmen, nor listen to such a message, and with that he left the room. He is a lad who has a great following in the country, and has requested permission to go and serve his Highness, which the Queen refused, and asked him why he did not go and serve the Archduke Mathias; to which he replied that he would not serve another sovereign than his own, unless it were a very great one, such as the king of Spain.

I have sent a man expressly to make the voyage in Humphrey Gilbert's ships, so that if he returns, he will give a full account of it to me. I have been fortunate in finding a person both faithful and competent, he being an Englishman, and I beg you will let his Majesty know of this as I have given him orders if they should touch in Spain on their return that he is to go straight to Court and address himself to you.

Francisco de Arriaga has sent to say that he will prolong the credit to pay me two hundred and forty crowns a month on the signature of Garnica. I suspect that this is owing to your kind offices, and I beg you to send me another credit for my extraordinary expenses, as I have no means to provide for them.

I am making every possible effort for the release of Antonio de Guaras. I enclose herewith his confession and the points upon which they have examined him and his servant. I have sent to offer him everything of which he may stand in need, having first asked the Queen's consent to do so. I am told that there are many Catholics in the north where the Queen is travelling, and that on her entering the house of a gentleman where she was to lodge, her people found an altar with all the ornaments thereupon ready for the celebration of mass, whilst the gentleman, his wife, and children received the Queen with crucifixes round their necks. There is not so much severity against them as usual.

I send your worship herewith a box of spectacles of the same ages as before, but the workman is so knavish that there has been much difficulty in getting them. I hope they will arrive better than the others.—London, 14th August 1578.

522. Document headed "JUAN DE AGUIRRE was examined on "the 25th of June by the Governor of the Tower, and "Master Herll, on the following points":—

1. Whether, when I was at the Sheriff's house, I had said that the Queen was heretical and schismatic, and other similar things? To this I replied flatly that, whoever had accused me of this had not said the truth, and that I had never said a word against the Queen, which is true.

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2. Whether I knew one Master Heron? To which I replied yes. What was the reason that he came so often to my master's house? I replied that when Pedro de Barrientos, a Spaniard, went to Spain two years ago, he left a Flemish horse here for Heron to sell, which he did for twenty pounds. This sum he had to pay to my master, who asked him for the amount from time to time. He made light of the demand and came sometimes to dinner, and this was the whole of the business.

3. Did I know one Master Hare? I replied yes. Why did he come to my master's house? I replied that he came occasionally and brought letters for my master to forward to an English friend of his in Antwerp. The letters were so forwarded, and when the post arrived, Hare came to get the letters which came for him in the same way.

4. Did I know Master Gardiner? To which I replied that I did. What business had he with my master? I replied that I believe, so far as I could see, that his only reason for coming was to spy, as he only came when letters were being written or sealed, and that he talked so much that my master could not endure him.

5. Did I know one Captain Malbey? I said that I did. What connection had he with my master? I replied that he came to ask my master to forward, in some ship going to Spain, three Irish greyhounds, as I understood, for the King.

6. Did I know one Morgan? I said yes. What business had he with my master? I said he came but rarely, and I understood that he came to learn news from Flanders or Spain. Did he come by night or by day? I never saw him excepting in the daytime.

7. Did I know a person called Master Somerset? To which I replied that I did not.

8. Who was it that brought news to my master? I said that all the news he received came through an Easterling, who died ten months ago, and was a sort of servant whom he sent to the west country, Southampton and other places, and when he returned he and my master discoursed in secret.

9. Whether my master wrote to the queen of Scotland or received letters from her? To which I replied that I knew nothing of such a thing.

10. If my master had said anything against the Queen or Council? To which I replied that I had never heard him say anything.

11. They asked me what my master had done with his papers and cipher? To which I replied that, shortly before his arrest one day, Bautista de San Vitores, Alonso de Basurto, Pedro Martinez, and Juan de Sansurte, all Spaniards, came to tell him that his Majesty had ordered the arrest of all English ships, and that the same step had been taken in this country towards Spaniards, and that war would surely break out. My master was alarmed at this, and fearing that war was coming, burnt all his papers, letters, and ciphers, as shortly before then his Highness had written to him to take care they did not get hold of any papers of his, and if he heard anything disquieting he was to burn them. They told me he had done no such thing.

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12. What was it that my master wrote to his Majesty and his Highness? To which I replied that I did not know, as I was unacquainted with the ciphers. My master wrote them and I copied them. They said I knew very well what he wrote in plain Spanish. I said yes; sometimes he wrote that money, arms, and stores were being sent from here for the succour of Orange and the States, and that ambassadors were being sent thither.

13. Why was Damian sent to his Highness? To which I replied that as my master was in great need he was sent to beg of his Highness to provide him with money. Did he take any letters? No.

14. Would Sancho de Leive come here again? I said I did not know. Was he acquainted with any of the ciphers? I did not know for certain, but perhaps he knew some.

15. Whither did my master intend to go if he were ordered to leave the country? To which I replied that, from what I had heard, he would go first to your Majesty's Court to beg some favour, and then would retire to his own house, from which he had been absent very long.

16. How long had I been with my master? I said nineteen months. They said that I could say a great deal more if I liked, and they would make me do so under torture. I replied that they could do as they liked with me, but I could say no more than I had done, and if I knew anything more I would have told them.

After saying all this verbally they ordered me to write it clause by clause in Spanish to show to the Council, which I did, word for word as is here set down.

19 Aug. **523.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

I wrote on the 14th by way of France and have since heard that Horatio Pallavicini, the Genoese who wrote to the King, has some alum, besides that in Cadiz, at Bayona in Galicia, and has freighted a ship to bring it hither. It would be well that it should not be allowed to come. I am sending this hurriedly and can say no more at present.

As regards the money withheld from the seizures, Hatton, the captain of the Guard and a member of the Council, is the person who has reported the matter to me, but he will not divulge the names of the persons in whose possession the property now is, unless he is assured of a very large share of it. Nor will he tell me the value of the property illegally detained, as most of it, I suspect, is in the hands of members of the Council and other men of standing, from whom he hopes to get it by the Queen's favour, without which it will be impossible to recover anything. I do not therefore mean to lose any time in the business nor to let Hatton cool about it. He is now very hot on the matter, which makes me think that the sum is a large one.—London, 19th August 1578.

8 Sept. **524.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

I have three of your letters, and as you exonerate me from blame in the delay, I have no more to say on that head, excepting that I am astonished that my letters should arrive so tardily there, and I

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should be very glad to receive orders to forward them by some other way as I am sure that they will always run the same risk of delay whilst they go through Juan de Vargas.

The talk of getting rid of me here has gone no further, and I now never see the Queen but she tells me how glad she is for me to be here. She gives me audience freely and I have her now in an excellent humour, thank God, whilst the Englishmen in general are not bad friends with me, as they think I shall not do anything against them in the event of disturbance.

With regard to your request that I should say what is the amount of money which we may be able to get from the misappropriated property from the seizures, as I have told you Hatton, the Captain of the Guard and a Councillor, is the man who has reported the matter to me, and he will not declare the names of the persons who hold the property unless a large share of it is given to him; but I suspect that it is in the hands of some of the councillors and other men of position, from whom he expects to get it with the favour of the Queen, without which nothing can be done. I do not wish to let Hatton cool in the matter as he is very warm about it now, from which I conclude that the sum is a large one. The amount obtained might be applied to lighten the expenses of the journey to Monzon and, having this in view, you may move his Majesty to instruct me that as soon as the Queen arrives near here I may ask for audience and beg that commissioners be appointed in conformity with the agreement, to enquire about this property. I thank you for prolonging the credit, that for the five hundred crowns for extraordinary expenses being already exhausted, as you will see by my six-monthly account enclosed, leaving nearly two hundred crowns owing to me, which I beg earnestly you will have paid and send me another credit as I can do nothing here without it.

Antonio de Guaras is still in the Tower. I sent to tell him to let me know if he needed anything and he asked for two hundred crowns which were given to him out of the thousand. I never see the Queen without speaking about his affair.

As his Majesty in my instructions orders me to try to gain over some of these ministers, I have made some steps towards doing so with the earl of Sussex, Lord Burleigh, and James Crofts the Controller, and it has been necessary to give them some hopes of reward. They ask me every day what reply I receive from Spain, especially Sussex, and although I answer significantly, yet it is difficult to keep them in hand very long with words alone. I am much confused as I cannot now withdraw from the position I have taken up, having gone so far, nor can I carry the matter any further unless means of doing so are sent to me. If you have a chance pray mention it to his Majesty, as Don Juan writes that he has sent to the King about it but has no reply, and in the meanwhile, orders me to keep the negotiation pending, saying that if he were not so pressed for money he would send it to me from the Netherlands.

During her progress in the North the Queen has met with more Catholics than she expected, and in one of the houses* they found a great many images which were ordered to be dragged round and

* Euston Hall the seat of the Rookwood family.

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burnt. When she entered Norwich large crowds of people came out to receive her, and one company of children knelt as she passed and said, as usual, "God save the Queen." She turned to them and said, "Speak up; I know you do not love me here."

A very curious thing has happened here lately. A countryman has found, buried in a stable, three wax figures, two spans high and proportionately broad; the centre figure had the word Elizabeth written on the forehead and the side figures were dressed like her councillors, and were covered over with a great variety of different signs, the left side of the images being transfixed with a large quantity of pig's bristles as if it were some sort of witchcraft. When it reached the Queen's ears she was disturbed, as it was looked upon as an augury, and great enquiries have been set on foot about it, although hitherto nothing has been discovered.

On the 6th instant a ship arrived here from Barbary which had left Morocco on the 4th ultimo, and brings a very insolent message from the new king of Fez to the Queen saying amongst other things that he hopes to send her Stukeley as a present.*

Walsingham has written to the Queen that the chevallier Lorison and M. de Bussy,† two of Alençon's gentlemen, had had a quarrel in France, and Lorison, to whom the lie had been given, had gone to Don Juan's camp and from there had challenged Bussy who was with his master; the challenge having been accepted, Bussy had taken a letter from Alençon to Don Juan saying that he placed these two gentlemen in his Highness' hands so that both of them might came honourably out of the affair, which Don Juan had promised and given 400 lances for his escort. I should be glad indeed to be able to write definitely about Rambouillet's affairs but I have not been able to do so as my sources of information are drying up. I am writing to Juan de Vargas asking him to send this letter on with more diligence than the others, which I hope to God he will as I have not written lately. This Queen has given Rambouillet two pieces of gilt plate, some people say of the value of six hundred crowns, and some of a thousand.—London, 8th September 1578.

8 Sept. **525.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I wrote on the 14th ultimo., giving an account of the arrival of Rambouillet and L'Aubespine. They went on to Norwich two days afterwards to see the Queen who received Rambouillet. On the 2nd instant she dined with Rambouillet, Mauvissière who is the resident ambassador here, and Bacqueville, at Lord North's house, and after dinner she was talking with them apart for more than an hour.‡ Rambouillet was overheard to say that his master was much

* Stukeley had just been killed whilst fighting against the King's predecessor who had fallen in the same battle.

† Bussy d'Amboise, the famous duellist who was shortly afterwards sent to England by Alençon to pave the way for his master's visit. He was the close friend of the Prince and had fled from Paris at the beginning of the year in consequence of a quarrel with one of the King's gentlemen named Quélus. A few days afterwards (14th February) he contrived the escape of Alençon from the capital and accompanied him in his expedition to Flanders.

‡ Rambouillet and L'Aubespine had been sent by Henry III. and Bacqueville and De Quissé by Alençon to Elizabeth to renew the negotiations for Elizabeth's hand and arrange for Alençon's visit.

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surprised to see so many Englishmen in organised regiments in the Netherlands. The reply was that there were not many there yet, and there would have been many more if she, the Queen, had not heard of the large numbers being raised in her country. What Rambouillet said in reply is not known as he spoke very low, but the Queen retorted that she knew that long ago. Rambouillet then said that his master was only dealing truthfully with her, to which the Queen replied that it was so much the better for both of them. During the discourse nothing more was heard than these words, as the conversation was carried on in a low tone, but to judge by appearances and hints that have been dropped since, the matter under discussion is the marriage of Alençon. After the conversation, the Queen summoned Leicester and went with him into a corner of the same public chamber, where they were talking apart for nearly an hour. After this the Queen asked the ambassadors whether they would like to play at primero, to which they answered that they would do so if she wished. She said that it would be better that they should take the opportunity of the councillors being there to speak to them on the dispatch of their business, and they were accordingly with the Council until eight o'clock at night, the earl of Sussex and James Crofts the Controller being absent. When Leicester was leaving the Council he said to an Englishman, "suffice it that these Frenchmen want to marry the Queen." It seems as if the Queen herself were willing to entertain the matter as M. de Quissé returned on the 25th, and although he took no assurance about the loan of 300,000 ducats which Alençon had asked of the Queen through Bacqueville, the excuse being that the merchants of London would not advance the money without security, he seems to have taken with him some artifices about the alliance and marriage. I am told that Rambouillet tried to settle the matter of the loan to Alençon by offering that the King would be surety for his brother and that certain personages would come hither shortly to represent him and his brother to treat of the marriage. He also brought instructions to discuss Scotch matters with certain pensioners, but as things are settled there he has not done so, and his King has sent a gentleman of his from Boulogne to Scotland by sea.

L'Aubespine has been discussing the arrests of ships from Dieppe and seizures of French property under letters of marque, but has come to no decision about it and Bacqueville has not yet obtained an answer from the Queen.

Junio,* who was governor of Vere in the time of the rebels and is a native of Antwerp, has come from Casimir to this Queen, it is understood about the payment to him for having raised troops, she having ordered twenty-five thousand pounds to be obtained to send to the Netherlands.

Since the disturbances which I reported in my last as having happened in Scotland, Morton came in disguise near to Berwick to ask Lord Hunsdon the governor of the frontier to enter Scotland with the troops he had there which Hunsdon refused to do until he

* Dr. Junius de Jongh who had been agent for the prince of Orange.

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received the Queen's orders. Upon this Morton returned, and both sides laid down their arms and entered into the agreement of which I enclose a copy. I also send herewith a report of what had passed at the opening of Parliament there. St. Aldegonde has written to the Flemish Calvinists who live here and call themselves the new Church, on behalf of Orange, excusing himself for having given churches in Antwerp to the Martinists, it having been forced upon him in order that he might not lose the town, of which he was in great fear, as when the offer was at first refused the Martinists joined the Catholics. He tells these people they must not be discouraged by this or think that they are changing their opinion. It is said that the said course will be pursued in Malines, Brussels, Lille, and other places, until they find themselves more powerful.

He writes also very urgently that certain very rich burgesses of Valenciennes who are here should be sent to that town in order that they may use their influence to keep the people in submission to the States, they being heretics and extremely seditious persons of the same sort as the refugees who were sent from here to Ghent in a similar way; the effect of which has been seen. These Calvinists are so led astray by the devil that there is no sovereign in the world obeyed so implicitly as the two old men that they have appointed to govern them and their church. Those who are here have been made to pay large sums of money to succour the heretics and, poor and rich, they pay it most willingly, obeying the commands that are given to them with incredible alacrity and leave behind them wife and children, and everything else, to fulfil the orders given to them.

The Queen is tarrying on her progress in order not to approach London where the plague increases daily. It is understood that she will be at Windsor or Hampton Court on the 20th. She has not been at all gratified by the people in the North in consequence of the large number of Catholics that there are amongst them.

Some English gentlemen have recently left here to serve the King of Portugal taking with them letters from his ambaasador. Amongst them are Captain Bensar, Stanley and Lister. Stanley is considered a Catholic, but the rest are going by order of the Queen, and with the connivance of Leicester to see what Stukeley is up to, now that his expedition is at an end.*—London, 8th September 1578.

9 Sept. **526.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Since closing the accompanying letter I have been told by a member of the Council, through a person I sent to him to find out about Rambouillet's errand, that the king of France had sent him to learn whether there was any foundation in the negotiations being carried on for a marriage between this Queen and his brother, and if this were so and the Queen were disposed to listen to him, Rambouillet was to press the matter forward and to promise in the

* The disaster to Portuguese arms in Morocco at the battle of Alcazar on the 4th of the previous month in which Stukeley and the King were both killed, had apparently not become known in London at this date.

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King's name anything in his power to bring it about. The Queen has arranged with him that she will send by Bacqueville and Quissé in a few days a copy of the conditions which would be demanded on her part, she having seen those which Alençon had sent by Quissé. The king of France and Alençon can then send personages hither to conclude the marriage. The business is not a solitary one for they are talking about marrying Leicester in France if the Queen's marriage is brought about, but, judging from what has happened hitherto, the matter will no doubt be long drawn out.—London, 9th September 1578.

11 Sept. **527.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to ZAYAS.

As William Bodenham is leaving in a ship for Seville I have thought it a good opportunity to send his Majesty the enclosed letter with duplicates of mine of the 8th and 9th sent by France. Cobham has helped me in his Majesty's interests since I have been here which I have thought well to signify, and to express my obligation to him.

I have been informed that the courier Juanin, a great rogue and a subject of your Majesty, has sold to the prince of Orange three or four despatches from the King's officers, and particularly one of great importance from Colonel Mondragon. He is now going with a merchant to Genoa, and I think of writing to the ambassadors there (giving an account also to Don Juan) that he may be arrested and punished as such a scoundrel should be.

There has been a struggle in Bruges lately between the Catholics and the Calvinists, fifteen or sixteen people being killed therein. In Malines also, the Calvinists have tried to get up a disturbance, but were prevented by the governor, who is a Catholic. Orange has written begging them to have patience for a short time when a Friesland-man will be sent as governor of the town who will not be so much opposed to them. Bacqueville has been entertained in this city by orders of the Queen, and has been taken to see the Tower and other things, with great ceremony. A present of jewels valued at five hundred crowns has been given to him as well as some horses from Leicester. Yesterday by way of France there arrived very bad news about the king of Portugal's enterprise; God send that it be not true.*—London, 11th September 1578.

11 Sept. **528.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 8th and 9th I wrote to your Majesty and send copies herewith together with the marine chart, which I wrote to your Majesty that I had procured of Frobisher's voyage, but which I have not sent before for want of a good opportunity such as now offers by a safe bearer who goes to Seville by sea. M. de Bacqueville has arrived in London after taking leave of the Queen He is going directly to M. D'Alençon and the negotiations for the marriage are being taken up more warmly every day by the English. —London, 11th September, 1578.

* The battle of Alcazar.

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19 Sept. **529.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

All your letters have been received up to the 14th of August as well as a copy of what Don Juan wrote you on the 4th of July, instructing you as to your proceedings towards the Queen, respecting the help she is giving to the rebels in the Netherlands and her communications with them. I am glad that you have informed me of the way you have carried out these instructions and the reply given to you, which was simply an excuse, as their actions prove their words to be false. It is desirable nevertheless to keep matters in hand and preserve friendship with the Queen as you are doing, and at the same time cautiously to win over the ministers who appear favourably disposed to us. You say that in order to pledge them firmly on our side it will be necessary to treat them liberally, and it will be well for you to consider how much should be given to each one who may be of use to us, and whether it should be in money or valuables; the cost or amount of the same, how and when it should be given and what means you have of conveying it. When we know this and you are quite sure they will act sincerely and straightforwardly in what they are entrusted with, I will send orders for the provisions of what may be necessary for the purpose. I will do this all the more willingly, since I see by your later letters that my brother is of the same opinion. It is necessary, however, that before doing anything, we should have the information now requested, so as not to cast our seed on the sand nor give money to people who will cheat and then laugh at us. You will enquire well into this and report fully.

It would be very appropriate if any money could be got from the person who, you say, tells you of the unregistered and unclaimed property now being held which could be recovered by virtue of the last arrangement made between the Queen and the duke of Alba. It will be well for you to investigate the matter, and, if you find there is anything in it, you will inform us here of what is necessary to be done, in order that the needful instructions may be sent to you. I shall also be glad for the person who gives you the information to be properly rewarded.

Your diligence in discovering the object of equipping ships was very acceptable and useful for the purpose of allowing us to provide for the safety of the voyage to the Indies. You will continue to exercise the same vigilance in this respect.

Scotch affairs seem to be getting into an acute stage which makes it needful to keep the probable outcome of them in view. It has therefore been well to keep me informed of what you have heard, and you will try to discover what object is being sought, and what share the Catholics have in the Government and the care of the King's person; who is their leader, how they regard their Queen, and what could be done on my part to benefit her or her affairs. What is the character and disposition shown by her son both as to religion and other things. You will advise me fully of this, so that we may see what it will be desirable to do, but you will be very cautious about it, so that your object may not be

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understood. The report that I had written to the earl of Morton is an invention.

I notice the persons who have gone to England on behalf of the States and also on that of the duke of Alençon as well as the plots and toils in which they are immersed; all directed, no doubt, to the raising of distrust and suspicion in accordance with their own nature. I expect that the talk of the marriage of the Queen and the duke of Alençon will have all turned to smoke, but no doubt if Rambouillet and L'Aubespine went back with any decision of importance you will have let me and my brother know. You will not fail to inform my brother of everything, in order that he may instruct you, he being much nearer and having the business of the provinces in his hands.

I observe that Antonio de Guaras is still being severely treated and, as we should be glad to have him released and sent out of the country, we enjoin you to continue your efforts with this object and get him set at liberty as early as possible.

As regards yourself, it is my will that you should remain in England until I send further orders, endeavouring to keep friendly with the Queen, and maintaining kindly communications with her ministers as you have hitherto done.—London, 19th September 1578.

23 Sept. **530.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

On the 11th I wrote to your Majesty by sea to Seville, and since then it has been publicly announced that Alençon is to come here at the beginning of November to see the Queen in anticipation of the marriage. In view of this the Queen has ordered great preparations to be made and magnificent dresses for herself and her ladies. The king of France and his brother are pressing the matter with great warmth, and, to judge from the despatches he sends to his ambassador, it may be concluded that the matter is of great importance to some design they have in view.

Horatio Pallavicini, a Genoese, in company with Baptist Spinola who lives at Antwerp, has advanced the money which I wrote to your Majesty was to be raised for the States, three hundred and fifty thousand florins, the payment being guaranteed, in defect of the States, by the city of London. This has probably been of enormous service to enable them to strengthen their army. This money, together with that raised on the alum, and the hundred and fifty thousand florins supplied by the Ghent people from the church silver, will enable them to pay the soldiers a month's wages, without which not a man would have moved. One of the conditions of the loan is that for six years Pallavicini is to have the sole right of introducing alum into the States of the Netherlands. This is to the disadvantage of the dominions of your Majesty and the Papal States whence the alum comes, as the Netherlands is the place where most of it is consumed, and this man thus becomes the monopolist of the article, and the money for it will come into his hands and those of the States for the purpose of the prolongation of the war. Walsingham certainly will not stand in the way or

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prevent the security for the money being given in England, as I am assured that they are making him a present of four thousand pounds out of this loan. Pallavicini, in order to forestall other people, has sent for all the alum which he has in various parts, Milan, Genoa, and other places. From the latter port the ship "Santa Maria la Incoronada," belonging to Juan Maria Rato with seven thousand jars has sailed, with the intention of touching at Alicante to ship some jars that he has there, and perhaps those belonging to him in Cadiz, which I have already mentioned, also will be shipped. If they come hither they certainly will enable the States to prolong the war against your Majesty.

M. de Quissé, who has been residing here for Alençon, and the prince of Bearn, and is a great man amongst the Flemish heretics here, has left for the Netherlands. Junio who came from Casimir to the Queen is still negotiating about his payment.

This Queen has written to her ambassadors, Cobham and Walsingham, telling them that, notwithstanding her instructions to them to return, they are to remain there until they see the result of the negotiations now being carried on between the ambassadors of the Emperor, the States, and Don Juan.—London, 23rd September 1578.

531. Extracts from Letters from Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas, dated London, 23rd September and 7th and 11th October 1578.

Great payment and prizes have been promised in Ghent to all the ministers and secretaries who will go to the University and colleges which they are establishing for the maintenance of their new religion, so that the bait has had the effect of drawing all the ministers and schoolmasters away from here, and none now remain. Amongst them has gone Hermanus, a famous heretic who was thought much of in Antwerp, and preached there in Madam's time, and is now a minister at Norwich.

Letters from Antwerp of the 18th report that the States and Mathias have written to the people of Valenciennes telling them to obey Lalaing, both as regards billetting troops in the town and neighbourhood and in other matters.

By my letters to his Majesty you will see what passed with the Queen, and the discussion she raised about the ministers. I suspect that the object of his discussion was to learn from me what sort of reception her representatives would meet with in Spain, as it is stated here lately that when Cobham and Walsingham return she will send some one there. I replied to her in general terms, as you will see, and she afterwards said that if I were a "gaglioffo"* (for she likes to use such terms as these in Italian) I should not have remained here so long. She praised my mode of proceeding in affairs, and of conducting myself here, and said that, if I had lived here years ago, things would not have arrived at such a strained condition as they had, mentioning Don Guerau de Spes' proceedings which she has not forgotten yet. She also spoke about the release

* Gaglioffo, a worthless knave.

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of Guaras, replying to my reference thereto, and told me that she had promised me before she left on her progress that she would deal with the matter on her return, as the men who were expected from Ireland to clear up the matter would then have arrived.

Harry Sidney the Governor of Ireland has arrived, summoned by the Queen, and, no doubt his coming will enable us to learn what are the charges made against Guaras in this particular. I am doing the best I can for his release.

The Ghent people have hanged president Hessels to a tree outside of the town, and they say that Champigny was very near accompanying him. Hessels was a good Catholic and a faithful subject of the King, and as such, he boldly addressed the people of Ghent when they were about to execute him.*—London, 23rd September, 7th and 11th of October 1578.

7 Oct. **532.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

On the 11th ultimo I wrote to your Majesty by way of Seville, sending a marine chart of the voyage made by the English. The ships with Frobisher their captain have already returned from the voyage. They say he discharged at Portsmouth, for which reason I have not been able yet to get particulars of the success of the voyage, and have received no news of the man I sent with the expedition. All that I learn is what Frobisher, who has arrived here, himself relates, which is that he went in a very short time from Ireland to that coast which they call Cathay, which he found colder than when they were there two years ago, and he lost a ship in the ice and another was prevented from following him by tempest, and returned to this country bringing with it most of the wood destined for the building of houses. He went forty leagues higher up the Strait than on his former voyage, and without leaving any men behind him on shore, he simply loaded his vessels with the same sort of ore as he had previously brought. They are not much pleased with his return, nor are the merchants interested in the business satisfied with the voyage, although Frobisher promises great things in the voyage he says he must undertake thither next summer.—London, 7th October 1578.

7 Oct. **533.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

On the 23rd ultimo I wrote to your Majesty, and on the 28th I saw the Queen at Richmond; in the first place because she had approached so near here, and in the next, because I was told she was much surprised she had not seen me for so long, and thought that I must have gone back to Spain, from which I gathered that she wished to see me. After having welcomed me with much warmth and kindness, she gave me to understand that she was much grieved at what Don Juan had told her ambassador, namely, that he had orders from your Majesty not to treat for peace with anybody excepting the Emperor, and although it was right and

* The rising of the Calvinists against the Walloon and Catholic Flemings at Ghent, at which Councillor Hessels and Ex-Procurator Visch were hanged, took place on the 4th October.

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proper, seeing the Emperor's position, that other princes should place their affairs in his hands, yet she had made so many efforts that she thought she deserved at least to be adopted as one of the mediators. I replied in conformity with his Highness' instructions of the 6th of May, which said, "As regards the intervention of the "Queen as mediator when peace negotiations are commenced, "nothing of the sort must be entertained, as it is not desirable on "any account; but on this matter you must act but not speak." I told her that as it was some time since I had letters from his Highness I could not say anything decided upon the point, but I pretended to have heard from private sources that the States themselves had desired the commissioners who had been appointed and that his Highness would willingly approve of them, and by this means justify more than ever, the cause of your Majesty, since a father never quarelled with a son, nor a prince with his subjects, who was not willing to refer the matter to a judge of their own choosing, the more plainly to demonstrate their error. I told her she might be assured that the States were not dealing so straightforwardly as some of her ministers tried to persuade her. She told me that I was right, as she received the same information about the commissioners, and she was sure I was telling her the truth. She said that she was convinced of this, moreover, from the mode of procedure of the States, and by the documents which were being divulged, particularly by a letter written to St. Aldegonde. She said that some of her Council were very much surprised that she allowed me to remain here, as your Majesty did not admit an embassy from her in your Court. To which I replied that I myself was there when she had sent Wilkes and that your Majesty had admitted him as ambassador, as also you had done with Cobham and Smith. She said that she took no notice of what they said on this point as she knew me and liked my manner of proceeding, which did not inspire her with suspicion, and if a favourable peace were made in the Netherlands, by any means, she would have been quite content not to have been a mediator in the matter, being perfectly satisfied with my explanations.

After this she turned the conversation on to the marriage with M. D'Alençon, and when I asked her when it was to be, she said she did not know, but asked me whether I thought she ought to marry him. I replied that I thought in this business, as in everything else she had done, she would act with prudence, as she had so many reasons for knowing that the French were trying to prevent the aggrandisement of her crown and the quietude of her realm. She thanked me for judging of her actions so favourably, and said that she hoped that I would approve of them when I saw the end. I gathered from this conversation that what had passed between the Queen-mother and the prince of Bearn* had aroused

* Catherine de Medici, despairing of overcoming the Huguenot nobles by force of arms, had set out for the south of France shortly before this under the pretext of escorting her daughter Margaret to the house of her husband, Henry of Navarre. She was accompanied by what she called her "flying squadron" of one hundred and fifty beautiful maids of honour, by whose aid she hoped to soften the rigidity of the Bearnese Court. In this she had partly succeeded, and had won over her son-in-law to her side, the treaty of Nerac

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some suspicion in her mind, as twice within the last few days she has refused to see the French ambassador, on the excuse that she was ill, although she went to dine with the earl of Leicester.

The French and Flemish heretics here have received letters from those at Rochelle and elsewhere telling them of the suspicions aroused there by the treaty, and the fears entertained that the going of the Queen-mother to the prince of Bearn would cause war to break out, as the king of France had written to his brother to hold himself in readiness to return to France if necessary, and sent him for this purpose three hundred thousand francs which the Paris merchants had given for the purpose of building a certain bridge. He was to pay with this money ten thousand of the troops he had with him, and was warned not to undertake any enterprise of importance from which he could not extricate himself easily.

M. de Quissé, who I wrote to your Majesty had gone to Flanders, has pressed Casimir, on behalf of the prince of Bearn, to hasten his return in respect of the regiments of French, Gascons, and Lorrainers who were attached to him. For this reason, and as Casimir says that he must return to Germany at the end of a month when his three months are up, it is suspected that he will go to France, where he expects to make a larger profit with less risk, having Bearn and the Huguenots behind him. He will thus recover what is owing to him in France. If he does not go there it is understood that the Frenchmen who are with him will join Alençon, although I hope to God that they will not go back again until they have all tasted turpentine and got their heads well broken, seeing the vigilance, which they themselves say, is being displayed by Don Juan. In accordance with the Queen's instructions, Cobham and Walsingham, seeing that the States were not coming to terms with his Highness, have returned hither much dissatisfied with this mode of proceeding and conduct. They have seen the Queen, but have not yet given a formal account of their embassy to the Council. I am told that Walsingham has come back much elated because some of the churches in the States were knocked down whilst he was there. They say there are very few English and Scots now serving in the States, on account of many having returned in consequence of their bad treatment and a number having died of the plague.—London, 7th October 1578.

11 Oct. **534.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Since I wrote to your Majesty on the 7th, this Queen has sent orders to Dover and the neighbouring ports for the Englishmen with their baggage, who wish to go over to Gravelines, to be allowed to do so. I have heard that Captain Jones has nearly

being signed in February 1579, the following year. Agrippa D'Aubigné, the historian, thus refers to this episode: "The court of the king of Navarre was renowned for its "brave nobility and virtuous ladies. Idleness attracted vice to it as heat draws serpents. "The queen of Navarre took the rust off their wits, and let it gather on their arms. "She taught the King, her husband, that a cavalier was without a soul when he was "without an amour." The pages of Brantome also are full of references to the moral deterioration of Henry and the Huguenot nobles by such means as those suggested.

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three hundred men ready and ships at Rochester to take them across, which he will do on the 13th. I have thought well to advise his Highness of this by a special courier, as it is suspicious for so many Englishmen to be going to the town at once, particularly as they are of a sort not much to be depended upon and the force a considerable one. I knew some time ago that Captain Moffet had gone over with some men, but that was done quietly, and the present expedition is of more importance. I have let M. de la Motte know, and wrote to him some time ago, telling him that Orange was sending soldiers to him dressed as countrymen that he might enlist them, and that prying Englishmen were leaving here under the pretence of being Catholics to take wages from us. He replied saying that your Majesty thought it was a good thing that this should be so, as the place had to be reinforced with troops, and it was impossible that they should be Spaniards, and undesirable that they should be all Walloons or other natives of the States, so that the natives who were in the fortress might be counterbalanced by foreigners. Although these men may not be admitted into the citadel, still, as these captains who are going over and their men are not dependent upon anyone whom I know or have any confidence in, it may be feared that some plot is brewing, either in Gravelines or elsewhere, since nothing is planned here excepting to your Majesty's prejudice. My suspicions have been aroused moreover by the fact that the Queen did not mention the matter to me for communication to your Majesty, together with the sudden opening of the passage in this way, whereas previously gentlemen were arrested after they had embarked with the intention of going to France on the mere suspicion that they were on their way to serve your Majesty. The people who are going across now are of a kind open to any sort of plot, and I can assure your Majesty that Englishmen come to me every day, men who I know to have served the rebels, offering to hatch plots in the rebel towns, whilst others ask for license to capture the Flemish traders who come across in their vessels and ransom them in your Majesty's dominions, saying that they will by these means take some good prizes, for the one idea of these people is to seek means of making money at any cost. I write to M. de la Motte generally, and to Alonso de Curiel privately, in cipher about the going of these Englishmen, telling him to keep his eyes open and let his Highness know what is going on. If M. de la Motte thinks well to have English troops and will let me know, as he has done on other matters, I could see that the men who went were people in whom some trust might be placed, which is not the case with those who are now going.

M. D'Alençon has written to the French ambassador here that he is going to send M. de Simier to the Queen about the marriage, and asks him to assist him as he did Bacqueville, and, if necessary, to supply him with funds in the same way.—London, 11th October 1578.

15 Oct. **535.** The King to Bernardino de Mendoza.

Your letters and duplicates have been received, and also the marine chart you sent by William Bodenham through Seville, and

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Zayas has also informed me of some details which you have written to him not contained in my letters. I am glad to hear everything, but have nothing particular to answer, except to enjoin you to continue in every respect as you have begun, both as regards Flemish affairs and Scotch. It is very advantageous in all respects that the Queen and her ministers should have desisted from their intention of seeking your recall, as it is highly desirable that you should remain there until they bid you be gone, which I do not think they will do, considering the favourable way in which you bear yourself towards them.

Notwithstanding all the show they may make about the marriage of the Queen and the Duke D'Alençon, it may be certainly concluded that it is nothing but pastime, and that she is not in earnest about it and will never take a husband. Nevertheless it is well that you should be on the alert to hear what their plans are, both in this respect and in the many other subterfuges which are taking place there every day.

This letter is taken by Gombal de Guaras, who is going to try to obtain his brother's release. As you know how sincerely I have desired this, I shall be very glad if you will help and favour the bearer with this object to the best of your ability.—Madrid, 15th October 1578.

31 Oct. **536.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

By your letters recently received I learn of the return to England of Frobisher's ships from the coast of Cathay, and the particulars you have obtained of the voyage. I have been glad to learn them, as I shall be to receive any statement respecting the voyage which may be brought to you by the man whom you sent in the expedition, if he should have returned.

Having regard to what you write respecting the arrangement made by Horatio Pallavicini with the people in the States, founded on the importation of alum, the conditions of which contract are manifestly prejudicial to my interests, I have ordered the detention of the ship at Cadiz, and that which is coming from Genoa to touch at Alicante, as well as the alum at Cartagena. I have also ordered the cargo books to be examined, and have caused the same steps to be taken at Milan, advising his Holiness to a similar effect, in order that he may take such measures with regard to the alum in his dominions as he may consider necessary, which, no doubt, will be the same as I have taken, as being those most advantageous to the service of God and the weakening of the enemies of his Holy name.

I note what passed between you and the Queen at Richmond on the 28th September respecting her regret that she had not been included by me in the agreement with the States, and you replied conveniently thereto. You will adopt the same course if she again refers to the subject, saying that if I had placed the matter in the hands of any other sovereign but the Emperor she would have had reason to complain, but as I look upon the Emperor as my son, and he being so prudent a prince, I have no doubt she will see that she has no ground for complaint or grievance.

I also see what she said to you in the same audience respecting

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her marriage with the Duke D'Alençon, to which also you replied very discreetly, and, although I feel certain that the present negotiations are merely feigned as before, you do well to keep your eye on them to see what will be the outcome, advising me always of what is being done so that we may adopt such measures as may be desirable.

You will act similarly with regard to Scotch affairs, and will let me know whether the treatment accorded to the queen of Scotland gets better or worse. You will also inform me what communication the Queen has with her son and those who have charge of him, and how the dissensions amongst them have ended, as Juan de Vargas reports from France that they had come to an agreement.

It was very necessary for you to advise M. de la Motte of the troops who were going over to Gravelines ostensibly on my service in order that he might not place too much trust in them. I have no doubt he will follow your advice and act straightforwardly, but if anything grave in this matter should occur, you will report it to me and to my nephew the prince of Parma, who, as I wrote on the 14th, has been entrusted by me with the office filled by my late brother.*

I have been able to obtain from a trustworthy source the substance of the instructions taken by the ambassadors whom the Queen sent to the States, and I have ordered a copy thereof to be sent to you that you may understand the more clearly their intention, and the underhand and unworthy manner in which they have proceeded there. This is in conformity with the opinion I have always formed of her (the Queen), but it was of the greatest importance that we should have this additional proof, and you may, if occasion demand, make use of the information without letting them know that you have the paper, but only signifying that you have your intelligence from a good quarter.—Madrid, 31st October 1578.

20 Nov. **537.** ZAYAS to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

I wrote to you by Gombal de Guaras, and as I have no fresh letter from you I now only write to enclose the letters which go herewith, and to inform you that such steps have been taken in these dominions, in Milan, and by the Pope about the alum, in conformity with your information, as I have no doubt will produce the desired effect. In the meanwhile keep your eyes on the matter there, so as to let us know as much about it as possible. Death has been busy with us, and their Majesties are deeply touched at their losses, but are bearing them with Christian resignation.—Madrid, 20th November 1578.

8 Dec. **538.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to ZAYAS.

I wrote to you on the 22nd ultimo. The queen of Scotland's affairs are in such a critical condition, what with the doubts and suspicions of these people, that it is very difficult to discuss them without the greatest caution and care, as any false step might jeopardise the life of the poor lady. For this reason I cannot

* Don Juan had died shortly before the date of this letter.

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advise his Majesty of the decisions arrived at with so much promptitude as I should like. They tell me that the queen of Scotland has been much grieved at the death of Don Juan, and for two days after she heard the news was almost without food.

I am doing my best for the release of Antonio de Guaras, but his brother wants to take up the matter in a French fury, notwithstanding all I have said to him, to the effect that these people are not to be dealt with in this manner. I fear that unless he desists from discussing his brother's business with so many people, he will make matters worse for him than before. His coming has been of no advantage hitherto, since the talk on the Exchange is that he is a man worth two hundred thousand ducats, and has come to release his brother, and this has caused some of them to be on the alert to make some money out of the business, of which they had not the slightest hope before, or even that they would be paid what was owing. As this is a thing which appeals even to the highest people here, I am afraid that it will cause a delay rather than otherwise.

The spectacles which you request for an age of seventy years are sent herewith, although only eight pairs, as the workman has made no more.—London, 8th December 1578.

13 Dec. **539.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

As the secretary to the French ambassador who takes this packet as far as Paris is leaving hurriedly, I have only time to say that I wrote on the 8th instant, and that since then, Leicester, whom I had addressed on the matter of Antonio de Guaras, sent to tell me that he had spoken to the Queen and I was to ask for audience respecting it, which would be granted on Sunday when she would come to a decision. I have done so, and God knows how glad I shall be to get the matter over. I have had to deal with it very cunningly, as I will fully explain to you when Guaras is clear out of the country, which I hope will be soon.

Leicester is very careful to oblige me in all matters that he can, and, for my part, I lose no opportunity of thanking him and gaining his goodwill, so as to use him for more important things.

It has been said lately that Drake, the pirate that went to the Indies, was coming home with valuable prizes, and certain news has now arrived from him at Court. When he arrives I will be on the alert.—London, 13th December 1578.

31 Dec. **540.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 13th and sent duplicate viâ France on the 22nd. The English ambassador in France writes to the Queen that a bastard brother of the earl of Morton had arrived there from Scotland and had been warmly welcomed and entertained by the King. He says that, pending the reason of his visit being discovered, it would be desirable that the Queen should send some one to the king of France to make an excuse for M. de Simier's coming being delayed. She has therefore sent Philip Sidney, which has had the effect of stopping Simier, who is understood to have arrived at Calais. The ambassador has also written several times and now confirms it, that the King of France is one of the

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sovereigns who have entered into the league formed by your Majesty and the Pope and this news greatly disturbs the Queen.

He also tells her that a gentleman has departed very secretly from the court of France to Germany, in order to hasten the levy of four thousand horse for this spring to assist M. D'Alençon, if he keeps a footing until then, in the States. She emphatically insists upon this, although some of her Council think that these forces may be required by the King on account of affairs in his own country, where indications are directly pointing to another appeal to arms.

As I have already reported, the Queen has sent to her ambassador in Scotland telling him to endeavour to have ready for the spring four thousand Scots to send to the help of the Netherlands. He tells her that the Scotch nobles are opposed to this and do not wish troops to leave the country, which has greatly annoyed her and her ministers, particularly as Morton's brother is in France at the same time, and her suspicions, which were already great, have thus been increased that the French and Scots may become closer friends. Hunsdon, the commander of the frontier also advises her from Berwick that Morton and the Scots are not so friendly with him as formerly.

Parliament, which was to have opened on the 22nd of January, has now been further prorogued until March, in order that Simier may come first, as it is said that it will be better for Parliament to meet after the marriage and alliance have been arranged. Signs are evident, both on the part of the Queen and ministers, that they desire to carry the matter through, although it is difficult to believe, for other reasons, that it will result in anything. A house has been prepared where the Queen will entertain Simier and his people, and he will be served by the Queen's own household. They will be much feasted as the Queen has ordered the Lords and gentlemen of the kingdom to be at Court during the time.

I spoke to the Queen on the 14th about the release of Antonio de Guaras, when she promised me that the business should be promptly disposed of. She afterwards asked me with great earnestness if I thought that peace would be made in the Netherlands. I replied that I could not give her any certain assurance in the matter, only that some of the people in the States were saying that her ambassadors had not advised them to agree to it, as their reconciliation with their enemy would be that of the lamb with the wolf. I repeated this and other points of the instruction which your Majesty sent me and she changed countenance when she heard me, and said that the rogues who espoused the French cause were always making up something of this sort to excuse their own tricks, but that she was not fit to discuss similar matters then as she had a very bad cold. I made no reply to this, thinking that what I had said would be enough, and she then, in the course of conversation upon other points said that we Spaniards knew how to put what we wanted to say very cleverly. She has ordered her people to be armed in the manner which you will see by a copy of her instructions which I send herewith.

The merchants of London are opposed to the Hamburg people

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who reside here enjoying the privileges which they have, and similar steps have been taken in Hamburg towards the English residents there, and the effect aimed at is, apparently, to stop them from having any business in those towns at all. The Council are trying to settle the matter although they have not yet been able to do so. The Flemish merchants resident here are being much pressed for the payment of a certain imposition, and, in order to escape therefrom, they have given an account of the matter to the Archduke Mathias and the States, requesting that they will send someone here to settle the question. This was done but the man has returned without effecting anything, and they are now asking that a person of more importance should be sent to assist them in the matter.—London, 31st December 1578.

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8 Jan. **541.** ZAYAS to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Your letters of 8th and 13th ultimo, with duplicates, were duly received, and none have been lost. Your information about Portugal is so important that you did well in sending it by special messenger. It will be well to be on the alert, and throw out nets on all sides to gain information of what is done in this particular. Your informant was quite right about Miguel de Mora, as we had heard the same here, but it is necessary to dissemble, as he is in high favour and credit with his master.

The extraordinary diligence of Leicester in trying to oblige and please you is significant, and, if possible, it would be advisable to discover what his object is, what he is aiming at, and what service he can render to our master. If it means more than mere words and compliments, I understand that he may well be given something more substantial than the horses and harness you mentioned in your recent letters.

We note your remarks about the caution with which the affairs of the Queen of Scotland and her country should be treated, and thoroughly approve of them, as a contrary course would certainly ruin her. The (Scotch) ambassador resident in France has been recently persuading Juan de Vargas* that, if his Majesty would assist the Queen's adherents, a great effect would be produced in her favour, and, what is of more importance, in favour of the Catholic religion. If the aid were in the form of money, he says that a sum sufficient to maintain 4,000 foot for three or four months would be enough, and, although his Majesty is very well disposed towards the business, nothing has yet been decided, because, in good truth, the matter could only be undertaken on very safe grounds, and with the assurance that the effect would be produced, as otherwise it would be "*oleum ed operam perdere.*" Look into the matter and send your opinion upon it.

You do well in sending to us all the news you get from Flanders, as, although we sometimes learn the same things direct, there are other points of which we know nothing; as was the case with your intelligence from Antwerp of the 10th ultimo, and

* Juan de Vargas Mejia, Spanish Ambassador in France.

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Orange's printed paper, which certainly contains some very strange things, evidently dictated by the evil one, who loses no opportunity of helping his own.

What you write about M. de la Motte rather puzzles us, as the letters we get from Flanders exalt him to the skies, as the origin of all the favourable events that have begun there, and it has been under discussion to reward his services with an order (of knighthood), although nothing has yet been decided about it, and you had better not mention it to anyone. It will be well, therefore, for you to get to the bottom of the intelligence you send and communicate the result.

I thank you warmly for so stoutly helping Antonio de Guaras, and for the hope you give me of his release. I at once informed his wife, for her consolation, of which she was much in need. She is a lady of very good position.

The accountant Mendibil tells me you need a clerk. If this is so, and you will let me know, I think I can supply you with one that will suit.

I duly received the box of spectacles for the age of 70 years, with which you have made Jacobo de Trezo* a rich man. In his name and my own I thank you sincerely for them. Those for Castillo have been given to him.

There is no news here. Their Majesties have passed the Christmas holidays at St. Lorenzo (the Escurial) in good health, notwithstanding the cold.—Madrid, 8th January 1579.

15 Jan. 542. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 31st ultimo a letter, duplicate of which was forwarded by way of Rouen on the 3rd instant. M. de Simier and the other Frenchmen arrived here on the 5th, and saw the Queen on the 11th. She had, a few days previously, had a consultation of doctors to decide whether she could hope for progeny, in which the doctors found no difficulty; but she, nevertheless, received the Frenchmen with no great cordiality, and the people at large show no joy at their coming. She told Simier that Alençon could not be so eager as they professed, since he had delayed three months in sending him, without discussing any point of the business. If other negotiations are attempted under cover of the marriage, since affairs in France are so disturbed that it appears probable that peace may be broken, which is the Queen's object, she will give ear readily enough to them, whilst letting the marriage question drag. If, as some people think probable, Alençon asks her for help against his brother, I am assured that she would give it.

Simier brings with him ten or twelve thousand crowns worth of jewels to give away. I have requested audience for the purpose of

* Giacomo Trezzo was a celebrated Milanese sculptor and lapidary, who executed the splendid high altar and tabernacle of the cathedral of St. Lorenzo at the Escorial, and much other fine work there. The street in Madrid in which he lived and died has always been called after him, the Calle de Jacometrezo. He was between forty and fifty years of age at the time this letter was written.

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pointing out to the Queen how bad it would be for her, apart from the marriage, to give ear to other advances from the French, who are carrying on such active negotiations in Scotland, to her manifest prejudice, as both they and the Scots are the ancient enemies of this crown. In order to arrange for this audience and put matters in a desirable way I saw Walsingham four days ago. He gives me an account of the news that the Queen receives from France and elsewhere, and I wished to ascertain whether what I had heard was true. I said I was much astonished that the Queen should feast the Frenchmen in this way, seeing that Morton's son had gone to the king of France, who had also sent secretly two persons to Scotland who had landed at Leith, and, as the Scots themselves declared, would make great promises and offers in his name. He replied that the Queen had heard as much from both sides, and this again proved clearly how desirous your Majesty was of preserving friendship with England, as I did not conceal from them a matter which touched them so closely as this. The Queen had been informed of it by her ambassador in Scotland, who assured her that Morton was becoming every day more closely attached to the French, from whose greed nothing else could be expected.

The Queen-mother is urging very warmly the marriage of her grand-daughter, the daughter of the duke of Lorraine, with the king of Scotland. In order to bring it about, she and the king (of France) offer to the heir of the house of Hamilton, who claims the succession, that in default of the king (of Scots) they will favour him and endeavour to get him recognized as heir in the next Parliament, whilst great promises are held out to others with the same end. Both matters are causing anxiety to this Queen, as well as the news she gets from France to the effect that a marriage is being discussed between Guise and the daughter of the prince of Bearn.

Parma has ordered the execution of the two Englishmen who, as I wrote to your Majesty on the 16th May, left here in order to murder the late Don John. When the Queen received the news she told Walsingham very angrily that this was the outcome of the advice that he and others had given her, and that he had brought her to the present pass. Walsingham was so much affected by these words that he came here from the Court next day in a high fever.

He has sent to Ghent one Rogers,* the man who went to Germany to arrange with Casimir for the raising of cavalry, on pretence of taking him a gold mounted sword from Leicester. The object of his present journey is to incite the Ghent people to persevere in the war, in which he will help them as he is a great heretic, and a very fit person to arrange matters of this sort with other heretics, without appearing openly. He is to represent to the malcontents that, whereas this is the time for them to liberate their country, they are ruining it by their private quarrels.

* Daniel Rogers, son of John Rogers the Martyr. He is said to have been "the most accomplished gentleman of that time, a very good man and excellently "learned."

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Junio (Junius de Jongh), who came here from Casimir about the payment from the Queen, took back 8,000*l.* in cash and 14,000*l.* in bills of Benedict Spinola and other Genoese residents here. Two or three vessels loaded with cloth left here on the 5th for Antwerp, in connection with the same business, although until I learn of the distribution of the cargoes, I do not know whether they are sent on account of the Queen, or by the merchants to cover the amount of their bills.

From your Majesty's Court the Queen has received news that the prince of Parma had offered to renounce in your Majesty's favour the rights of his son to the crown of Portugal, but the person who told me this had not time to see the signature of the person who had written the letter.* The Queen has ordered certain lawyers of hers to look into the pedigree of the Portuguese throne, and has sent Fortescue thither by sea with a secret despatch.

The Portuguese ambassador here continues his efforts to impress upon the Queen and her ministers that your Majesty wishes to be adopted as the heir to the crown, and to point out how bad it will be for England to lose the friendship of Portugal, directly your Majesty may declare war against them. He urges upon them the good treatment which Portugal extended to them at the time of the embargoes, when they could not carry on trade with any of your Majesty's dominions.

The person of whom I wrote on the 26th October last, who is a faithful servant of the Queen of Scotland, has not yet given me an answer about the steps he himself promised to take with certain Scots. I suspect that, in view of the negotiations they are carrying on with France, he has not found the matter so feasible as he expected.—London, 15th January 1579.

15 Jan. **543.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

By my letter to the King you will see how I bore myself with Walsingham, to feel the way as to the best course to take about the coming of the Frenchmen, and to satisfy myself that I was not being deceived by one of his own people, with whom I carry on some communications. By God's help I have managed to get on such terms with these folks, that even Leicester and Walsingham, who were the most strongly opposed to my being here, are now trying to get another house for me, as my present one is not healthy or well placed. I am afraid the execution of the Englishmen by the prince of Parma may delay the release of Antonio de Guaras, which I had already carried so forward, as I wrote to you. I addressed myself to Walsingham about it, but did not find him so well disposed as he had been recently; and was told by him that he was awaiting

* Note in the handwriting of the King: "It will be well to write to Portugal about "this, in order that they may see to it. Write to him (Mendoza) also to endeavour "to discover who wrote from here about it." Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, had married Marie of Portugal in 1565 (*see* Calendar of State Papers, Spanish, 1558–67). On the loss of the young King Dom Sebastian, in August 1568, the aged and childless Cardinal King Henry had succeeded, and during his short reign Philip and the other claimants were busily intriguing for the succession.

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the receipt of certain despatches from Ireland before the matter could be settled, and they were sometimes delayed for two months in the winter time. I cannot get Guaras' brother to believe me, and he acts in the most impatient manner, notwithstanding everything I can say to him to show him that the absurdities he commits every day only delay his own object. It is quite impossible to bring him to reason, or make him understand the proper way to expedite the business. They write from Scotland that the earls of Mar and Argyll had words about who was the best horseman, which at last ended in blows, and thirty on one side and forty on the other were killed or wounded in the quarrel. As the cause of dispute was so trifling and the blood shed so great, there were doubtless prior grounds of quarrel between them.

Casiodoro, who is one of the friars that fled from St. Isidro at Seville many years ago, has come to this country again, after having escaped from here in disgrace, as he was accused of an abominable crime. He comes now with letters from John Sturmius* one of the heresiarchs of Germany, in consequence of which he is being favoured by some of the principal people here. He wants to be allowed to preach in one of the so-called churches here to be set apart for Spaniards, as the heretics of other nations have churches.

One of my men has returned from Holland and gives me the enclosed information about the sects there.

The special despatch I sent on the 8th ultimo met with very bad weather, twelve days of tempest, and I had given up the courier for lost, but now hear that he arrived in Paris on the 23rd.

The Queen has ordered her house here to be got ready for her and intends to come in a week.

Ten days since the Queen gave orders that after this month no whale oil is to be allowed to enter this country, where nearly 2,000 tons of it was yearly consumed, most of it coming from Biscay. They have resolved in future to manufacture their cloths and soap with rape oil which, if it answers, will not fail to injure Biscay, as the whale oil will not be in so great a demand as hitherto. I am told that one of the reasons for this order is to prevent the free export of money on the excuse of buying whale oil, which gave a greater profit than the oil itself.

On the day that Simier saw the Queen, Leicester invited him to supper, in order that he might afterwards be present at the ball, which was a very grand one with an entertainment in imitation of a tournament, between six ladies and a like number of gentlemen, who surrendered to them. She (the Queen) did not order Simier to be covered. I am told that he gave the Queen a small casket, which, no doubt, is the token in exchange for the salamander she sent him (Alençon) by Bacqueville.

The Vidame de Chartres must have gone with some great offer from the Ghent people, as the king of France a few months ago, ordered all his property to be sold as that of a proclaimed heretic.

* John Sturmius the famous reformer, who was Queen Elizabeth's agent at Strasburg.

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He passed through Amiens in a carriage on the 8th, accompanied by twenty horse.

I suspect that the protest made by this Queen was caused by the fact that the affairs of the States have not been benefited by this step, although she herself was anxious to bring it about when Walsingham went thither.—London, 15th January 1579.

15 Jan. **544.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

Since closing the accompanying letter, I have received yours of 20th November and 11th ultimo. The present is only written hurriedly to acknowledge receipt of them, and to say, shortly, as regards the matter of the embargoes, about which I will write at length in my next, that it will be unnecessary for any commissioners or documents to be sent from Flanders to deal with the matter, since I am here in his Majesty's name. According to the agreement, there will be two or three Englishmen appointed by the Queen and a like number of foreigners chosen by me, and I am assured by those who have the matter in hand, and by Leicester who is helping us, that the persons chosen on both sides shall be to my satisfaction. I am pressing the Queen nearly every day to have the matter commenced, the sooner the better, as those whom I have mentioned are so warm about it, besides which the property will dwindle by delay.—London, 15th January 1579.

19 Jan. **545.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

I wrote to his Majesty and your worship on the 15th that I was in hopes of being able to see the Queen, which I did yesterday, and I gathered from my conversation with her and also with the earl of Sussex, who is a worthy gentleman, that the Frenchmen will prolong their stay here, and that all the plans they are hatching are against the Netherlands, with a view to their own interests. The English are saying that, although the French are their mortal enemies, it is meet they should join hands with them in this way and get the Queen married. News has arrived that Casimir will be at Dunkirk on the 17th for the purpose of coming over to this country, and he is therefore expected here hourly. All this, as well as Orange's desperate plots, and the Vidame's journey to France, prove the correctness of the above, but I have no time to elucidate the matter as I write this in great haste and send it under cover of some merchants by a secretary of Alençon's, who accompanied Simier hither, and is being hurriedly sent off by him. In order to get to the bottom of it all, I have delayed seeing Cecil and the other ministers, to whom, as I have written to his Majesty, presents should be given, until the decision as to its being done reaches me. I have taken care to hold out hopes to them and have done all else in my power to hinder these negotiations, and will give full information to his Majesty as I obtain it, sending particulars of what passes with the Queen, by special courier. M. de Simier returned hither on the 16th and the Queen will be here in four days. The French envoys are the guests of the Ambassador. Simier said that Alençon would go to Malines.

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The Queen is sending Leicester's nephew, Philip Sidney, to meet Casimir.—London, 19th January 1579.

27 Jan. **546.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 15th, and sent a duplicate next day by sea to Bilboa, saying that I had requested audience for the 18th.* When I saw the Queen on that day, she began by saying how glad she was to see me, and regretted that circumstances had prevented her from doing so before, in order to learn news of your Majesty's health, as she had been much pained at the many recent deaths in your family, and, in order not to reopen your grief, she had refrained from writing her condolences hitherto, but would do so very shortly.

She then asked me whether peace had been made in the Netherlands, to which I replied that I had not received news from the Prince of Parma for some time, but that advices from Antwerp said that he had refused to grant the forty days suspension of hostilities, which had been requested by the States. She said that was well, and her wish was that a good peace should be made. I told her that your Majesty had referred the questions at issue there to the Emperor, and the rest that your Majesty ordered me to convey to her in your's of the 2nd November. She received it very well, and did not renew her previous complaints on the subject. I then remarked upon the want of harmony in the States, and said that, as they had not confidence in each other, they could hardly expect others to have confidence in them, a fact which some of her ministers would wish to hide from her. I then went on to say that the reason of my desiring audience was to inform her that I had received news from France of the visit of Morton's son to the king of France, and the other Scotch news, which I wrote to your Majesty in my previous letters; and how the Scots were carrying on very lively negotiations there, and the hopes which were founded thereon. I said that, although she would certainly get the intelligence from other quarters, I thought it my duty, as your Majesty's representative here, to inform her of it. She replied that, notwithstanding my zeal in doing so,—she having already received the information,—she had also been advised that your Majesty was carrying forward, to its conclusion, the league, which has been mentioned in my former letters, between the Catholic princes, at the instance of the Pope; which, she said, would certainly not be to her advantage, and, of which, for various reasons, she could not help being suspicious; particularly as M. de la Motte had told an ambassador of hers two years ago, that the duke of Alba had sent him, at the time of duke of Norfolk's rising, to reconnoitre the coasts of this country, with the object of landing 5,000 Walloons, in case the disturbances continued.

As regards the league, I asked her whether she did not refer to that which your Majesty had effected with the Pope and the Venetians in the time of Pius V., against the infidels, when certain other

* Note in the King's handwriting: "To judge from this, she cannot be so bad as they said."

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Princes requested to be admitted into the arrangement, as I had never heard of any other league having been formed. I was, however, certain that some of her ministers would like to arouse her suspicions by saying that something of the sort was being done, as they wished to break her alliance with your Majesty and the house of Burgundy, and attach her to the French. Besides which, her Ambassador in France persists in his news about such a league, as he is a great heretic, and is inspired by certain people of the same sort here.

In answer to her assertion about M. de la Motte, I said that I, myself, was in the Netherlands at the time in question, although not engaged in State affairs, and I knew M. de la Motte very well as a gallant soldier and a good subject, as his deeds have proved him to be, but he was then only a captain of infantry, and certainly not in a position for the duke of Alba to give him charge of such a force, but that I did not desire to enter into past questions as it was of more importance to deal with the present circumstances.

She then asked me whether the reason for my giving her this Scotch news was not to divert her from the marriage with M. D'Alençon, as she well knew that the Queen-mother was desirous of marrying him to one of the Infantas, she having herself sent to tell her so; and she (Elizabeth) expressed her surprise, under the circumstances, that Simier should have been sent to continue the negotiations that De Bacqueville had commenced. The Queen-mother had replied that she was quite sure she (Elizabeth) never meant to marry, whatever she might say, and there was, therefore, nothing surprising in her (the Queen-mother's) desire that her son should be wedded. She said that, although she had received this reply, she could not help confessing to me that she would not marry a private gentleman, and that Alençon might yet be king of France, and she believed he did not dislike her. I said it was not for me to discuss her marriage, but I could not avoid saying that, although, as a general rule; it was a matter which depended upon the individual feelings of the persons interested, yet with princes it was not so, as they had usually to consider the interests of their dominions and place on one side their personal inclinations. I was, however, convinced that she would behave with her usual prudence in the matter.

She then changed the subject to that of Scotland, and said that the King had sent to inform her that offers of marriage were being made to him, but he would accept none without consulting her, as he had hitherto done. For this reason, and in view of the good offices she had performed for those who had governed the kingdom during the King's infancy, she was under no great anxiety as regards Scotch affairs. I replied that matters of this sort were not usually regulated by considerations of past events, but rather as great physicians treated a patient, namely, to consider carefully the present condition of the body before applying a remedy, although their experience showed them that a certain medicament had benefited the patient previously. I said that, even though the means she had hitherto adopted had kept Scotland tranquil, different methods would have to be employed in future, as the circumstances were entirely changed, the King completing his fourteenth year in

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May and his marriage being already under discussion, as well as his heirship to her throne, as she had hitherto refused to have a successor proclaimed. Either of these two facts was of great importance, seeing the many point arising out of them, and she would not underrate them, even if her Ministers were so forgetful of her interests as to neglect to place them before her as a matter which touched the preservation of her crown. It had been evident for a long time that the French had sought every opportunity of getting a footing in Scotland, some of which attempts I pointed out to her, particularly that of the year '60, and the efforts your Majesty had made. I said that this opportunity of marrying the (Scotch) King to their liking would certainly not be neglected by them, and they were straining every point to manage it. The greed of Morton and Scots in general was such as would prompt them to open their arms to anyone, let alone the French, with whom they had such ancient alliances; both nations being equally inimical to the English, of which fact fresh proofs were forthcoming every day.

She pricked up her ears at this, and said I was speaking the truth and was confirmed by the Governor of Berwick and her ambassador in Scotland, who had come hither to tell her so. (I was informed of his coming before she told me). When I saw she was softening in this way, I pressed the matter home very emphatically, enlarging as much as possible upon it, profiting by the opportunity of her inviting me to be seated by her side. She even raised her farthingale in order that I might get closer to her and speak without being overheard, and I assured her, in your Majesty's name, that your only object was to preserve friendship, as she could see by my mode of proceeding. She replied that, even if we had planned anything against her, however secretly it was done, she would hear of it in time to frustrate it, to which I said that when your Majesty wished to break with her, you would not do it with deceit and trickery, like some people, but openly and in a way that, for her own sake, I should be very sorry for her to learn by experience the power of your Majesty's sword, which she had never yet seen unsheathed. She gave no answer to this but thanked me for the news I had given her. I was with her for over three hours. When the audience ended, the earl of Sussex came up to me, with whom I had a conversation, and I subsequently spoke with Lord Burleigh and other Ministers, giving them a partial account of what had passed with the Queen. I said that, though it was not my business to discuss the Queen's marriage, I had briefly mentioned to her the formation of a new alliance with France and would enlarge more fully upon the matter with them, in order that they might convey my remarks to the Queen when occasion arose. I said it must be a matter of grave consideration for them that, during the time England had been in alliance with the House of Burgundy and at enmity with France, the House of Burgundy had added to its dominions Spain, Naples, the State of Milan, Frisia, Utrecht, the Duchy of Gueldres, and other States, whilst England, instead of becoming more powerful had decayed; Calais, their only footing on the continent, having been lost, as well as their friendship with

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Brittany, Normandy, and other places, by the aid of which they were able to undertake their various enterprises against France, when the latter was engaged in civil war or was being attacked by the House of Burgundy. Normandy and Brittany were now in the hands of their enemies, and it must be clear to them that they could trust no one but your Majesty. They could not fail to see the importance of maintaining friendship with you, since in times when the House of Burgundy had not so much power as it has now. it had been consider necessary for England to count upon its aid, by means of which this country could not only resist, but attack, its enemies. I said, moreover, though the French might offer to combine the marriage with an alliance for the purpose of conquering the Netherlands, I should like to know whether they thought England would be benefited by seeing that country in the hands of the French, or any other Prince or people, rather than in those of your Majesty, with whom the English had been connected for so many years.

It was all very well, I said, for the French and Netherlanders to press upon them the importance of not missing the opportunity of seizing upon Artois, Holland, and Zealand respectively, which provinces were favourable, in the assurance that, once in possession of them the rest of the country could easily be won; but there were plenty of Englishmen and Frenchmen, on the other hand, who thought it was just as important that England itself should be captured, in order that the wars in the Netherlands and France should be crushed and the provinces joined to the other States. It no doubt appeared a great offer, that some of the States made to the Queen, to hand themselves over to her, but it really was nothing of the sort, as they had no intention whatever of fulfilling their promise; as was proved by the way they treated Alençon and his Frenchmen, of whom they merely made use and would never consent to his getting a footing in the country, even turning him out of Mons when he wished to have possession of the town.

Even though the Queen and her Ministers shut their eyes to all these facts, for the sake of making an alliance with France, I said I did not see what advantage they could expect from it, as France itself is so disturbed, and the King, to judge from his actions, so incapable of tranquillising the country or uniting its forces. I used other arguments of this sort, and said that I had no doubt that these negotiations for the French alliance had not been commenced by their (the Councillors') wish, but had originated from the personal designs and ambition of other persons. This I pressed upon each one of them separately, in accordance with the degree of enmity they bore to Leicester and his party, who, as they understood better than I, were for the most part the kind of men that Cataline wished for in order to disturb the republic, namely both needy and vicious.

Sussex replied that I had specified the points well. As regards the marriage, the Queen could follow her own inclinations, but I might look upon him as the most unworthy person in the world if, by his consent or advice, the marriage were effected on condition of depriving your Majesty of the Netherlands. He could say this the

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more openly, as his aim was not solely to gratify the Queen, but to preserve and strengthen her throne. He would hold the same opinion, even though your Majesty might make light of the friendship, since you refused to receive a Minister in your Court, and had sent no reply to what she (the Queen) had asked me to write on the 5th May last to your Majesty.

Lord Burleigh said that, touching the marriage, he had told M. de Simier that one of his principal arguments in favour of the marriage, namely, that his master (Alençon) might be king of France, had turned him (Cecil) against it, as he considered that would be a disadvantage for England; whereupon Simier had complained to the Queen of him. As to the rest, his desire had always been to see her married to a Prince of the House of Austria, with which it was well to be in alliance, but, since their old friends cast them off, and your Majesty had refused to confirm the treaties which had existed with this country at the time of the Queen's accession, when Lord Montague was sent to your Majesty, it was necessary for them to seek new friends, particularly as your Majesty refused to receive a Minister in your Court, of which they all complain to me.—London, 27th January 1579.

27 Jan. **547.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

M. de Simier saw the Queen on the 11th, and gave her three letters, one from M. D'Alençon and the other two from the King and his mother containing credences and general expressions. The King's letter gave an assurance that he would agree to any alliance or treaty the Queen wished, in order to bring about his brother's marriage. They were at Richmond with the Queen until her return here on the 17th, audience being given to them every day, although on some occasions Simier went alone without the resident ambassador. Nothing was decided, but grand promises were held out that, if Alençon himself came, the business would be carried through, and those who are here for him quite persuade themselves that this will be so, as do those who surround Alençon in Flanders. They point out to him that his absence alone stands in the way, and dwell upon the Queen's affection for him, and the warmth and cordiality with which she receives his emissaries; all of which revives his desire to see her and reminds him of the oath he swore to his people and they to him when he left the French Court, that none of them would ever return whilst his brother reigned, who treated him with so little dignity. His coming would not be opposed by the King, particularly with the hopes held out here of an alliance for the war in the Netherlands, which would divert the trouble in his own kingdom.

Simier sent to Paris on the 19th a secretary of Alençon's, who came hither with him, for the purpose of negotiating the coming of his master, and Simier and those with him say they will not leave here until the question of the marriage is decided one way or the other. They are bravely pushing on the idea of the alliance, which they say will be the only means of curbing your Majesty's power and preventing you from adding the crown of Portugal to your own. When Simier spoke in this sense to the Queen, she replied,

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" I am so friendly with my brother the Catholic King that when I " wrote requesting him to release a subject of mine from the galleys " he refused to do it."*

The Queen has been warned by the king of France to be very careful of the queen of Scotland, as certain Englishmen in league with your Majesty were trying to liberate her with the aid of Scots of her party, which is another proof of the lively negotiations which they (the French) are carrying on in Scotland. In the Parliaments in that country there are three orders or votes; first the earls or nobles, second the ecclesiastics, and third the lairds, who are most numerous and have the largest following. The first two orders are in favour of marrying the King in France, and the third order or lairds oppose it.

This Queen has written to the people in the States that she thinks their treatment of Alençon very strange, as he had gone thither to help them in the war, not only with his troops but with his own person, which should be greatly esteemed, he being a brother of the king of France.

It is said that Casimir has been secretly summoned that he may be reconciled with the king of France and his brother, this being done at the instance of Orange, in order that the alliance for the Netherlands may be effected on conditions that neither the Queen nor the heretics of France or the Netherlands shall have anything to fear.

The plan is for the French Huguenots to continue their warlike preparations, and the King may then raise an army, which they say is being got ready in Germany, without arousing the suspicions of your Majesty or causing you to declare war, and then, when all are armed, the King may have not only his own forces but those of the Huguenots as well with the prince of Bearn and, if they do not choose to attack Spain, they may join the troops of this Queen and Casimir in the Low Countries, and form a force so strong as to defy your Majesty's troops and overawe the Catholics. By this means the Huguenots will also be assured, as they will be in such great numbers that even your Majesty and the king of France combined would not be able to deal with them. All sorts of great things are promised from this combination, although there are always difficulties in carrying such things into effect. Orange hopes for much in the division of the States, and as his people are getting tired of his mode of procedure and incline to peace, he is losing no opportunity of diverting them to avoid his downfall.

Leicester and Walsingham have favoured the plan of bringing Casimir here to reconcile him with the French, and the day after his arrival here, where he was received with great applause, Leicester, Lord Hunsdon, and many other gentlemen, went to see the Frenchmen before dinner, and, I am told, asked them whether they would meet Casimir and dine with him one day, to which they gave no decided reply. Notwithstanding all this, it is asserted that the Queen did not know of his coming, which people believe, because it was kept quiet until he arrived at Dunkirk, an artful move on the part of Orange, as it appears he started on his journey

* Note in original: "He was condemned to them by the Holy Office."

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accompanied by only five men, and even at Dunkirk did not make himself known, but shipped in disguise on board a fishing boat. The object of this is that, if the Frenchmen refuse to receive him, his voyage may appear to be made for another reason. Indeed the day after he left Ghent the people were disturbed, and he gave out that he was only coming over to see this country, and his absence would be to the advantage rather than the injury of the States. He gratified the Archduke Mathias by saying he would oppose the match with Alençon, in which direction he himself had some pretensions, as he had sent the Queen his portrait, and she had told me how pleased she was with it, and with him; which she had directed her agent in Antwerp to tell him.

On the morning of the 18th certain books printed in French were found in the Queen's chamber and others, dedicated to the Queen and admonishing her to avoid attaching herself to the French or having any dealings with them. Strict orders were given for all the books to be sent to her, but only five of them appeared. Great efforts are being made to discover where they were printed.

In conversation in his own room, Casimir said it was of great importance to him, and to the Protestants, that the renunciation, which the archbishop of Cologne was to make in favour of the son of the duke of Bavaria, with your Majesty's approbation, should not take effect, as he had been advised that there had been a disturbance in Cologne about it, and your Majesty's troops, and many Spaniards amongst them, entered the city freely.

In addition to the steps I have taken with the Queen and her Ministers, I have adopted means to instil into the minds of the common people the idea of how prejudicial to them these negotiations will be, as they can only result in more money being demanded of them, and other inconveniences will be caused, to the injury of their trade and prosperity.—London, 27th January 1579.

27 Jan. **548.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

I wrote to you so hurriedly on the 19th that I could not reply to the points contained in your letters of 20th November and 11th ultimo. With regard to the seizures, when the commissioners met here to discuss a settlement they found a great difficulty on both sides, particularly those who represented his Majesty; namely, that it was impossible in so short a time as that fixed, for the necessary claims and declarations to arrive, setting forth the losses sustained by his Majesty's subjects. In view of this, and of the fact that it would be almost equally prejudicial to delay a settlement until these documents could be received, an agreement was arrived at on the basis of the documents and claims already presented, with the introduction of a clause in the agreement, by virtue of which, if any omission of declaration or concealment of goods should take place on either side, at the striking of the balance the same may be claimed by the subjects of either crown, to whom they rightly belong. In order that justice in this matter may be done rapidly, it was agreed that on a request being made, to either sovereign for the appointment of commissioners to deal with the new clause, they are to be so appointed and are to have summary jurisdiction, without

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recourse to the ordinary procedure, which is far from rapid here; with their long vacations. In accordance with this agreement, some Englishmen have gone to petition his Majesty to restore certain goods, which were not set forth in the declarations which he ordered to be made, and similar petitions are to be made, by our people to this Queen, but as they have not yet found any minister to assist them in their claim they have not presented it, as it would be an interminable affair, if it were not dealt with under authoritative countenance. It would seem from this agreement, that any owner could claim his property if it had not been declared, or had been concealed, and might demand the appointment of commissioners for its restoration, if it had not been included in the general account of goods seized. I therefore wrote to ask whether it was his Majesty's wish, in the case of his subjects establishing their claim to such goods before the Commissioners, that the property should be handed to the owners themselves, or be added to the rest of which his Majesty had laid claim, as it is clear that, if no owner establishes his claim, it must come into his Majesty's hands. From what I have said, you will see that it is unnecessary for commissioners to come from Flanders, or anywhere else, to look after the business, which I have tried to make as clear as possible, in order to banish any doubts that may arise, although really it is rather a strange matter for a light cavalry man to have to manage. I must confess that I am not sorry that you in Madrid have had an evident proof of the way I am treated in the way of news and remittance of letters by our people in France, by seeing how long I was kept in ignorance of Don Juan's death. This is much to his Majesty's disadvantage, as I know nothing of what passes there, except by chance private advices (Juan de Vargas merely writing me generalities in his letters) and occasional intelligence received by this Queen, which I get from a man who sees her letters. Besides this, I only get a very rare letter from the prince of Parma, and to keep pace with the thousand circumstances which occur here, I have to invent my news and furbish up the scraps I get from Antwerp and elsewhere, as need requires. Even such bits of news as I can pick up in this way are only obtained with much trouble, as the Flemings are generally so ill meaning.

It looks as if every sheet of paper that passes through Juan de Vargas' hands for me must be buried, seeing the long delay in forwarding them. Some time ago you wrote me that you had sent a letter from the King for me to Juan de Vargas, with directions for him to forward it by special courier, if no other means were ready. I could not find out who brought the letter, but I learnt that it was wandering about from one tavern to another in London for two days whilst its bearer was getting drink on the strength of the postage, which was six crowns. Again, on the 11th November, Vargas wrote saying that he had a packet for me, which had been delayed on the road, but which he would forward at once by an express, as I asked. I learn from the man who provided the money for his journey, that the express was not dispatched until the 16th. I do not write this by way of complaint, but in order to prevent complaint being made of me if I cannot serve his Majesty as I ought,

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good as my will is (as it should be with all of us) to sacrifice all for his service. By your orders I changed my method of forwarding letters, sending the despatches through Isardo Capelo, the correspondent of Domingo de Iralta. The latter now asks me to beg you to send him an order for the postage and couriers to be paid on the King's account, so that none of them shall be paid twice over, as I have accounts with so many of them. By this means I shall be able to get couriers at once sent off when I want them, as those sent by sea are so long delayed. The orders given by his Majesty in the affair of Horatio Pallavicini and commensurate with the disservice he has done, and if the Financial Council had been energetic they might have prevented him from getting the 30,000 ducats he has made out of the first two ships, which there was time to have stopped. He is offended with me at the steps taken by his Majesty, and affirms that he has had no negotiations with the Queen, as will be proved, he says, by his documents; but I am certain that Walsingham and others will get the documents drawn up as he and his partners desire, for their security, as it is all "*ad cautelam*," and the whole affair was arranged with the States, who were to have the disposal of the money, the recompense to him for his kindness being the privilege he obtained. The fact of his Majesty influencing the action of the Court of Rome in this matter will have great effect in preventing Pallavicini, and others, from encouraging the States and the rebels with devices of this sort.

The absurdities committed by Gombal de Guaras in the affair of his brother, cause me to write to you about it in the way I am obliged to do. As an instance of his foolish treatment of the matter, the day upon which I last saw the Queen, I pressed her very much to release his brother and she told me that she expected a despatch from Ireland in about a week, for which she was waiting before dispatching the business. When the audience was ended and she was leaving she turned to Gombal de Guaras and publicly said: "A "good advocate indeed have you and your brother in the ambassa- "dor, who has been addressing me about your business." After being thus honoured by the Queen, and I myself had repeated to him what she had privately told me, in the presence of two or three gentlemen who accompanied me he burst out in a violent and furious fashion:—"All this talk is of no good if my brother is "to remain in prison. I said it would be useless for me to go to "the Court;"—and much other nonsense of the same sort. If his Majesty had not ordered this affair to be taken in hand, and you yourself were not anxious for its settlement, this man's absurdities would have exhausted my patience, and I should forget my consideration for Antonio de Guaras and his wife, rather than have anything more to do with it.

After some discussion with the ministers here about the appointment of an English minister in Madrid, the Queen asked me whether such ambassador and his servants would be assured of not being troubled or arrested by the Inquisition, if they avoided all occasion for scandal. I replied, as I always have done on the point, to the effect that I could give them no assurance, as I had

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only been in Spain when Wilkes was there. I gather from their conversation that, on the pretext of the Queen writing to his Majesty, someone will be sent to see what sort of reception he will get. There has arrived here an impudent knave of an Englishman who went to Spain with letters from the Queen and me, about the release of his father-in-law, who is in the galleys at the instance of the Inquisition. He assures the Council, and has published all over the place, that when you had read the Queen's letter and mine, you threw them away and he picked them up from the ground, and two days afterwards, one of your servants came with fair words and obtained from him the letter the Queen had written to his Majesty. With respect to this, the Queen used the expression I write to his Majesty. I have assured them what a great falsehood and wicked invention it is, but the man asserts that he has shown my letters to the people here and to the Council, in which I say that the Queen was tiring me, which expression they interpret as being a very contemptuous one. I mention this to show you what sort of people I have to deal with. On the same morning that the five books I have mentioned were found at Court, another manuscript book in English was discovered in the Queen's apartment, admonishing her to the effect that, if she did not abandon her claim to be head of the Church, God would punish her within the year. The handwriting is said to be that of a Puritan, as they believe that a woman cannot be the spiritual head.

The Queen had intimated to the Londoners that she was coming hither by land and would enter the city by London Bridge, which she has only done once since her accession. The entry was to be very ostentatious, in order to impress Casimir, and great rejoicings were arranged to take place. They came to nothing, as, the night previous, she sent a courier to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, saying that there was to be no great crowd, and half-an-hour afterwards, came another messenger, ordering the citizens not to receive the Queen armed. He was shortly afterwards followed by another man to say that the whole affair was to be suspended, and she would come by water. It will be seen by this how little confidence these rulers have, even in their own people, and that many are watching for an opportunity of shaking off the yoke. The presentation which the Londoners are going to make to Casimir has been managed by Walsingham for his own interests.

Antonio Fogaza has told me something of the negotiations being carried on by this Portuguese ambassador, of which also I had heard from another quarter. He (Antonio Fogaza) has given me a letter, which I forwarded to you, saying that he gives information, and as he is in great need and trouble I am forced to beg of you to give him what help you can.

The French ambassadors were cursing Casimir, but Simier went again yesterday to see the Queen alone and afterwards visited Casimir.

The bearer of this despatch will tell you verbally why I have sent him with it. I have every confidence that he will push on, as he has been about with me very much and speaks many tongues, and I therefore beg you to favour me through him and send him

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back with the first despatch, as I greatly need him.—London, 27th January 1579.

7 Feb. **549.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

As I have had no safe opportunity until now I have not previously sent the chart and ore, about which I wrote on the 15th November, when speaking of Frobisher's voyage. I now forward them with specimens of all the kinds of ore he brought. They are of but little value, as the Englishmen and assayers themselves confess, and no matter what heat is employed they cannot smelt them satisfactorily, owing to their great crudity, which is a certain sign they are not rich. To remedy this, it occurred to the Germans* who are managing it, that it would be advantageous to mix the ore with powdered pyrites, of which they ordered a cargo from Plymouth. This proves conclusively that the assays last year were exaggerated in order to increase the fame of the business. It is not thought much of now as the sailors have not been paid, and the merchants who took shares in it have failed, so that people are undeceived.† The ships which, I wrote on the 8th December, had been taken out by Humphrey Gilbert and Knollys, have been driven by bad weather into Ireland, where they are victualling to continue their voyage.—London, 7th February 1579.

7 Feb. **550.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to ZAYAS.

There is a German silversmith here who has hit upon the idea of making drinking vessels of novel designs. The vice of drinking appears to be so firmly established, that men are not contented now by satisfying it with the variety of their liquors, but must need further excite their appetites by new caprices in the cups themselves. The one I now send, in the form of an owl, has taken my fancy, as it is so natural and may please you. I beg you will accept it, with the goodwill with which it is sent, and I shall be delighted if I have succeeded in my choice. It has a further peculiarity, namely, that the maker being so cunning an artificer, I asked him whether he was a Catholic, whereupon he answered that he had not heard mass for fifteen years, and believed nothing, except that God was in heaven and the devil in hell.—London, 7th February 1579.

8 Feb. **551.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since I wrote to your Majesty on the 27th ultimo, Casimir has informed the Queen of the reason of his visit, and the details of his commission, but he has done nothing hitherto towards reconciling himself with the Frenchmen, although Leicester and Walsingham brought the matter forward, they being the only

* Jonas Schutz was the German metallurgist who conducted the works. His assay of the gold and silver in 2 cwt. of ore brought by Frobisher is in the Record Office. See Calendar of State Papers (Domestic), March 1579.

† Several of the adventurers were unable to pay the amounts guaranteed by them, and there is much recriminatory correspondence in the Record Office on the subject, containing many accusations of bad management and malversation on the part of Frobisher and Mr. Lock, the treasurer of the venture. *See* Calendar of State Papers (Domestic), 1579.

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persons with whom Casimir is negotiating. The Frenchmen, however, did not reciprocate, and in view of their lukewarmness Leicester and Walsingham conferred with the Queen about it, and said how important it was that they should be brought together. She thereupon sent to Simier, by the earl of Leicester, a ring as a token, to request that he would be friendly with Casimir and visit him often. She said it would be a proof of M. D'Alençon's regard for her if he accepted her friends as his own. Simier had audience of the Queen next day, and afterwards went to visit Casimir at an hour when he was not at home. As Simier was to go next day with Leicester to see some of the Queen's houses, where he was to be entertained with hunting, he and the ordinary ambassador returned to Casimir's lodging in the morning, where they were kept waiting for a long time in the garden, on the pretext that Casimir was not up. I have not been able to discover whether this was done on purpose or not, but the Frenchmen did not pay the visit very willingly and were much annoyed at it, so that the interview they had with Casimir was very short, as also was the conversation they had when they were together with the Queen, witnessing some jousts. I cannot hear that anything passed except generalities, and to judge from appearances, when anything important has to be discussed, it will be done privately with Alençon himself, because, although Simier is the guest of the ambassador here, they do not agree very well, and Simier has sent off despatches without informing the ambassador. Casimir had the Queen informed that I was arranging with M. de la Motte* to have him captured on his return if possible, which the French ambassador would not hinder, as he had come to see me secretly with a single servant. The Queen replied that, so far as I was concerned, she had nothing to complain of, as I was acting well, but she would never trust M. de la Mauvissière and the French again, seeing that they had treated him (Casimir) so kindly in her presence, and yet tried to injure him when he left her country. She said that she would do her best to prevent such a thing being done, and complained bitterly to the ambassador about it.

Casimir delivered a letter to the Queen from Orange in credence of the States of Holland, Zealand, Flanders, and Brabant, setting forth the need in which they were, by reason of their separation from the rest on the question of religion, and that they could not even hold their own unless she aided them next month with 100,000*l.* to pay foreign troops to protect their towns, as the burghers themselves could not be trusted. As a security for the proposed loan and the advances previously made, they offer to deliver to her Bruges, Neuport, Dunkirk, and all that coast as far as Gravelines. They also ask to be allowed to put a tax of 40 reals on every piece of cloth entering Flanders from England, which, they say, would not prejudice her subjects at all, as they would sell the cloth so much the dearer to those who used it. With this tax and the 100,000*l.* loan, they say they can continue to provide for the war, and that your Majesty, unable to carry it on, will be

* The Spanish governor of Gravelines.

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obliged to give way to them, not on the point of religion alone but also on the rest of their claims. No reply or decision has yet been given to this proposal, because, although Leicester and Walsingham alone have been appointed to deal with Casimir's affairs, one of the questions now broached touches the Treasury, and the other point will have to be communicated to the merchants here, so that they cannot be kept very secret. After the audience in which Casimir discussed the above points with the Queen, he had another audience almost secretly, the same councillors being present. He then told her that the States had not completed the payment to him of the three months' wages which she had guaranteed, and begged her, in view of the want his troops were suffering, to take steps to have him paid. She replied that if he did not get the money from the States she would not fail to fulfil her promise.

All the bishops in the country have been summoned, it is believed, for the purpose of raising money in some way, by taxing their property and that of the ecclesiastics, as they call them here.

The Queen is conferring the garter on Cassimir, and it is said that the ceremony will take place to-day, and that he will get a pension. The amount will not be known until he departs, which will be soon.*

The Frenchmen are having many audiences, and the whole burden of their negotiation is the coming hither of Alençon, which they announce, and the more to carry conviction they assert that he will soon be out of the Netherlands, which news also comes from there. He had again taken an oath to the Frenchmen that follow him that he would never return to the Court of France whilst his brother lived. The secretary despatched by Simier has not yet returned, but is expected every day.

Some of the lords have spoken to the Queen about the marriage, and she replied that, although M. d'Alençon might well come hither, she would give them her word she would not marry him. Of that they might be sure. The Queen is daily growing more suspicious about Scotch affairs, and Thomas Randolph has been appointed to go thither to find out what the French are about, and to negotiate, if necessary, for Scots troops to go this summer to serve in the Netherlands.—London, 8th February 1579.

8 Feb. **552.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

I wrote on the 27th by a servant of mine, and consequently have not thought necessary to send a duplicate.

Richard Light (or Tighe), the English gentleman respecting whose release I wrote to his Majesty as soon as I arrived here, has now arrived in London, with two other Englishmen who were imprisoned with him. Their arrival at the present time has been very pleasant to me for several reasons, and especially because it has given the lie to what that importunate scamp has been saying;† as the Englishmen themselves assert that, when they embarked on

* A full and very interesting account of the arrival, reception, and entertainment of the Duke Hans Casimir will be found in Nichols' "Progresses of Queen Elizabeth."

† *See* page 641.

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an English ship at Cartagena, they heard of the efforts you had made to get them released, which I learnt of by chance before they arrived here, and as it was a business in which Sussex and other councillors were interested, I had it announced, so that it might reach their ears, that you had written to me and that they would soon arrive. The day after they arrived, Richard's mother, who is a person of position and wealth, sent to me, to say that your worship had well fulfilled your promise, and her son had come home. Although the Catholics here are dreadfully persecuted, there are still in this country many whom God has not abandoned, such is the rejoicing with which they go to martyrdom or lifelong imprisonment for His sake with His name and faith upon their lips. Amongst others in the Tower is the archbishop of Armagh and another priest, and many faithful ones in other prisons, who confirm the others in the faith by their exhortations and their writings. They are, however, in dire need, and I pray you, since the work is so pious a one, to ask his Majesty to grant them some alms; for, verily, those who are here, suffer in their own persons many of the persecutions of which we read in the lives of the Saints of the primitive Church. The English nuns, who were in Bruges and Malines, whence they were expelled, were at once cast into prison when they arrived here.

There is an Englishman named Walker at San Lucar, dressed as a merchant, who is a servant of Leicester's, by whose orders he is there to report what happens; and they have in Madrid a Florentine called Juan Bonius who was here two years ago. These men are salaried as spies, and lose no time in advising what they learn. Such an enormous quantity of snow has fallen here in the last five days as has never been seen by anyone living. The city is consequently quite isolated, and the people from the neighbouring villages, even, cannot come in. The loss of cattle in the country is estimated at a great sum, as the snow has been general.

We are without news from Flanders for some time, owing to the bad weather, but a sloop has managed to run over in two days, in which, fortunately, one of my men came, bringing the enclosed intelligence.—London, 8th February 1572.

Postscript: Casimir was not far wrong in what he conveyed to the Queen,* for certainly, if he had not been so well attended on his way over some attempt would have been made to shoot him, without the French knowing anything about it. The scamp took the step he did in order to get the escort.

I have just heard that Alençon has passed near Rouen on his way to Alençon, which confirms the news received from Antwerp.

Begs for another clerk, as Segasti, his secretary, wants some months' leave of absence, owing to the death of his mother. Begs for favour for Segasti, in return for his good services with his (Mendoza's) brother, Don Antonio, in Lorraine and Genoa.

8 Feb. **553.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

I have to thank you for your three letters of 28th December and 10th and 14th ultimo, received together on the 29th, and am much

* *See* page 643.

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pleased with the favour shown to William Bodenham, who well deserves it. I am anxiously awaiting his arrival, as he is bringing the present of needlework from the duchess of Alba to this Queen. This is both a favour to me, and will make it easier for me to negotiate with the Queen in his Majesty's interests.

Leicester was extremely opposed to me when I first arrived here, not only in the private councils, but also in the conferences where I was present. He made no secret of it, but I did not think proper to resent it, as he is the manager of affairs, and I thought best not to irritate him more than necessary, but to proceed by suavity. I therefore signified to some of his people how sorry I was that his occupations did not allow me to meet him and assure him how great was my desire to serve him. With this and similar lenitives I softened him, so that he came twice to speak to me at Court, instead of running away from me, as he formerly did, to avoid doing so. I made much of him and accepted all his excuses, and the result of it was that he gave me to understand that he wished to have a long interview with me, and to prove by his acts how mistaken was his Majesty in the bad opinion he had formed of him from interested information. I, nevertheless, consider it very difficult to bring him round or hold him for any great length of time, however much we may give him, unless he is forced by circumstances. In the meanwhile, I will entertain him with trifles.

He has given me some hints about the matter of the seizures, and, as I understand, has already told the Queen that if the question is to be dealt with it should go through his hands; a sure sign that he does not intend to take them out empty.

As to what Juan de Vargas wrote to his Majesty and his communications with the Scotch Ambassador, whom I know well, although the zeal and fidelity of the latter may give good hope of success in the business, it is nevertheless so important, that these qualities are not of themselves sufficient, and I am therefore surprised that Juan de Vargas has made so much of it to his Majesty, without going more closely into the details, respecting which I will give my opinion as requested.

In the first place, it must be considered whether the 4,000 soldiers, whose pay for three or four months has to be provided, are to be foreigners or not, because, if they are, certainly this number will not be sufficient. If foreigners are sent into the country under any pretext, other princes will impede it, and we shall be obliged to break with them. Many examples to prove this, and the probable inconveniences which will arise, might be adduced even in times when the affairs of Scotland were not in their present state, and the point is of the highest importance, from the probability of the present king or his mother uniting the two crowns.

If Scotch soldiers are to be paid, it would be necessary to learn whether their leaders are persons of influence or not, and what security would exist, not only for them, but for the people in general, as they are naturally fickle and faithless, and might go over if a larger price than ours were offered on the other side. It would be well also to know, for certain, what they expect to do in

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the time named, and their mode of operation, and whether they have the assurance of obtaining any important places or ports which would be necessary for success.

It is also of importance to be quite sure whether the claims and intentions of all parties are identical, and whether they are moved by simple zeal for the Catholic religion, which must be the first motive, and the second the release of the Queen. If this is not so, and they are not completely united, little success can be expected. From what I have seen since I have been here of the action of the Scotch lords and the information I have obtained, it is difficult to believe that they would be so, because in the various meetings and parliaments they have held they have hitherto made no effort for the exercise of the Catholic religion or for the release of the Queen. When they proclaimed her son as King without any need, as he was not of age, there was no one who made a protest on her behalf, or alleged that she, as legitimate sovereign, could not be deposed except *ad interim* in consequence of her being a prisoner and unable to administer the government, and that, if power was given to her son, it should only be to endow him with greater influence to seek her release. It will be seen from this that the party opposed to Morton, even though they may be much the more numerous, with whom the ambassador wishes to act, are not united for one end, but that some wish for the Catholic religion, some for the release of the Queen, and others simply to satisfy their own private rancour, and revenge themselves upon their enemies.

In addition to these points, and until we know also that the Catholics are more numerous than the Protestants, there are many other difficulties. The ambassador himself is a good Catholic and faithful to his mistress, but, as he is paid and entertained by the French, it is a great drawback that the matter should be arranged through him, as he will, of course, inform the French, and they will either help or hinder, as they think best for themselves, although it is most probable that they will oppose the matter with all their strength, as they have been always inimical to the power and grandeur of Spain. They also show little desire to preserve the Catholic religion, even in their own country, much less to aid its establishment elsewhere. Indeed, in my judgment, one of the greatest difficulties presented by this poor lady's affairs is that she is so given up to the French connection, that nothing can be done without their hearing of it. To get over this difficulty, I can assure you that the only way will be to manage to unite her friends here with those in Scotland, so that together they may arrange to release her, and make her mistress of both crowns when the opportunity may arise. If his Majesty will consider this point, which is of so great an interest to his service, it would be well that these people should be very carefully and gently approached without delay, and should be given hopes of aid when necessary, and entertained in the meanwhile with some reward. We must work with muffled tools, as otherwise the whole affair will be ruined and the Queen's life sacrificed.

Donna Anna has written to me that you have been good enough to promise your help in my private affairs at Milan. I thank you

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for this, although the man who has them in hand is pressing upon the Marquis (Ayamonte) the carrying out of his Majesty's order to pay me the 500 and odd crowns due before my pension was transferred. I beg you will, if necessary, mention it to his Majesty that he may speak of the matter in his official letters to the Marquis, to whom I have continued to write news from here, but from whom I have received no reply.

You were very good to inform me of the departure of the Duke from Court. It was the first news we had received in this country for a fortnight, but the intelligence has since reached here with other glosses. I am much grieved that anything connected with the Duke should have caused his Majesty to take such a step, but I am all the more certain of the reward that God reserves for him in the life to come, as, in this world, where the sons usually suffer for their father's sins, he, the Duke, has been an exception, and is assailed by all sorts of troubles through his son. God rescue him from them all, and send him long life.*—London, 8th February 1579.

18 Feb. **554.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 8th and sent a duplicate by Rouen on the 13th. Casimir left here on the same day, the Queen having given him the Order of the Garter on the 8th in the evening, handing him the collar with her own hand. He was knighted by Leicester and has been granted a pension of 100*l.* a month under the Great Seal which is an assurance here for pensions being duly paid.

In addition to the oath of the Order, he has sworn as a pensioner of the Queen never to take up arms against her or any sovereign of these realms. He undertakes to serve her against any prince but the Emperor, the king of Denmark, the dukes of Bavaria and Saxony, the Landgrave, and certain other rulers with whom he has treaties in Germany.

He has also renewed the agreement entered into by this Queen when he took his troops to the Netherlands at her instance, in case of opportunity arising.

Leicester has done all he could by means of caresses to confirm the friendship which had been formed between them by their letters, and all his friends have done the same, making him many presents, as they thought it well, not only that he should be a pensioner of the Queen, but that he should belong to the Leicester party, although the other side are well aware of it. When the Queen was in Council the other day she twice asked for Leicester and was told that he was with Casimir. When he came she said: "You have quite "forgotten us all and business too, apparently, since we cannot get "you here for the discussion of it;" words which were not at all displeasing to Sussex and Cecil, who smiled at them.

The meeting of bishops which I mentioned in former letters has been held, thirteen of them meeting here and thirteen in Norwich,

* This refers to the disgrace and banishment of the aged duke of Alba in consequence of the disobedience of his son, Don Fadrique, respecting a marriage which had been arranged for him, and other misbehaviour.

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the country being divided into two provinces. The precedent observed has been the meeting held when Montgomeri came hither for the succour of Rochelle when the ecclesiastics, as they call them gave over thirty thousand pounds. Nothing has yet been fixed upon, and I am assured that, apart from the jewels, Casimir does not take more than five thousand pounds in money, given to him by private people for their own satisfaction and to please the Queen. The man who made the boxes assures me of this as he saw the money put into them. He takes twenty barrels of powder and twenty of bullets, and having informed the Queen that there was need of victuals in Flanders, she has ordered an examination to be made in the province of Norwich of the quantity of wheat there is, in order to discover how much may be sent to Flanders.

She has also secretly ordered that, on no account, may any victuals or munitions be sent to Gravelines, and that all Englishmen going thither to serve are to be seized. On the night of the 8th instant a great search was made in London by her orders to discover letters said to have come from Spain to certain Catholics and people of position. It was suspected that some of these letters were for Lord Montague.

Her agent in Antwerp advised her some time ago of the disunion amongst the States. He wrote lately that some of them wish to submit to your Majesty and told her the way they spoke of her which has greatly annoyed her. Speaking of it in the Council she said that if that was the way the States thanked her for what she had done she was determined she would not help them any more. She would get back what she had lent them when she could. She had said similar things before to cover up her real intentions, but she will not fail to help Orange and the Ghent people if they are opposed to peace.

These States as a whole and certain towns have, on different occasions, purchased quantities of cloth from the English merchants, undertaking to pay for it. As the sums to be paid by some of the towns were over-due the English seized certain Flemings here at the time of M. d'Havrey's visit. He spoke to the Queen about it and she released them, assuring him that no more should be seized for similar debts. They have now again seized certain property belonging to Flemings in English ships on account of these obligations, and the Flemings have addressed a complaint to the Queen, to which no reply has been given. They have also written to the States and request that some one should be sent to aid them with this Queen, they would prefer Buiscot, Fiscal of the Chancellerie of Brabant, to represent them, both in the matter of this seizure and of the tax, which I wrote they are now making them pay.

The French continue to assert the coming of Alençon, now that he has left the Netherlands, and have agreed that, if the marriage is effected, it shall be on the same conditions as were settled when the match was discussed with the king of France, before his accession, the principal points being, first, that he and his household shall exercise the Catholic religion; that the style shall be Elizabeth and Francis, Queen and King of England; if there should be children they will succeed to the crown, the father being protector and governor of the realm. In case of the Queen's death

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without children, Alençon is to leave the country, receiving a pension for life of twenty thousand pounds (livres?) a year, and if Alençon should die without children the Queen is to have a hundred thousand crowns a year. After these terms were settled the French, not being very hopeful of the business and wishing to avoid delays and the great expense which would be incurred if Alençon came, they determined to speak to the Queen and try to get her to agree that if he came the marriage should take place on the conditions arranged. They communicated with those who are favourable to the business who told them that, on no account should they attempt such a course as it would spoil the whole thing, and they ought to be satisfied with what had been done. If Alençon came, they could always find an excuse to avoid the marriage on the ground of religion if the parties were not pleased with one another. It is all procrastination, because, after their terms are agreed upon, there is still the difficulty of the coming of the suitor; and, after that, the marriage itself.

They are very sorry here at the services rendered to your Majesty by M. de la Motte whom they have tried to put wrong with the States, and to thwart in various ways, as they look upon him as the principal instrument that has prevented the Ghent people from carrying out their resolution. Walsingham and others have lost no opportunity of trying to separate them from M. de la Motte and they have agreed with the Fleming here called Pascasio, a great heretic born near Flushing where he has a brother-in-law, to get up a plot in that town (*i.e.* Gravelines) as follows. Certain large and small ships of light draught are to come from Flushing and are to approach as near to shore as they can at high tide. Their arrival (at Gravelines) will cause an alarm and a call to arms, and during the confusion they may kill M. de la Motte with a musket shot, and will then appeal in the name of Orange and the States to certain soldiers who are now being won over by this man's brother-in-law, whose name I will discover, who is authorised to spend a thousand pounds for the purpose. Even if they do not get possession of the town, they say, at all events, they will be able in the confusion to save the man who fires the shot, and he will therefore be all the more ready to do it. They think of carrying out this plan in the month of March, and although it will be a difficult thing for them to take the place in the way they have planned, they might easily kill La Motte whose person is so important just now for your Majesty's service. I sent a special messenger to him at once giving him notice of it, and reminded him of the coming and going of the Englishmen who serve in the place and have secret connections with Walsingham, which is a sufficient indication, together with the present plan, that they are up to some wickedness, particularly as they are the same men who conceived the plan of laying hands on Don Juan. I recommend him to be careful of his own safety, and as for that of the fortress, I need say nothing to one who is so good a soldier as he.

News comes from Scotland that the earls of Mar and Argyll, who are those that have control of the person of the King, are very friendly.

The Portuguese ambassador is continuing the efforts I mentioned

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before, both with the Queen and her ministers, particularly Leicester and Walsingham, to prevent the union of that country with your Majesty's crown.—London, 18th February 1579.

22 Feb. **555.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

I do not know whether it is my unluckiness or that of Antonio de Guaras that every day some fresh obstacle appears to prevent the settlement of his business. Casimir's visit was a great hindrance, and as soon as that was ended I saw Leicester to ask him to have the business dispatched. He promised me that it should be settled without fail in two days, as Secretary Walsingham and Wilson were going to see him the same day. They themselves sent me word to the same effect, and said that if he (Guaras) was not his own enemy he would be free on the morrow. The result of the visit, however, has been that he is kept more strictly than before. I told his brother of this and sent him to speak to him alone, and tell him the best course to pursue. He has been with him from nine o'clock this morning until now, seven at night, and says that they have administered an interrogatory of twelve points to him, copy of which will go in my next. They have changed his guards and threaten to proceed against him with the utmost rigour. You may judge from this the state in which he is, and I beg you not to fail to favour him as usual, advising me with all speed if it is advisable for me to take any fresh steps. So far as I am able to judge, and to the extent of my power, no efforts shall be wanting.

Postscript: This letter was written in the presence of Guaras's brother. I can assure you I am doing every thing in my power to help the man, but the coming of this brother of his, as I have said before, has been of no service to him, with the renown of his being so wealthy. He has taken it into his head lately to go about offering money to people to release his brother.—London, 22nd February 1579.

22 Feb. **556.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

You will have seen by mine of the 18th what I wrote about Antonio de Guaras's business at the request of his brother, who came raving to me, crying out they would certainly cut off his head if I did not help him. He said Antonio Guaras had told him to assure me of this, as he knew it by the questions they had put to him. Although I could not believe it I sent to ask audience of the Queen to obtain information. I saw her on the 21st, and when I asked her again to release him, and conversed with the ministers, I gathered that the affair would speedily and favourably be disposed of. The Queen was very gracious to Gombal (de Guaras). I have thought well to advise you of this, and again to assure you that the only effect of his brother's stay here is to delay his release. The man commits ten thousand absurdities and has lately gone about offering money to people to get his brother out of prison, begging them at the some time not to let me know. All this only hinders matters, because the money is offered in such a way and in such small sums that people think that, by delaying my operations, they will put the screw on more. I am doing my best, and was much aided by the fact that the Queen asked me about the punish-

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ment of the Englishmen at Namur, and gave that as a reason for the prompt release of Guaras, which she promised me, and I have no doubt that we shall very shortly see him at liberty. Of the other points touched upon in the audience, and the reasons I had for requesting it, apart from the matter of Guaras, I cannot inform his Majesty in this letter, as it is being taken by a French merchant who is leaving hurriedly.—London, 22nd February 1579.

26 Feb. **557.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

The haste with which I wrote on the 22nd prevented me from giving an account of what passed in my audience with the Queen, which I now write to his Majesty. She was as gracious as usual with me, caressing me much and entertaining me for three hours, during which I did not fail to repeat my approaches to her on many subjects, as she was so very friendly and gave me opportunities to do so.

A matter has come into my hands lately in so strange a fashion that, for this reason alone, it would seem that it might be successful. On the 23rd in the morning a man came and told me that he brought a letter for me from Calais written by a very well known Spanish merchant there named Baltasar de Burgos, to the following effect. "The bearer of this is a gentleman of this country who "has informed me of certain things of great importance to the "service of God and the King, and has asked me to address him to "a person with whom he can speak more fully. I have told him to "do so with your Lordship. Calais, 20th February 1579."

When I had read this letter the bearer told me that he desired to speak with some Spanish minister of his Majesty about a business which was of importance to the King, and particularly he desired to address a person who wished the Flemish war to be ended, which was not the case with every one. He begged me to promise that I would communicate his business to no one who did not desire this. When I had promised him he said that he had wished to see me for some time, but that the bad weather had hitherto prevented him, and he had brought the letter in order that I might see that his sole object in coming was to speak to me and return, which could be confirmed by Baltasar de Burgos, to whom he would bear a reply to his letter. The service he was resolved to do, in union with three friends of his who were fully prepared, was to kill or poison the prince of Orange. I replied that his Majesty was so great, christian, and powerful a prince, that it was not necessary for him to punish rebels in that way. He replied that he knew that very well, and that the only reason why he came and told me was to declare his intention in order that I might bear witness to that effect, and he asked me to give him a token, so that when the business was done he could produce in. He intended to carry out the plan within two months and did not seek any payment or reward until it was done, in the confidence that I would afterwards advocate his being fitly rewarded for the service. I had a long conversation with him and he showed me four or five letters from the abbot of Gertrudenberg, whose signature and seal I know.

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From their tenour, although the words themselves were unintelligible, I take him for a man whom Orange and the States kept in the court of France to advise them of what went on. He is in their confidence and well understands French and Flemish affairs. He informed me of things on both sides, and about the negotiations which the French have been carrying on with the States, and also those of this Queen. He speaks French and Italian (as he said he was a Savoyard) as well as Latin, all of them very fluently. He is a gentlemanly person, although dressed as a merchant. After I had talked for a long while with him, I deferred the matter until the following day and set spies on him who found that he lived where he had told me and confirmed his statements as to the persons with whom he associated, as well as the subject of his discourse. I ended by cutting a Spanish pillar-real into three pieces, giving him two and keeping one myself, as a token that I could not deny that he had informed me of his intentions. He then took his leave, asking me to write to the prince of Parma to the effect that if a man with two pieces of a real asked him by that token for favour, or some man whom he could trust, that he should entertain him until I could confirm, by the description, if he was the same man as had addressed himself to me.

The poison which he intended to employ, he told me, was a certain thing he could get in Paris, which, if it were concealed in the hat or cap, would dry up the brain so as to finish a man in ten days; and at the waxing of the moon much more rapidly. Even if they opened the body no indications of poison are found. He said he knew that various people had been put out of the way in France by this means, and from my discourse with him I cannot believe that he intended to deceive me, although he may try to get credit for what others may attempt. When he left he said that he thought he should be forced to post in England and he had not brought more money than he actually needed and consequently was short of four or six crowns for his return journey. I gave him very little more, but many fair words, encouraging him in his good intentions to which extent he may have deceived me.

He assured me that Orange had poisoned Bossu because he understood he was going to declare himself on the side of the Artois people, and that he had tried to arrange the escape of the Count de Buren as a Francisian friar, for which purpose he had sent people to Spain and had a forged order from the General. The heretic Spaniard called Casiodoro, of whom I wrote, has been boasting, I am told, of having brought hither a number of Spanish bibles he has had printed in Germany to send to Spain. I will try to discover in what ships they go.

The Lord Keeper, chancellor, is dead. The interests of the Catholics and of his Majesty will not suffer by this as he was a great Protestant.

I shall suffer great loss from another person who has just died here, as he kept me punctually informed of what was going on, with double assurance as he was a Catholic. As a certain proof of this he besought me to send my chaplain at night to confess him, but he died before he could arrive, to my great grief, in the interests

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of his Majesty, as I shall never find another so intelligent and faithful as he. He was employed in Walsingham's office.

Casimir left Dover, but the wind changed so that he could not arrive at Flushing and would not trust himself into Dunkirk, which shows that he does not trust the Flemings over much. He awaits fair weather at Dover. M. de la Motte writes me that he was fitting out a galley and a galliass to give him a shot or two. Besides the ships, which I said were to come from Flushing for him, he is accompanied by a well-armed ship belonging to the Queen, but M. de la Motte will have taken fitting steps as I have kept him advised.

Humphrey Gilbert and Knollys have returned to this country with all their ships and one of them is at Court. They have been content with capturing a French ship with merchandise. They have dismantled their ships and the man I sent with them has returned.

Antoino de Guaras's business was not settled on the day of St. Matthew, as Leicester was not at Court, but he sends to say that it shall be dispatched by Sunday. I am ashamed of all this delay, but it is the way these people proceed.—London, 22nd February 1579.

26 Feb. **558.** Bernardino de Mendoza to King.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 18th. I sent to ask for audience of the Queen, first because she intimated that she desired to see me, and, secondly, because a gentleman who had been dispatched by Alençon had arrived for M. de Simier, and I thought it would be a good opportunity of finding out whether Alençon's departure from the Netherlands had made any difference in their negotiations here. I saw her on the 21st and she received me very well, saying how sorry she was that her many engagements in coming hither had prevented me from seeing her before. I replied that her engagements were necessarily such pleasant ones, as they related to marriage, that I did not wish to interrupt them. She answered that it was a fine idea for an old woman like her to talk about marriage, and assured me that the hopes she had expressed to me of being able to effect the marriage with Alençon had caused him to leave the States, which she had desired, as she did not want to see them in the hands of the French, although the Netherlanders did not deserve her care, seeing what they said about her. I pressed this view, pointing out how divided they were, which she much regrets. She assured me that nothing would be settled about the marriage until Alençon came. The French speak more coolly about it since they have learned of the Duke's arrival at Alençon, and they give out that nothing would be determined upon until fresh advice from the Queen-mother, whom Alençon perhaps may meet.

She then touched upon the Scotch negotiations, saying that one of the two men I had told her were being sent by the king of France with letters had had some of them taken from him by a Scotsman, who had brought them to her and she had seen that I was well informed. She said that the king of Scotland had written

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to her, saying that, although they were talking to him much about marriage, the match that would be most pleasant to him would be the one that she arranged for him, because the nobles of his country wanted to sell him like a bullock to the highest bidder. She dwelt much in connection with this, upon his wit, and said they were his own words. Although the King may have written thus, she does seem very much assured, because, not only does she keep the queen of Scotland as closely as I have written, but lately so much care is taken that any person who comes within three miles of where she is, is imprisoned and examined unless he be known.—London, 26th February 1579.

5 Mar. **559.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to ZAYAS.

I received yesterday your letter of the 21st January, and rejoiced much to hear news of his Majesty's health, as you may be sure that the news of the catarrh and gout had been finely exaggerated by the time it arrived here. God protect him and preserve the health also of the Duke and Donna Anna.

There is no news here since my last, except that Simier and the French Ambassador were much feasted on the occasion of the Carnival, and, on one of the days they were entertained at a great banquet given to the Queen by Hatton, the captain of the Guard. The last night they were at a grand ball in which there were comedies and many inventions.

Simier and the Ambassador do not agree, although they try to conceal the fact, but the signs are clear to everyone, as they have even divided their expenses, Simier paying for the dinner, he having taken a separate lodging, and the Ambassador paying for the supper. They say that Simier is seeking money and is offering in pledge some of the jewels he brought. Some of the gentlemen who came with him have gone back. The Queen makes great show of favour to him in order to promote the idea that the marriage may be effected.

Alençon's coming is now promised in April, and Simier says that he is daily expecting the arrival of the Secretary sent by his master, who, however, never comes. The Queen told Simier a few days ago that he would perhaps soon come now, because she had herself received a letter from Alençon, informing her that he was sending him.

Casimir was obliged by contrary winds to anchor at Blancnez, on the coast of France, and was so sea-sick that he resolved to go ashore dressed as a cook and prepare supper for the rest. On his departure, Captain Breton, who came hither with Simier, spoke with him, and Casimir told him to inform the king of France that he had been in his country and had made good cheer there. He landed at Flushing where he learned the trouncing his cavalry had got after the affair of the 15th.

The English merchants, in view of the disturbances in Antwerp, have resolved not to send any more goods thither, and to bring away those that they have at Middleburg.

The congregation of Flemings resident here sent a man to Flushing on the 27th ultimo with three hundred pounds in cash and two hundred in bills for the purpose of fitting out eight crook-

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stems to scour the canals and give help where necessary on the approach of our troops, and also to give orders that, if a revolution should be feared in Antwerp in consequence of our proximity, the ships they have there should be withdrawn.

These people are putting me off about the release of Guaras. I cannot imagine what can be the reason, other than that which I have written.—London, 5th March 1579.

11 Mar. **560.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to ZAYAS.

On the 5th and 7th I wrote to you by way of Rouen. These councillors are very divided respecting the appointment of Lord Chancellor, some of them desiring the post and a change of offices. For your Majesty's interests and those of the Catholics no man could be appointed worse than the last one.

The Portuguese Ambassador requested audience, announcing that it was to take leave of the Queen, but the result of it was that she refused to allow him to depart until he had seen her again. If he were not such a vain lying fellow, one might suspect that it was only a pretext for the purpose of entertaining them until the arrival of his successor, so that he might bring him into touch with Leicester and Walsingham, through whom he acts, to hinder us in Portugal.

M. de Pruneaux, who was Alençon's agent in Antwerp, is still lingering there, in correspondence with his friends here, but I do not hear that the States have again entertained his advances.

I am losing no time in sending men to Holland and Zealand, and getting natives of the Provinces here to write how bad it would be for them to undertake war again. The Flushing people have sent here to treat with two Spanish ships which came with oranges, for them to go with merchandise to that town. They offered them sureties, both for the merchandise and the good treatment of the men. They let me know and I told them to reply to the representatives of the Flushing corporation that nothing could be arranged between private citizens without the intervention of a minister. This was done without my appearing, and was so far satisfactory to them that they said they agreed and would consult the corporation. I took this step in order that an excuse might arise for their communication with me, and I doubt not, according to the information of natives whom I have sent there, that they greatly desire this as they are heartily opposed to war, unless Orange's stories change their minds. I have obtained a letter which St. Aldegonde wrote when Orange was going to Ghent, by which you will see the plots they are weaving. I have sent copies to Holland and elsewhere that they may understand how little Orange really desires peace.

They are putting me off for hours now instead of days, as before, about the release of Antonio de Guaras.*—London, 11th March 1579.

* A monograph on the subject of Antonio de Guaras, detailing the whole of the proceedings against him so far as they are known, has recently been published, the work of Richard Garnett, LL.D., of the British Museum.

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11 Mar. **561.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 26th ultimo I wrote to your Majesty, and on the 6th instant news arrived here of the action that had taken place near Antwerp. The Queen related it in great glee to the French ambassadors, and said that if the whole of them were to be burnt it would not avenge the evil done by the townspeople in introducing discord amongst the States. With regard to the arrest of goods belonging to Flemings resident here, on account of monies owing by the States and certain towns to Englishmen, the Queen replied that, as her subjects' property had been taken, it must be paid for, The greater part of these Flemings are heretics and their congregation has always helped the rebels against us, there being only four or six of them faithful subjects of your Majesty who help me all they can; and it would therefore appear that the Queen intends to carry out her resolution of helping the States no more.

The English merchants here have also resolved to withdraw their merchandise from Antwerp, and transfer the trade to Embden, that with Hamburg having ceased. The intention is to confine trade to Embden, as in the time when connection was prohibited with your Majesty's dominions, and to avoid the evasion of this by the Flemings here sending English cloths to Antwerp and bringing goods from there, which would be cheaper than merchandise passing through Embden; they intend to forbid all commerce, excepting through the latter place, on pain of forfeiture. If this is carried out, the Flemings will have to leave the country, and the English will monopolise trade, which is just what they desire. Signs are evident that they do not wish to have any communication with the States until they submit to your Majesty, for these Flemings were formerly favoured because they aided the States.

Dissensions have recently broken out in Scotland again, and it was said that the King was to be removed from Stirling to Edinburgh, but it is not known whether this will be done before the meeting of Parliament on the 1st of May.

M. de Simier and the French Ambassador still continue their audiences with the Queen and have recently again postponed the coming of Alençon, who, they say, will be accompanied by the prince of Condé. They are in high hopes of the marriage, from what the Queen tells them, it not being necessary to call Parliament together for the purpose, permission for her marriage having been granted in the first parliament of the reign. From the suspicions of the king of France that his brother is plotting with the Bretons, and the Gascons being still disturbed, it may be surmised that the Queen will be the better pleased that the French should be kept busy in their own country, and consequently not be able to concern themselves with Scotch affairs, about which she is still anxious.*—London, 11th March 1579.

* Note in the King's handwriting: "According to this, the matter cannot be settled "as they told Juan de Vargas the other day. This is most likely to be the truth as it "comes more direct."

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21 Mar. **562.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to ZAYAS.

I wrote last on the 11th. The conference at Utrecht which I mentioned, has resulted in the formation of a league between those present, in the form set forth in the enclosed paper, containing really abominable things, especially about liberty of conscience. The confederates do not include the lordship of Grüninghen, by which it will be seen that the townspeople there have kept to their good resolve.

The French ambassadors are expecting hourly the return of Alençon's secretary whom they had dispatched. They say that he will certainly bring the decision with regard to the Prince's coming. As far as can be judged by appearances and the Queen's own actions, nothing more certain can be imagined than that she will marry Alençon if she can, and you may convey this to his Majesty.

Hatton and Leicester have become friends in order to forward the business, and are quite agreed about the appointment of a Lord Chancellor. They are going to help a great heretic into the place,* whilst Sussex and Cecil are opposed thereto.

The Queen gave orders on the 19th that no ships were to leave for Germany until further orders. It is believed that this is in consequence of the dissensions which exist between the Easterling merchants and those of London, who are more divided than ever.

As I was closing this Alençon's secretary arrived.—London, 21st March 1579.

31 Mar. **563.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to ZAYAS.

By William Bodenham I received your letter of 30th December and the needlework sent by my lady the duchess (of Alba), which work is such as might be expected from such hands.

The Portuguese ambassador is still about his departure for France, and, although he returned a second time to see the Queen, Leicester invited him, and the next day told him the Queen wished to see him again. They tell me the object of all this is to put him in accord with the man they are to send to Portugal, who will be some creature of Leicester's. They have also managed for him to confer with the ambassador they are sending again to France,† the present resident being about to return. The object is to arrange for Alençon to aid in preventing the crown of Portugal from falling to his Majesty. They could thus keep friendly with that country, and trade, even though they were at war with Spain. If, as you say, another man is to come from Portugal, it is just as well that this man should linger here as he knows so little.

In the sermons preached before the Queen they speak very violently about this marriage. The preacher on the first Sunday in Lent said that marriages with foreigners would only result in ruin to the country, as was proved by what happened when the sainted King Edward died and was succeeded by Mary, who

* Sir Thomas Bromley, who succeeded Sir Nicholas Bacon in the Chancellorship, and was himself succeeded eight years later by Hatton.

† Henry Cobham, who was to replace Sir Amyas Paulet.

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married a foreigner, and caused the martyrdom of so many persons, who were burnt all over the country. When the preacher finished the subject, but not the sermon, the Queen rose, which was considered a great innovation. They are also attaching much importance to the fact that preachers are constantly saying this to the Queen and that she takes no steps, from which it may be inferred that they are inspired from high quarters.

Leicester and Hatton have become great friends in view of the marriage with Alençon, which they openly favour, and are pushing forward Bromley for Lord Chancellor, against the wishes of all the rest. He has gained them both completely by promising them large pensions if he gets the place.

The gentleman sent by Alençon with letters dated the 23rd, says that on the way to and from Paris he privately saw the English ambassador, and from his saying to his brother that he would be back again within a fortnight in Paris, it was understood by many to mean that he (Alençon?) would again set up his household there, and he (the Secretary?) would try to get Bussy d'Amboise's place. Simier and Rochetaillé are much grieved at this. Some people say that the warm negotiations of these Frenchmen for the marriage are only a plan of the Queen-mother to forward Alençon's marriage with one of the Infantas.

A Breton gentleman tells me that Alençon had sent orders to the Isle of Chaussey, near Granville, in Brittany, that if any pirates go thither they are to be well received and have facilities for disposing of their prizes. This no doubt is to benefit Bacqueville, whom he made Admiral recently, although he (Alençon) has no ports in his dukedoms. He has also ordered pirate ships to be fitted out for the voyage to the Indies.

Horatio Pallavicini, I am informed, received advices from Alicante that the ship which was to bring the alum was being looked out for, and he therefore wrote that the cargo was to be sent in English ships. A note of these ships is enclosed in case any of them should touch at a Spanish port.

There is a French captain here with whom I have been in communication for the last six months, and who appears to me to be a resolute and sensible man. I am told that the king of France is displeased with him because he was one of the malcontents who served with Alençon against him, and he is looked upon as being the harbinger of any disturbance. He has on many occasions told me that he wishes to render some service to his Majesty which would fix him permanently in his employment.* He is a brave man, and, although he offered to go and serve in the Netherlands when Alençon was there, I did not think at the time that it would be safe or prudent until the French had left. He now tells me that he is determined to go to Antwerp with letters for Orange, and to see M. de la Noue and discover what service he can render according to circumstances. He assures me that he will have sufficient credit amongst the French gentlemen to win them over, and will attempt to get possession of some fortress, if his services

* Note in the King's handwriting: "I should think so, indeed."

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are accepted, for the purpose of surrendering it to us. I have praised his determination, as I thought no harm could come of it, nor did I see any objection to his getting one of the towns into his hands, so long as Alençon was not there. I advised the prince of Parma in case he should think it advisable to carry the matter forward. It will be needful to supply him with money in such case to win over the captains, and it may be advisable to point out some particular fortress upon which he might keep his eyes.

I do not fail on every occasion to impress upon the ministers, and other important people, how prejudicial it would be for the French to get any power in this country, whence it will be almost impossible to expel them even though the Queen were to die, having in view their close friendship with Scotland. They listen to me, but their answers are lukewarm, like people who expect something more than mere words. I shall continue these offices, which I think most necessary, as his Majesty has said nothing to the contrary. If it be true than Juan de Vargas has arranged what is said with the king of France, it surely would be better for him to advise me of it direct before I hear it from another quarter; but he doubtless thinks differently.—London, 31st March 1579.

31 March. **564.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 11th and sent duplicate on the 15th. M. de Simier and the ambassador continue their constant audiences with the Queen respecting the marriage, and she seems, by all appearances, to very willingly listen to them. In the course of the negotiation it was suggested that, if the marriage be effected, Alençon might be appointed King of the Romans. This was well received by the Frenchmen, who had letters from their King at the time telling them to keep the matter in hand until he got a decided reply, which he expected from Spain and Rome; and, as soon as it came, Alençon's secretary should be sent back with the decision. The Queen's ambassador in Paris advised her at the same time that preparations were being made for Alençon's visit, which appears to be true.

The ambassadors thereupon again began to treat with Leicester about Alençon's preparation for the visit, but said that it would not be advisable for him to come until the business was confirmed, which opinion they said they were conveying to the Queen and asked him to support them. Leicester replied that this course was most undesirable, and that when Alençon came, Parliament would be sitting when he (Leicester) and his friends would endeavour that all the country, through the mouth of Parliament, should beg the Queen to marry Alençon, which she could not then refuse, even though she were not so truly desirous of it, as she is. This kept the Frenchmen in play which was the object aimed at.

On the 19th Alençon's secretary arrived with letters from the King dated 16th, both to Leicester and the Queen, in which he assured her that his brother would be here in the month of May and begged her that the conditions should be fixed with necessary precision, for the satisfaction of both parties. He said that the ambassador at Rome had, at your Majesty's instance taken steps

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with the Pope to hinder the marriage, and that your Majesty had written to him begging him to divert his brother from it; the same being done by the Nuncio in Paris on behalf of the Pope and by Juan de Vargas in the name of your Majesty, but that he (the king of France) still wished that it should go on. As regards the question of religion, he could assure the Queen that his brother would conduct himself in a way which should cause no scandal in the country.

He assured Leicester on his word of honour that his authority and position should not be injured in any way by the marriage, as he would be the guide and friend of his brother.

After the coming of the secretary with these letters, which gave a fresh impulse to the business, the Queen received three despatches from Paris within two days, sent with great speed in forty-five hours, advising her of the arrival there of Alençon and the duke of Guise, and of the applause with which he had been received. This disburbed her greatly, as it was unexpected and she is suspicious about Scotland, and considers that there must be some great mystery behind this, because Alençon had concealed his intention to visit his brother even from his closest friends and advisers.

The ambassador also informed her that the Nuncio had declared to Alençon in the name of the Pope that he would excommunicate him if he came to this country, and the people of Paris publicly said that, if he married the Queen, they would never accept him as king of France, if he should succeed to the throne. Nevertheless, he shows signs of his intention to marry her and says that he will look upon as his enemy any person who advises him to the contrary.

M. de Simier saw her on the 26th and gave her a letter written by Alençon himself, dated the 23rd, telling her not to be surprised at his visiting his brother, who had received him as such; the cause of it having been his desire to contradict those who asserted that they were at issue. He also asked her not to consider it strange that the gentleman who had come with Simier should return to accompany him (Alençon) on his journey. The Queen was very gracious to Simier and detained him so long that she made him stay to supper with Lady Howard, who heads the table of the ladies of the Privy Chamber. She sent him the supper from her own table, although I had taken care that she was informed that the letters dated the 16th, from the king of France to her and Leicester, had not been written in France at all, but in London. This was seen from the fact that the handwriting was that of the secretary of the French ambassador here. When I heard of it I had the earl of Leicester told, without its being known that the information came from me. No doubt the secretary of Alençon brought these signatures in blank with orders to fill up the letters in the way that seemed best.

The close confinement of the queen of Scotland continues and the permission given by the Queen to the secretary to visit the King on her behalf was shortly afterwards revoked.

With regard to the pressure being put upon Flemings here to

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cease trading with Antwerp, and to confine their commerce with Embden the Archduke Mathias and Orange have written suggesting that trade might be done at Middleburg which would cause no loss to them. The English have not replied, nor have they decided yet to fix their trade in Embden, although they are greatly at issue with the Maritime towns of Dantzic and Hamburg.

Orange has promised to carry on the war against your Majesty in the States at a very small cost, the intention being to draw it out and make it offensive (defensive ?) merely, by keeping possession of the towns only, and sustaining no army in the open.—London, 31st March 1579.

8 April. **565.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 31st ultimo, and on the 23rd M. de Rochetaillé (Rocatallada) left here carrying fresh terms about the marriage; the principal points of which are understood to be in conformity with my letter of the 18th of February, although some people say that they have added a provision to the effect that, if the Queen dies, Alençon is to bear the title of duke of Lancaster and York.

These councillors met Rochetaillé (Rocatallada), as he was leaving the next day, but they detained him three days longer, continually in council with him day and night. They sent the secretaries out of the room, which is a very unusual thing, and is only done when matters of the greatest importance are discussed in secret. The result of these meetings and of Rochetaillé's departure has been that the Queen is now arranging the persons who have to go and meet Alençon, and the ships which have to escort him, whilst many of the great people here, including the councillors, are having new clothes and other things made for the occasion,* as they believe that the matter is as good as settled if the French accept the terms, which they consider very reasonable.

With respect to giving hostages for the coming of Alençon, it is proposed that the earls of Surrey and Oxford and Lord Windsor should be chosen, because, although they are only youths, their houses are very ancient and of high rank.

The Queen has had two letters from Alençon in his own hand, delivered to her by Simier, and I am assured that she replied in the same way without showing her letters to the councillors and particularly not to Leicester, who the French are informed is acting falsely in the business, and who, with Sussex, is their principal opponent. Although I wrote to your Majesty on the 27th of January what he told me, I find him lately very cool. He publicly talks of the advantage it would be to the Queen to effect this marriage, however, and the Queen has favoured him by telling the Frenchmen to treat of the matter with him. Lord Burleigh is not so much opposed to it as formerly, but I cannot discover

* As an instance of this, there is a letter from the earl of Leicester to Secretary Davison in the Netherlands, asking him to secure for him 4,000 crowns worth of crimson, black, and other coloured velvet satin and silk, with 400*l.* worth of gold and silver tissue "or such like pretty stuffs." See Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 25th April 1579.

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whether Sussex and Burleigh have changed their minds, because they think that they may thus bring about the fall of Leicester, and avenge themselves upon him for old grievances, and for having advanced to the office of Chancellor, which Sussex wants, an enemy of Sussex and Burleigh. Their reason may, however, be perhaps the hope that if Frenchmen should come hither the country may rise, in which case, it is believed, Sussex would take a great position.

By my former letters I have fully advised all that was occurring, and I have nothing more to say excepting that the matter of the seizures is now being treated lukewarmly, and I am afraid nothing will be done.

Great efforts were being secretly made by Orange with the corporation and guilds of Antwerp, to obtain the entry of that town in the league of Utrecht.—London, 8th April 1579.

8 April. **566.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

As the Portuguese ambassador, who is at last tearing himself away from this country to reside in France, tells me that he is sending a courier to Madrid as soon as he arrives at Calais, I take the opportunity of enclosing this despatch in the packet he is forwarding.

The present that the Queen gave him was 1,200 English crowns worth of silver-gilt plate and a jewel worth 300 for his wife.

At his last audience with her she gave him a ring from her own finger, no doubt as a keepsake, for she is very clever at such little witcheries as these, when she thinks she can gain a point by them and disarm those with whom she is dealing. I fancy she has fully succeeded in this with the ambassador, who has said nothing about the ring.

Everybody here is full of the marriage and the coming of Alençon, and the English speak of it more openly than hitherto. Many people who were wont to smile at it now see that appearances are all in favour of its taking place and believe it. To divert the Queen from it, certain persons told her that, in the office of the late Chancellor, of whom the Queen thought very highly as a councillor, there had been discovered some papers sent to him two years ago from France, at the time that the matter was under discussion before, saying that the object of the coming of the French to England would only be the ruin of the country, the death of the Queen, and the consequent release of the Queen of Scotland, whose cause they were promoting. She said the papers could not be very important as they had not mentioned them to her for so long, and with that, dropped the subject.

I am feeling more keenly every day the loss of the man I wrote about, as, in addition to his knowledge of Walsingham's affairs, which was absolutely trustworthy, he heard many things that went on in the Queen's chamber through a lady, with whom it is now almost impossible for me to communicate, so that I have to lose much time in finding out what goes on, and have, so to speak, to go about begging for intelligence

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An Englishman who went with Casimir returned hither yesterday in great haste. The reason of his coming is not known, but, all booted and spurred as he was, they made him enter the Council Chamber, where he remained for a long time. They say that the States were to hurriedly meet at Antwerp, and also that Maestricht was being battered with 23 cannons.

Alençon has intimated to M. de la Noue and Pruneaux that they are to make ready to come hither. They have themselves written this news to Simier and the ambassador.

If Hans has not left when this arrives, pray send him to me.

The Scotch Parliament has met at Stirling, but it appears they could do nothing as they were not agreed. It is said that the Parliament may be prolonged and may sit at Edinburgh. It is understood that this Parliament here will also be prorogued.—London, 8th April 1579.

11 April. **557.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

From various letters received from you, the last of which is dated the 5th ultimo, I learn particulars of events there, which it was fitting that I should know. You have done well in advising me and will continue to do so, keeping the Queen friendly, in the way you have been doing, in order to divert her thoughts from connection with Flanders. This is not only demanded by our old friendship, but also, if she will only see it, because the only fruit she will get from it will be to have spent her money upon my rebel subjects and such like mean fellows. With this end in view you will direct all your conversations with her whenever an opportunity offers.

I have always looked upon the idea of a marriage between the Queen and Alençon* as a mere invention, and this is evident from the present position of the affair, as he is already perfectly reconciled with his brother. But still the steps you took in the matter were appropriate, and you will continue, whenever necessary, to hinder the business.

For reasons which have occurred here, I have not ordered the provision of the money and jewels which you said might be given to the Queen's ministers to bring them to look with favourable eyes upon my affairs. As things may now have changed, it will be well for you to again consider what might be done for each one, according to their disposition and influence, and you will send me a memorandum about it, in order that I may decide what to do in the matter.

With regard to the alum and what has been done here and in Italy about it, I may say that very little more will be sent, but you will still keep your eyes on Horatio Pallavicini, advising me of anything that may happen.

The marine chart was received, and was so good that your diligence in obtaining it is approved of. With it came the pieces

* Marginal note in the King's handwriting : "Add this : I nevertheless believe they "will continue to discuss it, and even perhaps may become reconciled for the purpose, "but I believe that she herself is the person who will refuse."

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of ore, of which an assay has been made and they have been found of little value. Still, it was well to send them, and if anything else should occur in the matter, which it may be necessary that you should know, you shall be informed.

I think that little result will now be attained by the negotiations about the seizures, but nevertheless, in accordance with your information, a letter from me to the Queen in your credence will be enclosed, so that you may use it if you think advisable.

Zayas tells me that you wrote to him lately that it was probable that Antonio de Guaras would shortly be released, but I have thought well to write to the Queen the enclosed letter in his favour, so that you may address her on the subject on my behalf in accordance with the state of the business, in the hope that the affair may be speedily settled, of which we should be glad.

The Scotch Ambassador resident in France has informed Juan de Vargas that it would be advisable for me to send some message to the Catholic party, but as from day to day things change there, and it is no good to do anything without some hope of a profitable result, I wish you to consider the matter, and advise me about it, since it is not a business which can be decided upon at the mere request of the said ambassador, who is naturally influenced by his own desires.

It may be greatly suspected that at this time the Portuguese will try to increase their friendship with the English, and it is desirable for you to keep your eyes open, and learn everything that is done in this matter, informing me of it by every opportunity.

For this purpose I believe Antonio de Fogaza will be useful if he is acting straightforwardly, and I should be pleased for you to inquire, as if of your own accord, the grounds he has for requesting the reward, about which he has written to my confessor and to Zayas, and advise me what you learn, and your own opinion upon the matter.—Madrid, 11th April 1579.

12 April. **568.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

Since my last of the 8th instant, Antonio Guaras's business has been settled in the following way. The Council has ordered him to pay his debts before he leaves the Tower, whereupon he shall be released. I understand that they will first take him before some of the councillors, and I have sent to ask him to have more patience than he had with the Keeper. Although the matter is in this state, I cannot believe that it is at an end until I see him across the sea, considering that this brother of his has already caused so much delay by his absurdities. I am not the only person who says so, for Gombal himself confesses that Guaras told him he should have been free months ago if he had not come, and at much less cost than now. Notwithstanding all this, I can assure you that Gombal is going on more furiously than ever, and may well cause still more delay, which God forbid, and I hope Guaras's wife will pass a better Easter than she did a Christmas, with the news I sent her of what Leicester said.

An Englishman has arrived here by sea to tell the Queen that

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his Majesty had ordered the stopping of all ships on the Biscay and western coasts, and that Dr. Sanders and a brother of the earl of Desmond, James Fitzmaurice, Irishmen, were fitting out ships.* This has aroused some suspicion, because she has seized a letter written by some of the principal people in Ireland to James Fitzmaurice, telling him how glad they will be for him to come, and assuring him that he will find a welcome there. The letter is not signed, and Walsingham sent it to Captain Sir John Malbey, who is under orders to go to Ireland to hasten his departure.

* There is in the British Museum a highly interesting series of original papers (*Add.*, MSS. 28,420), dated in the autumn of this year, giving minute particulars of the aid sent by Philip to this enterprise. The first document is a long letter from the Papal Nuncio in Madrid to the King, written on the 5th September, giving an account of the landing and progress of James Fitzmaurice in Ireland, and the alarm caused thereby to the Queen of England. He begs Philip to send further succour to Ireland, and, in a subsequent paper, sets forth the promises made by Fitzmaurice, in the event of his being successful, although, as he says, Philip had not thought proper that these promises should be embodied in a formal document. This second document is copiously annotated in the margin in Latin, apparently in the handwriting of Cardinal de Granvelle, the notes in several cases being extremely sarcastic and characteristic of the writer. Another communication from the Nuncio (bishop of Piacenza) states the amount of succour which he wishes Philip to give, including a levy of 600 infantry, and 60 Italian veterans; and on the 8th November, the King's decision is given, in the form of a memorandum to the Nuncio, detailing the aid to be sent. As this document is extremely interesting and has, I believe, never yet been published, I transcribe it it full.

B. M. Spanish, *Add.* 28,420.

Document headed, "That which his Majesty has ordered to be "furnished of the succour requested by the Pope's Nuncio for "Ireland, in conformity with his memorial, namely."

The Nuncio is to appoint an ecclesiastic to go to Biscay to see after this provision, and Juan Martinez de Recalde, who serves his Majesty on that coast, is to be written to in the King's name, ordering him to help the expedition, a similar order being also sent to the officers of justice in the province, authorising them to raise 400 men, but without drum beat or standard.

Besides the 100 pikes already ordered for the expedition 100 more are to be sent—200 pikes in all.

Besides the 100 harquebusses already ordered 30 more are to be sent—130 harquebusses, or muskets, in all.

Besides the 200 swords ordered another 100 are to be given—300 swords in all.

Instead of 25 or 30 barrels of powder as ordered, 30 full barrels are to be given, and some saltpetre, sulphur, and "artificial fire."

The warrant for 200 quintals of Gallician biscuit is to be returned, and another will be given for 400 quintals, on the Biscay coast.

In addition to the biscuit a proportionate quantity of wine and other victuals will be given on his Majesty's account.

Besides the 5 pieces of iron ordnance already given from Santander 5 more similar pieces are to be provided, as well as some necessary appurtenances.

Two ships may be taken from the coast of Biscay, and his Majesty will pay the wages of the crews, and the cost of the ships for four months. The ships to be of 300 tons each.

All the persons who are to undertake the raising and conveying the troops are to be Italians, appointed by the Nuncio, and a list of the persons now in Madrid available for this is now enclosed. (A list of three Italian captains is attached.)

As regards the 50,000 ducats requested, although his Holiness makes the request that they should be taken from the Toledo payment, his Majesty orders that the sum of 25,000 ducats from this source in two instalments, is to be given to the Nuncio, and the other 25,000 ducats will be provided by him, so that the 50,000 may be sent in succour as desired. All the munitions, victuals, ships, &c., mentioned are to be on his Majesty's account.—8th November 1579.

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She has also news that Sweden and Denmark are sturdily preparing their sea forces.

M. de Simier is invited on Thursday to attend the ceremony of the washing of feet, which the Queen performs. She summons him nearly every day, and goes for two or three hours together to see the works on some tennis courts she is having built, under the pretext that they are for Alençon.—London, 12th April 1579.

27 April. **569.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

I wrote on the 12th informing you of the position of Antonio Guaras's affair, namely that he had to pay his debts before he was liberated. With all this talk about his brother's wealth they are disinterring so many old claims, and even pressing him to pay the bishop of Aquila's debts, that I am afraid some time will be spent in the investigation of them.

Alençon's secretary, who had returned to treat of his master's affair, has had a great squabble with Simier and the Ambassador. He told them he should leave, whereupon Simier replied that if he remained, since they were not discussing the matter of the marriage properly, he (Simier) should go. He keeps vapouring about leaving in less than two days, but he still remains.

The heretics they call Puritans have been more open lately than they formerly were, and this Easter one of them, preaching before the Lord Mayor and Magistrates of London, spoke so violently to the effect that the Queen could not be the head of the Church and that the Bishops were not doing their duty, that they had to seize him at once to avoid the scandal.

The discord between the London merchants and the Easterlings resident here, regarding the privileges of the latter, is still unsettled, but it is proposed that the Easterlings should continue to enjoy their privileges for six months, on condition of their giving security, and if, during that time the English are not granted similar privileges, they, the Easterlings, shall pay like any other strangers the dues upon the goods they may have sent. The Easterlings have not yet accepted the proposal.

News comes from Antwerp that Maestricht has been assaulted, and although our people received some loss and did not succeed in entering, there was little hope of the place holding out.*—London, 27th April 1579.

27 April. **570.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

The Queen's ambassador in France writes to her that secret orders have been given there to arm thirty ships, and the Council here have therefore resolved that seven of her ships shall put to sea, although the order has not yet been published, nor have they begun to make ready more than two, which they say are to go out to clear the channel of corsairs. The arming of these (French) ships is causing fears about Scotland, and they have recently discussed the bringing of that Queen (Mary) to the Tower of London. If this should be done it would be a proof that they have fallen out with the French, although the Queen in her behaviour to Simier, has not shown any

* It held out for two months longer and was surprised and captured on the 29th June.

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signs of it, excepting once, on the 21st, when she was so rude to him that it was noticed by everyone. It is said that a new condition has been demanded on the part of Alençon. It was arranged that the style should be Francis and Elizabeth, King and Queen of England, and that in the question of dower, the law of England should be followed, but he now wishes to be crowned with her on their marriage, which, it is generally believed, the English will not agree to. This has given rise to the idea that the French wish to raise differences, and together, with the arming so many ships, is another reason for their alarm, which is added to by this news about your Majesty having stopped all ships on the Biscay and western coasts, and the coming to Spain by sea of the infantry from Naples. They are also disturbed by the intelligence that certain Irishmen are preparing in Biscay and that 1,500 Scots Highlanders have gone over to Ireland. The only steps they have taken hitherto have been to send thither some captains who have experience of the country.

Parliament has been prorogued in Scotland in consequence, it is said, of dissensions, respecting which this Queen ordered her ambassador to come hither and give her an account. He has not done this in consequence of the prorogation, nor has Morton lost his power, although they are disagreed. Parliament here is deferred until the 25th of May.—London, 27th April 1579.

3 May. **571.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 27th, and on the same day received the letter containing your Majesty's orders about this Queen's ministers. I have found them very cool during the last two months, particularly Sussex, who has never seen me without asking me if I had any letters from your Majesty, in such a way and in such terms as to try to force from me some declaration with regard to the fulfilment of the hopes I had held out to him in return for the attachment he has shown to your Majesty's interests. I have always adopted the course of making much of his services in general terms, and impressing upon him how advantageous it was for the quietude of the country and the authority of the Queen that he should continue his good offices, whilst at the same time it would not be less so for his own private interests, and to strengthen him against his rivals. Nevertheless, it will be necessary to give him, and the others about whom I wrote, namely, Lord Burleigh, James Crofts, the Comptroller, and Hatton, Captain of the Guard, all of whom are cooling, something to keep them in our favour, because, otherwise, not only shall we lose the chance of gaining them, but shall offend them altogether, and they will take the same line as the others. They are all of them being much solicited by the French, who think that no sooner will Alençon set foot in the country than they will be sure both of England and Scotland as well; because, when this Queen dies, the Queen of Scotland, for her own interests, will be obliged to receive him with open arms. They are equally sure that your Majesty will not hinder them from becoming masters of both countries, as they say that this will be the only way to bring them to submit to the Pope and the

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Catholic religion. It is of great importance that we should begin to pledge these ministers to us in the way I previously mentioned, namely, by giving jewels to the value of 3,000 crowns or more each to Sussex and Burleigh, to the Comptroller 2,000 crowns in money, as he faithfully serves your Majesty, and is in great need in consequence, and because, being a Catholic, the Queen has not paid him as she does the others, and his enemies are seeking to undo him. Hatton, although he is attached to your Majesty's service, has joined Leicester in the French affair, so that, if your Majesty thinks fit, a jewel worth 1,500 may be sent and he may be entertained until we see how he goes on. The others, if in the meanwhile they should not forget themselves, should receive their gifts from my own hands very secretly, and with the hope held out that this is merely a sample of the favours your Majesty will constantly show them. If your Majesty thinks well it would be desirable to give something handsome to Leicester, just to make him think we have not found him out.

The Queen and the City of London have not yet paid Horatio Pallavicini the part of the funds he advanced, which was due at the end of February. He is expecting eight English ships which he freighted to bring the alum from Genoa; note of which ships I sent some time ago to enable your Majesty, if it should please you, to seize the alum in case the ships touched in a Spanish port.

I have continued on every opportunity my endeavours to divert the Queen from the marriage with Alençon in the way I previously mentioned, setting forth to her privately and alone how great was the risk to her life if it were carried through. Although she has listened to this, and similar things I have had conveyed to her by her own subjects, she expresses to Simier such a strong desire to marry that not a Councillor, whatever his opinion may be, dares to say a word against it. When she was leaving to visit a house of Leicester's, six miles off, she took Simier and the ambassador with her, telling them that she would there decide the business definitely. She requested each member of the Council to give her his opinion in writing, but not one of them would declare himself openly. They merely stated the objections on both sides, which she read privately and alone.

The French ambassador has returned, leaving Simier with the Queen, and a secretary of Simier is being dispatched with the Queen's decision. As Alençon's secretary is not taking it, although he said that was the only thing for which he was waiting, it is concluded that the answer is not a definite one. Indeed, some people think that all this intimacy is only with the object of agreeing to prevent the joining of the crown of Portugal to that of Spain, this being the reason for the arming of the French ships and the decision to send seven of the Queen's ships to help them if necessary, the Portuguese being armed. The disturbance in the Marquisate of Saluzzo was said to have been raised with the same end, to prevent the withdrawal of the forces you have ordered from Milan to Spain. They are dissembling in consequence of the Queen's mistrust of the French about Scotland, where there is

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however no disturbance, as Morton keeps his place, and his opponents, the Queen's friends, have not courage enough to turn him out of it. Although the Scotch ambassador in France may persuade Juan de Vargas that great things can be done if your Majesty will help them, they have not hitherto, so far as I can observe, proceeded in a way which would justify the undertaking of so great an enterprise, with no other foundation than that which he proposes. The gentleman, who was a faithful adherent of the queen of Scotland, about whom I wrote on the 26th of October, has seen me again and given me the reply to the proposal that they (*i.e.*, the Queen's party) should communicate with me, for the reason that your Majesty favoured the cause of the Catholic religion and the release of the Queen, which were their objects, and that I should therefore be their best intermediary. They replied that they did not know me and had no reason to communicate with me, and went no further into the matter.

Morton has 24 or 26 lords on his side, by reason of the pensions paid to them through him by this Queen. Amongst those who favour the queen of Scotland, they say that the man who is most influential is the bishop of St. Andrews, although it may be doubted whether he is a Catholic, seeing that he acts as a bishop after the manner of the rest. If the matter is not first settled with the friends of the Queen (of Scotland) I think it will be difficult to manage it entirely through the Scotch ambassador in France, in a way which will prevent the French from hindering it if they see that it is in favour of your Majesty's interests.

Not only have they (the English) abandoned the navigation to Cathay, but they have been so sickened by the little profit produced from their last year's voyage that not a man or a sailor has been paid his wages.

I will speak to the Queen as ordered about the seizures, but I am doubtful whether the matter will turn out so brilliant as it was painted.

The Queen says that as soon as Guaras has paid his debts she will let him go, and I have therefore suspended the delivery of your Majesty's letter until I see whether she will do so. Both she and the Council promised the same.

Antonio Fogaza came to this country by order of the Cardinal who is now King to negotiate affairs at the time when differences existed with Portugal. Before he left Portugal he conferred with Don Hernando Carrillo, your Majesty's ambassador there, who gave him letters for Ruy Gomez de Silva; and, as he tells me himself, he spoke also to Secretary Zayas. When he arrived here he discussed with these ministers an agreement with his sovereign, and in the meanwhile, there arrived in England a certain Francisco Giraldi. He being considered rich, and being a brother-in-law of Don Francisco de Portugal, inspector of the King's treasury, with his support and that of Don Miguel de Mora, began to take part in affairs here, which he managed to settle in consequence of the English being pressed, by reason of your Majesty's having prohibited them from trading in your dominions. When Antonio Fogaza saw that the agreement thus arrived at would be pre-

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judicial both to this Queen and your Majesty, he tried to hinder it, and advised Ruy Gomez the reason why he did so, saying at the same time that if, when your Majesty desired to come to terms with England, Portugal also did not agree, he himself would appear before his King and confess the steps he had taken to impede the settlement, moved by his zeal for the Catholic religion and your Majesty's interests. During all this time he continued to write accounts of everything that happened here to the Duke of Alba in the Netherlands and to Secretary Zayas, who requested him to continue in the course he had commenced. Certain letters from the Duke in reply to letters from him came here enclosed to Antonio de Guaras, who opened them, and seeing that he was writing to the Duke, he showed the letters to Giraldi, who was at that time the acknowledged agent of the king of Portugal here. Giraldi wrote to Portugal saying that Fogaza was in correspondence with ministers of another Prince, and other things of the same sort, which caused them to cease correspondence with him and withdraw his allowance, without giving any reason for their doing so. He continued to give advices to the ministers of your Majesty, and, in the absence of the duke of Alba, when I came hither in the year 1574, the Grand Commander (Requesens) gave me a letter for him, and he helped me very much. He was well able to do so at the time, because he was in close connection with an officer of the Queen's Council, whom he kept out of his own pocket, and who told him everything. He now petitions that the sum thus spent, and other sums for similar objects should be paid to him, amounting in all, according to the statement sent to Zayas, to 1,200 crowns. The allowance to him from Portugal being stopped, he fell into difficulties and was imprisoned here for debt, although he never failed to advise your Majesty's ministers of what went on. When I arrived here he also supplied me with valuable information, and particularly with certain intelligence about Portugal, which I sent to your Majesty. He has been extremely zealous, so far as I have been able to learn, in your Majesty's service, and I believe he will still continue to give me valuable intelligence if any negotiations are carried on with Portugal.

The English captains in the States have sent hither for men to recruit their companies, but when the men were ready to sail from Gravesend, the Queen ordered them to be stopped.—London, 3rd May 1579.

3 May. **572.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

I thank you sincerely for your letters of the 12th and 2nd ultimo which were very welcome as I had been so long without them. If the owl were more valuable, instead of being merely curious, I would beg you to accept it as a present. I thank you much for the frankness with which you treat me, and for having sent Hans to whom it was very necessary for you to give the order that his costs should be put down to the extraordinary expenses, especially as he arrived here in debt, the postmaster-general only having given him 160 crowns.

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I am sorry to hear of the death of the prior Don Antonio,* but he lived in a way which may well inspire emulation.

The spectacles for his Majesty are being made with the greatest speed, but as they are to be very fine, it will not do to hurry the maker too much.

Leicester has spoken to me twice about the seizures, asking me why I did not request the appointment of Commissioners, which is another sign that all is not gold that glitters.

Sussex has complained to me, although indirectly, because he had been addressed about an affair that had taken place with his brother at Namur, saying that, although he was his brother, he did not recognise him as such,† and related to Segasti‡ the whole story of their dissension. I am fully armed with a reply to him if he should open the subject when I see him again. This has been partly the reason of his colness towards me.

The close intimacy of the Queen with the French is plainly directed towards Portugese affairs and what I wrote about it is now confirmed.

The Ambassador who is coming hither from Portugal is ordered to see the man who left, whose secretary is still here, although he is not entrusted with anything of importance as I have a person near him to advise me if any such thing is entered upon.

The Queen has chosen to send to Portugal Edward Wotton, a young man of great learning and knowledge of languages, who has been in Italy and is a creature of Walsingham's. I cannot discover what are his religious views. He will leave in a fortnight.—London, 3rd May 1579.

4 May. **573.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

After having written to you yesterday, I have had a clearer understanding with Antonio Fogaza and have tried to bring him round by a thousand blandishments to the service desired of him. After much pro and con, he said that if his Majesty will speedily show him favour, in consideration of his eight years service, he will continue to work with his former zeal, and will show me this by acts and results. He says his object is not self interest but to be more useful, and he seeks present aid in order that the new Ambassador may not find him a prisoner for debt, the last ambassador having left him in an inn, where he is in danger of again being seized by his creditors. If the new Ambassador finds him, he says, in such a position, he will give him but little credit, and in this he is quite right. So sure am I of this, that out of pure

* Probably Don Antonio de Toledo, brother of the duke of Alba.

† This doubtless referred to the suspicions and rumours which were rife at Namur at the time that Sussex's brother, Egremont Ratcliff, had had a hand in poisoning Don John of Austria. There is an original letter in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 28,702) from Sir Francis Englefield in Madrid to Philip enclosing the translation of a long letter he had received from an Englishman resident at Namur, named Gabriel Denys, the date of the letter being the 16th August. Amongst other things Denys says that an envoy is about to be sent from England to Spain, he fears with object of trying to poison the King, and, to justifiy his suspicion of English methods, he points out that Don John was never well from the time Egremont Ratcliff had access to him, and strongly hints that he poisoned him.

‡ Mendoza's secretary.

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pity, I have given him enough to maintain him where he is and will see with what zeal he helps me.

This will be an extremely convenient way of learning what the Portuguese may negotiate here, and although there may be no important matter now in hand, yet as the man is so willing, and in consideration of past services, his Majesty might conscientiously order him to be paid 1,200 sun-crowns, which will not be very much considering the circumstances and, as the saying is, "there is no wedge so good as that of the same wood." He has begged that whatever may be done for him may come through my hands, and, in his Majesty's own interests, I urgently beg that a decision may be shortly arrived at, as it is most important to keep him satisfied and prevent these people from again returning to the Giraldi agreement. They have received news to-day that the king of Portugal has forbidden stores to be supplied in his country to Fitzmaurice and an Irish bishop. They are much pleased at this, and it confirms the idea that there is some negotiation going on. They say that the man they are sending to Portugal will be accompanied by Sir Harry Cavendish, a son of the countess of Shrewsbury, who was the leader of the English that went over to the Netherlands last year, and of whom a friend of his said to some Englishmen who were discussing his good parts and regretting that they were not utilized, that very shortly he would do something by which they would be displayed. It may therefore be inferred that his journey to Portugal will be to offer troops.

All the Councillors, they tell me, have been sitting since two o'clock this afternoon and it is now nine at night. This is considered strange, and I think that the meeting is about Portuguese affairs. I send this despatch to catch the courier who left yesterday.—London, 4th May 1579.

8 May. **574.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

On the 5th they took Antonio Guaras before the Treasurer, who told him that, notwithstanding his bad offices and dis-service to the Queen, she, with her accustomed clemency, was pleased to release him in consideration of his brother's solicitations. After they had dwelt upon this they summoned Gombal to whom, in his brother's presence, they said the same. Gombal went to-day to thank the Queen for having released his brother. She received him graciously, and the Treasurer promised to send him a passport to-morrow. I am glad to send you this news, both because you were interested in the matter yourself and for other reasons. I will send particulars later, and only now hurriedly write, in order that you may give his wife the good news.—London, 8th May 1579.

14 May. **575.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

I sent letters on the 3rd and 4th, and on the 8th instant I wrote giving you an account of what had passed between the Lord-Treasurer and Antonio de Guaras. They promised him a passport in two days, and he has had it since the 11th, authorising him to embark at Dover; but as he has not been able to fulfil the promise of paying his debts, and wishes to sell his house, he has not yet

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taken advantage of it. I am very anxious that he shall lose no time in enjoying the favour the Queen has granted him, to save his wife from the trouble in which she is until she sees him. His creditors have lost no opportunity of pressing him until he pays to the last farthing, thanks to all this talk about his brother's wealth. It is true the coming of Gombal may have delayed the business, but this may well be pardoned him, and his brother has much to thank him for, because, besides all the trouble he has taken, he is finding money to pay part of his debts and making himself responsible for the rest, which all brothers would not do.

The spectacles for his Majesty are finished, but are not sent with this despatch because the man who carries it as far as Paris made it a condition that the packet should be small. They will go with the next.

His Majesty's decision about these ministers will be most important, and I personally beg you particularly to press forward the granting of the Comptroller's share as he very faithfully serves and helps me all he can. He is in such need that he has sent to tell me decidedly, that if his Majesty will not help him it will not be possible for him to remain at Court, he being at the end of his resources. You may be assured that this is really the case and not mere vapouring. If he goes we shall lose much, and I shall not be able to get the information that I now do, which is of great importance.

These folks have been considering whether they should send their ambassador to Portugal by sea or through Spain, and have decided to send him at once to sea. I am told that he takes orders to address himself to, and stay for some time with, Don Antonio, the Grand Prior,* for whom he is taking some things as presents.

To-morrow, God willing, I hope to see the Queen and hand her the letter about the seizures. I will give an account to his Majesty of her answer. An Englishman has told me that he knows where there are certain things concealed in Spain, to the value of nearly 3,000 crowns, and he will discover them if a share is given to him. He has not told me where the treasure is, but that it is money which can be made at once available. I have thought well to write this as I am assured it is true, and if you think fit you might ask his Majesty to grant it as a first instalment of the grant in aid towards recovering the rest.—London, 14th May 1579.

14 May. **576.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 3rd that the Queen had ordered the members of the Council to give her their individual opinions about the marriage with Alençon, which papers she read whilst she was staying in Leicester's house at Wanstead. When she returned hither, notwithstanding that she had referred the business to Sussex, Leicester,

* This was Don Antonio, the Prior of Crato, who became one of Philip's rivals for the Portuguese succession on the death of the Cardinal-King Henry. His claims were supported for many years by France and England, and the disastrous English naval expedition to Lisbon in 1589 was undertaken ostensibly in his interests.

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Burleigh, and Walsingham, she ordered the whole Council to discuss it. They did so two or three times, remaining in session from two in the afternoon to two at night. The new councillor as first speaker, pointed out how bad this talk of marriage was both for the Queen and the nation, since no succession could be hoped from it, and great confusion might be caused by the coming hither of Catholics, and above all Frenchmen, who were their ancient enemies. He pointed out many other great objections, and the rest of them all agreed with him except Sussex, who said that it was fitting the Queen should marry, and as there was no other Prince but Alençon, she was obliged to marry him. After the Queen had been informed of the resolution of the Council, they summoned Simier to it and set forth how exorbitant were Alençon's new conditions: first, that he should be crowned King, that he should have the duchies of York and Lancaster, and the patronage of half the offices in the country; that he should receive 60,000 pounds (livres ?) for his travelling expenses and the delivery of a port into the hands of the French; that 3,000 French foot soldiers should be admitted to guard this port and for his own safety. Such things have never been proposed by any Prince who had treated for marriage with the Queen.

Simier was much annoyed, and answered that they had not spoken in this way before. He then rose very hurriedly and angrily, and although Sussex endeavoured to approach him he was not quick enough to do so before Simier reached the door, which he slammed after him in a great fury. He went to the Queen who received him with much graciousness and many expressions of sorrow that her councillors disapproved of her marriage, which she desired so much. She not only expressed this to Simier, but she has been so melancholy since, that they have adopted the course of sending for some ladies of whom she is fond to entertain her, giving them lodgings at Court, which is looked upon as a new thing. She twice said when she was retired in her chamber "they need not think that it is going to end in this way; I must get married." Simier and the French ambassador immediately sent off Alençon's secretary, who was here, with the answer they had received. Two day after he had left by way of Calais, M. de Rochetaillé arrived viâ Boulogne, and his arrival has once more set the matter afoot, although coldly. Alençon sent to Leicester by Rochetaillé two Spanish horses, and gave orders to Simier that he was to use every possible means to attract and satisfy the lords and gentry of the kingdom, for which purpose, he assured him, money should be forthcoming. Simier has begun to do this already and has given two grand banquets this week to the Council.

The Queen has received news from Scotland of the death of the earl of Athol, which happened so suddenly that they think it must be from poison. They had opened the body in the presence of five doctors, three of whom said he had been poisoned and two that he had not. One of the latter, to assure them that he was right by proof, took some of the contents of the stomach on his finger and put it into his mouth. The effect was that in a few hours he was thought to be dying. It is not known whether the order to poison him came from Morton or some private person.

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The King is trying to seize the estate of the Hamiltons, who are the next heirs to the Crown, on the pretext that the present head of the house is an idiot and incapable. Many persons of importance were disturbed at this and it was feared that they would have recourse to arms.—London, 14th May 1579.

26 May. **577.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to ZAYAS.

Antonio de Guaras left of the 26th to embark at Rye which is thought to be a safer passage than through Calais. I am told that he is in very good health, considering his long imprisonment and his age, and it is no small favour which God vouchsafes him that this should be so. He also has to thank you for having interested his Majesty on his behalf, and I need not beg you to extend your help to him, as you know with what zeal he has served here. His brother has not only helped him by his personal efforts but has found large sums of money for him.

The Queen, when I saw her, said not a word about the matter nor has any of her ministers done so, and, as those who released Guaras assured his brother that the Queen had liberated him entirely on his account, I have not thought fit to thank them as they would not give him up to his Majesty. This seems a just retribution, because there was nothing Guaras desired so much as to be considered a minister here, which, indeed, was the reason they sent him to the Tower. I am delighted to see him gone as the business has been full of annoyances to me, and after I had settled it two or three times it was upset.

Seven out of the eight ships loaded with alum, which I said were to sail from Genoa, have arrived here. The English sailors say they touched at Alicante where the Mayor sent to summon the masters and gunners, saying that he had to speak to them on a subject which would not endanger their persons or ships. They and some of the sailors went ashore, when a Spaniard came to them and told them to fly or, otherwise, they would be arrested by the Inquisition and their ships confiscated. They thereupon fled, leaving twenty-five men on shore, who were arrested. They were afterwards informed that the Mayor only wished to seize the alum, and when they arrived here they refused to deliver their cargoes to Horatio, until he had given security that the men who had been arrested should be released and recompensed for the damage they had received, it being a matter which concerned the merchandise only and not their persons or vessels. He (Horatio Pallavicini) has caused the Queen to speak to me about the release of these men, and some of the ministers have warmly pressed me to beg his Majesty to liberate them. I replied that I had no knowledge of the cause of their imprisonment, but if it was, as the men themselves say, through their own disobedience in flying from the port without giving the account which was demanded of them, they deserved punishment. The alum, which has arrived for Horatio, consists of 14,000 jars, worth 60,000 crowns, and I believe that he has ordered two of the ships to go to the Netherlands, but the weather has prevented them. It may well be supposed, that when they are there, if the rebels want to make use of them, he will do as he has

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done before. When they were being loaded in Genoa, the Ambassador sent to his (Pallavicini's) father to ask whether the alum was for the Netherlands, to which he replied, that it was not, and consequently the ships were allowed to leave. As soon as the ships go I think of informing Don Pedro de Mendoza* in order that he may see how this father (of Horatio Pallavicini) has behaved, and, if you think fit, you might inform his Majesty of it and tell him that the man who favours Pallavicini's business there (in Madrid ?) is Lorenzo Spinola.

I have also heard that a packet of letters was seized in Paris, addressed to Horatio, amongst which was one, I had written thither and other private letters. As a person had been asking for letters of mine, probably for the purpose of sending them to Horatio, a friend of mine cunningly got hold of the packet. He is another Genoese, called Pedro Spinola, and I have written to him to investigate the matter thoroughly, as, coming after other events, it is not fitting that we should overlook the fact of a private person hunting about for another man's letters, and above all those of a minister.

M. de Simier received news of the landing of his master's secretary, in poor health, and at once set out to meet him, but the Queen sent word that he was not to go. When he received the papers brought by the secretary, he sent one of his relatives to stay with the latter at Canterbury, but thieves attacked him on the way and ill-treated and wounded him; upon which Simier addressed very strong complaints to the Queen.

Certain English and French pirates intend, I am told, to go out and await the Indian fleet in latitude 40° near to the Isle of Corbo by which they come.

The man who is to go to Portugal, has lived for three or four years in Naples amongst the Spanish residents. He sends to tell me secretly by Segasti, my secretary, with whom he has had some long conversations, that he is leaving in four days and is delighted to have received orders to pass through Madrid. He says that, after his own mistress's interests, there are none to which he is so much attached as those of his Majesty. I expect that this means, that if the wind does not favour him, he will land on the coast of Biscay or Galicia, and would like to learn what is passing in Spain before he goes to Portugal. This is in accordance with his conversations with me, as he has thrown out many feelers upon the subject. If he should go, pray have him well received. With regard to his religion there is some idea that he is a Catholic, as although he is completely attached to Walsingham, he makes no profession of being a Protestant. For this reason, and because I think it well that his Majesty should know what is passing in Scotland, where great disturbances are feared, I write to Juan de Vargas that, if no opportunity offers in three days, he had better send this despatch by special messenger to Domingo de Iralta, who will forward in the same way.

The councillors send word that they will appoint commissioners

* The Spanish ambassador to the Seigniory of Genoa.

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about the seizures. As soon as they have done so I will act in the matter.—London, 26th May 1579.

9 June. **578.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

I thank you sincerely for the news you send me that the Duke's (of Alba) business is in a good way. There are few things I could hear with more pleasure.

The man who goes to Portugal has tarried here, as you will see in the letter to his Majesty, and Cavendish will not now accompany him. He will, however, take with him a Florentine called Pedro Caponi, who is one of the outlaws concerned in the Duke's conspiracy, and has taken refuge here.

I am told that Edward Wotton will remain a short time in Portugal, in order to give an account of the state of things there, for their guidance here, although some of these councillors are of opinion that, if his Majesty takes the matter in hand vigorously, no one will be able to hinder him. Notwithstanding this, I have no doubt that both they and the French will do so as far as they are able, as they are raising doubts and suspicions wherever they can. It is my belief that this is one of their principal reasons for their reviving the talk about the Queen's marriage.

Horatio Pallavicini has made great efforts to get them to send this ambassador through Madrid, in order that he may treat of his affairs, and particularly about the Englishmen who were arrested in Alicante. Although Wotton told me that he was going that way, I am afraid they have changed his instructions.

With regard to the English arrested in Alicante, the Queen has asked me a second time to write to his Majesty, and as the intermediary is a person I wish to please, I have been obliged to give letters for the King and you, although I beg you that they may not be looked upon in any sense as an intercession, as Horatio behaves in a manner which does not merit any consideration, and he has given sureties to release the Englishmen safe and sound, so that it would not be bad to condemn them in a pecuniary punishment for disobedience, as Horatio would have to pay it. He said in conversation the other day that his Majesty's officers tried to catch him, but they were too late.

The Queen has appointed the Commissioners whose names are enclosed, for the matter of the seizures. I am told that four of them will meet every day for the dispatch of the affair, they having power even though the rest be absent.

I send enclosed account of the extraordinary expenditure, which has consumed 1,000 ducats of the credit sent me. Pray send me another, and, if necessary, please advise Doña Anna, in order that she may get some one to solicit it.

The Englishman who is going (to Spain) on behalf of the merchants is a person recommended to them by Lord Burleigh, to whom they wish to refer the whole business. I suspect that one of the reasons why he was chosen was because he was a fit man to inform them as to what was passing there, and by his stay could kill two birds with one stone.

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Rochetaillé, Alençon's equerry, leaves to-day for France, without any particular mission but to return to his master.—London, 9th June 1579.

10 June. **579.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

As I wrote at length yesterday I now only enclose the letter for the King.

Rochetaillé has tarried until to-day, but they say he is certainly now leaving. I believe he is taking some hackneys back in return for the Spanish horses he brought.

Amongst the ships which left in October to plunder on the way to the Indies I have discovered that there was a very small vessel belonging to one of the Queen's Councillors, a tremendous rogue and a terrible Puritan, who has been just appointed as one of the commissioners. His sole reason for fitting out the ship was to send in her a minister who spoke the Spanish tongue. I have not been able to find out the name of this preacher, but will endeavour to do so with all diligence, as it is most important that such a pestilence as this should be prevented from entering those countries.—London, 10th June 1579.

20 June. **580.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

I have received to-day your letter of the 5th ultimo about the imprisonment of the English. The men who came hither said they were not imprisoned in respect of the alum, which they had been assured by the people in Alicante. The Queen and Ministers therefore, when they spoke to me about it, did so very gently, by way of petition that I would beg for their release. I sent to tell them that they had been liberated, and they are very grateful. I will also refer to it when I see the Queen. In conversation with Horatio, I plainly saw from what he said about the help given to him by Lorenzo Spinola in his business that this alum had plenty of protectors. The two ships about which I wrote to the King were not detained in Cadiz, as you say, in consequence of the opinion of the financial authorities. The alum in the ship sent by Horatio to Middleburgh has, I am told, gone to Amiens, where it will be employed like the rest.

The Queen sent a man to Denmark to apologize for the burning of the ship I mentioned in my last by the English corsairs. They do this because their ships are obliged to pass through that country as through a turnstile, and they do not wish to offend them.

Another Englishman has gone to Barbary to treat with the king of Fez about the fulfilment of the agreement between the English and his brother, in accordance with his promise. He was to pay in saltpetre for the arms and munitions sent from here, but the King now does not wish the saltpetre to be exported.*

James Fitzmaurice, the Irishman, is now said to be on the coast of Cornwall with a ship of 800 tons and two small ones, with

* A copy of the letter of the king of Fez, in answer to this embassy, dated 22nd August 1579, will be found in Nichols' "Progresses of Queen Elizabeth."

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which he has captured a Bristol vessel, throwing all the crew into the sea. In consequence of this, Humphrey Gilbert, who was robbing on the coast, has been ordered to go in pursuit of the Irishman, who, although he has so few ships, is causing them some anxiety.

The Queen and Council have kept Rochetaillé here from day to day, giving him constant audiences. It is confidently stated that Alençon is coming, and that the arrangements for the visit are being discussed. It is said in Paris that his mother has provided him with money for the voyage. It is well that time should undeceive him, as a fresh turn is given to the business every day.

As regards Santa Cecilia and his pardon, pray do not forget it, as I am extremely anxious about it in order to save his soul, as he also is to find himself on the right path, and will willingly give up his pension from the Queen.—London, 20th June 1579.

24 June. **581.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 20th, and on the following day M. de Rochetaillé left here. The Queen and Council kept him here about ten days, telling him constantly that they would decide about Alençon's coming. It appears that the decision he bears is a passport for Alençon, drawn up in the form of a grant, as they call it, under the Great Seal, which is the strongest security they can give, unless hostages are sent. Although there is no binding undertaking about the marriage, the Queen gives every sign of being most anxious for it, and affirms that she will never marry a man whom she has not previously seen. She is burning with impatience for his coming, although her councillors have laid before her the difficulties which might arise, the other side, having her support, has carried the day. She herself is largely influenced by the idea that it should be known that her talents and beauty are so great, that they have sufficed to cause him to come and visit her without any assurance that he will be her husband. Those who wish to please her tell her this, and ask her what harm can come from his visit, since the French offer to come according to the conditions laid down for them here, and it is of great advantage to her, they say, to be friendly with them, at this time, in order to embarrass your Majesty about Portugal, which the French desire to do as much as the English; and also to hinder the agreement in the Netherlands by means of Alençon's people there.

Some are of opinion here that Alençon's coming may cause disturbances in this country, as the people are not favourable to the affair, and, indeed, they generally hate it. The talk in this direction, however, is so lacking in courage that there is but little hope of its being efficacious. I do not fail to encourage them, pointing out to them the dangers that may arise from the match, in accordance with his Majesty's orders.

They say that if Alençon decides to come they will bring the queen of Scotland to London, which they consider safer as she has so few adherents here, being a Catholic. The earl of Shrewsbury they say, has built especially for her the new house he has here, and has spent large sums upon the work, which is considered a

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sign that the Queen will be brought hither, as the earl is a man who prefers to keep his dollars rather than spend them on buildings.—London, 24th June 1579.

24 June. **582.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to ZAYAS.

Although the coming of Alençon hither would be a great absurdity, as you will see by the letter to the King, yet his having been foolish enough to go to the Netherlands must be my excuse for begging you (if the news of this new folly is confirmed from France) to have me advised as to the conduct I am to observe. I have hitherto not seen or visited M. de Simier, in consequence of his having arrived here when his master was in arms against his Majesty, and, although the business is a long and difficult one, yet the French are treating it in such a way as may lead them to undertake this folly with the same levity with which they have committed others, and, in such case, I should find myself in great embarrassment if I did not know how to bear myself towards him.

Respecting Santa Cecilia, I beg you to have the matter despatched, as I greatly desire to save this soul. Pray also get the decision about the controller, as he is being driven by necessity more and more. He suffers it all in his Majesty's interests, and I am obliged to give him fair words and good hopes, as I see how sincerely he works for all that concerns us.—London, 24th June 1579.

6 July. **583.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In my former letter I advised your Majesty that this Queen had given leave to the Queen of Scotland to send one of her secretaries to visit her son, accompanied by an English gentleman appointed by this Queen. When they passed Berwick the English gentleman went on and tola the King that the Secretary was coming to visit the Prince of Scotland. He was told that, if anyone dared to come with such a mission as that, he would either at once have his head off or expel him from the kingdom. The Council then met and ordered the Secretary to immediately return to Berwick, and would not allow him to sleep in Scotland. The visit was therefore not paid. It is understood that the whole business was settled by this Queen and Morton, to comply with the promise made to the queen of Scotland, and also to put fresh pressure on the house of Hamilton, some of the principal members of which have fled to the mountains of Argyll. Morton, in order to avenge himself upon them, has caused the King to confiscate the estates of Hamilton on the ground of idiocy and incapacity of the owner, and has proclaimed that any claimants for them should appear and make good their claims, by which means Morton and his friends think they can get rid of them all, and that they will fall into his hand without his taking up arms against them. The son of the earl of Athol professes to be much offended at the death of his father, but he has not armed to avenge him, nor have any members of his party.

The Queen is daily awaiting a reply from France to the passport granted for Alençon. The passport was given against Leicester's wish, and he is so much offended that he has retired to a house of

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his five miles away where the Queen has been to see him, and where she remained two days because he feigned illness. She afterwards returned secretly to London.* A sister of Leicester's, of whom the Queen was very fond, and to whom she had given apartments at Court, retired at the same time as her brother.—London, 6th July 1579.

26 July. **584.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

By the letter to the King you will see what passed in the audience I had with the Queen, mentioned in mine of the 17th. As she replied to me so graciously and promised me that the Spaniards† should leave on the first opportunity, she having charged the guild of merchants trading with Spain to entertain and lodge them, I thought it well not to press their departure until I had fresh orders, particularly as the merchants themselves assured me that they will be sent back on the first safe opportunity at their (the merchants') cost.

The 2,000 jars of alum which I said Horatio Pallavicini had sent to Germany have already been consigned to the States. I do not know whether this is to balance the old account or is a new one, but such is the need in which they are, that anything out of which even a little money may he made will be welcome to them.

An English gentleman named Morgan left this country four months ago, on the pretext that he was going to recover the wages owing to him as one of his Majesty's gentlemen, the Queen having given him license to be absent for four or five months. He returned a few days ago, saying that his Majesty had ordered him to be paid, and although I knew that he had permission to go, he did not tell me anything of his going, nor has he sent me word on his return. If the queen of Scotland wrote recommending him, I still would like to say that these people here are very fond of giving her permission to write, and by paying a little money to a servant of Walsingham, such letters are easily obtained, as the poor lady is pleased to give them rather than offend people. I suspect that Guaras's long stay in Paris was in consequence of his carrying letters from her, and, as I gathered from him here, he did himself a great deal of injury in this way.

The Commissioners appointed by the Queen, as I wrote, were in my opinion, as well as their own, so numerous that the Queen ordered that a Committee of four should be appointed to manage the affair. There is a Spaniard here who has been naturalized, and who was so good natured as to tell the Council that the action of the commission should only be with the object of allowing the proprietors or their agents, alone to claim the goods. They were very pleased to hear this and worded the reference accordingly. When

* The writer was apparently unaware of the principal reason for the breach between Leicester and the Queen, namely, the disclosure of his marriage with the countess of Essex (Lettice Knollys) by Simier.

† The letter referring to the Spaniards is missing, but they appear to have been some Galicians captured by an English ship and brought hither. As will be seen in subsequent letters, they seem to have formed very friendly relations with their captors, and were sent back to Galicia with every consideration.

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the Judge of the Admiralty,* who is one with the Commissioners, told me this, I replied that they could not have read the terms of the agreement and the letter from his Majesty, which I had delivered to the Queen. After we had disputed the point and consulted the documents themselves, he was quite convinced, and when I sent Segasti the next day to Court about it, Walsingham told him that I had been misinformed to the effect that the commission had heen despatched. This, he said, had not been done in consequence of the absence of the man to whom the Queen had entrusted its drafting, thus glossing over the folly they had committed. This has delayed the business until the present, and as the vacations have now commenced, the matter cannot be dealt with until the middle of September.

Although I have been assured since the 6th, that Maestricht was taken on the 31st of July, I have no letter from the Prince (of Parma) nor from Juan de Vargas, by which you will see how much my correspondence has been enlivened by past remonstrance.

The Queen has ordered Simier to be lodged at Greenwich, so as to save him the trouble of going backwards and forwards. She is so constantly with him, that I am told that Leicester and Hatton are getting much annoyed.—London, 26th July 1579.

10 Aug. **585.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

I have been gratified at receiving the news contained in your various letters, particularly respecting the bargaining about which they have been so busy, relative to the marriage of Alençon and the Queen. Whatever may be said, I do not believe that it will take place, as there can be on either side no great desire for it, but on the contrary a large amount of pretence. If, however, it should be effected and Alençon should become King, you will, of course, bear yourself towards him in the same way as you do towards the Queen.

Your remarks in the letters of 10th and 20th June, respecting the voyage of Drake, will be fully understood by the light of the enclosed statement, extracted from letters recently received from my Viceroys of Peru and New Spain, and also from the Government of Tierra Firme; which certainly disclose a very strange affair. It is therefore necessary for you to be on the alert, and learn everything you can about it, and especially what they may have brought or may bring home. I wish to know, also, whether there is any intention of undertaking an enterprise on the Spanish coast, in order that I may, if necessary, take measures of precaution. It is to be supposed that if Drake has escaped he will have sailed with his booty to England and you will advise me minutely about all this, both in the present and the future.

Edward Wotton, sent by the Queen to Portugal, passed through here on his way back and delivered me a letter from the Queen but did not touch upon any business. I replied similarly, and despatched him at once, as the King, my uncle had done, he having been informed that he is a very great heretic. Don Cristobal de Mora wrote me that, although he spoke about current affairs there,

* Dr. David Lewis.

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he bore no special commission. You will, nevertheless, be very vigilant to learn anything that is being done in the Portuguese affairs.

The person you mentioned as being sent from the Queen, at the instance of the company of merchants, to ask me to grant them certain privileges set forth in the memorial you sent, has not yet arrived here. When he does so the matter shall be duly considered.

I also note the Commissioners appointed by the Queen about the arrests. I do not think that much will now be gained from it, as no doubt the property is all consumed, but it will be well for you to continue to press the matter forward.

There is nothing fresh to say about the alum, except that you will keep your eye on Horatio Pallavicini, and you will also report to me how Benedict Spinola and Paul Grimaldo are behaving, as I am told they are not very well affected towards me.

If Santa Cecilia is sincere in his desire for conversion, it is quite right that he should be encouraged, but as you know that this question of religion concerns the Pope in general, and the Inquisitor General in this country, it will be well that he should write what he wishes the Holy office to do for him, which I will order to be recommended. In the meanwhile you may encourage him, so that he shall not lose hope, as he knows that God and the Church have always arms open to pardon and embrace those who sincerely renounce their errors and return to the path of truth.

As you have so often assured me that the controller acts straight forwardly in my interests, it is just that he should be rewarded, and you may say in your next letter how much money should be given to him, and whether it can be done without the knowledge of the Queen or his rivals. As soon as we get this I will decide. You will also advise me what things, and to what amount, should be given to other ministers, who should, however, be people who will be grateful and serviceable.

I note what you say about the queen of Scotland and her son. As I so sincerely desire her release, my sorrow at her troubles may be imagined. You will console her in every possible way, and continue to report to me all you learn of her affairs, and those of Scotland.

Although we know about Irish affairs here, you will still write all you can learn. I thank you for your diligence in Antonio de Guaras' affairs, and, if you think necessary, you may thank the Queen.—San Lorenzo, 10th August 1579.

11 Aug. **586.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

The sole object of the present is to say that the Queen, my sister, having sent Edward Wotton, a servant of hers, to congratulate my uncle the king of Portugal upon his accession, ordered him to visit me on his way, which he did, and delivered to me a letter from his mistress, a copy of which is enclosed. I fully appreciate this compliment, and have ordered an answer to be given in the terms you will see by the copy of my letter now sent you, in order that you may be duly acquainted with the matter and be able to reciprocate the compliment in due form, and assure the Queen that my good-

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will toward her affairs remains the same as always.—San Lorenzo, 11th August 1579.

15 Aug. **587.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 30th the news this Queen had received from Ireland; and, since then, it has been reported that John Desmond, a brother of the earl of Desmond, who is now in Ireland, and whom she formerly kept in prison and released on the word of an English captain named Davell, had murdered the latter in his, Desmond's, own house. The captain and his Englishmen had gone thither to tell Desmond of the landing of these forces,* and to say that if Desmond was sincere in his desires to serve the Queen, now was the time for him to show it, and so to banish past suspicions. He replied that he would discuss the matter on the morrow, but at midnight he entered the chamber and told Davell he must prepare to die. Davell replied that he surely could not mean that, as he had been so good to him, and had been the principal means of saving his life. Desmond answered, that it was enough for him that he was an Englishman, and, at the same time, stabbed him to death, and the other Englishmen, with the exception of one who escaped with the news to the Viceroy, were also murdered. The loss of this captain has been a great blow to them, in the first place because he was murdered in consequence of his being an Englishman, which makes them think that there must be a general plan for a rising; and, in the second place, because he was a good soldier and was very popular with the Irish. The earl of Desmond, as soon as he learned this, came to the Viceroy with ten soldiers only, saying that he wished to serve the Queen to the extent of his powers, that is to say, with his own person, as all the rest of his people had gone over to his brother, to the number of 3,000, besides many more who were joining him. It is said they had defeated three companies of English who had pursued them, besides two other bodies towards the north.

The Viceroy reports that he had gone sixty miles inland, to throw himself into a strong place called Maryborough, and that the principal people of the country were not joining the Queen's side, as he had expected. As he is therefore short of soldiers, it will be necessary to send him the reinforcements with the utmost speed, particularly as 3,000 Scots, Highlanders, have gone over to help the Irish, the object being to bring the Island to submit to the Catholic religion.

Five thousand men have been ordered to muster, and six of the Queen's ships, besides six sloops, are being armed, and will be accompanied by eight merchant ships with stores, the Admiral being Sir John Parrett, who was Governor of the province where the troops had landed. The London merchants have ordered the raising, on their account, of 400 soldiers to guard these ships, and four more vessels are to be armed by them at Bristol. All the corsairs and pirates, of whom there are many, are ordered to unite with these forces,

* *i.e.*, the expedition from Spain led by James Fitzmaurice and Dr. Sanders.

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and will be commanded by Captain Horsey, the Governor of the Isle of Wight.

As one of the Englishmen who landed in Ireland from the ships tells them that they were accompanied by certain Englishmen who were declared rebels by this Queen, they are all the more alarmed at the passage of the Scots to Ireland, and have given orders for the garrison of Berwick to be re-inforced, as they are suspicious on that side also, as well as of the people in the north and at Norwich, as there are so many Catholics there.

Dover also has been ordered to be fortified, and Cobham has authorized to spend 10,000*l.** upon it. Notwithstanding these preparations the Council have sent instructions to the Viceroy to make terms with the rebels, and if he can do it in no other way he is to publicly allow the Catholic religion to be exercised, if they will submit to the Queen on these terms. This was agreed to by the Council because they thought it would be best to pacify them at once, without giving time for those in this country to rise, of which they are in great fear. This is very evident, as since the news arrived they have given orders that no one should walk in the streets of London after 10 o'clock at night under pain of death, and no pistol is allowed to be carried in any part of the country, whilst there must be no musket shot fired within two miles of where the Queen is. All the foreigners in the country are to be registered and their names and occupations stated.

I was with the Queen recently, and after she had made much of me, she told me that she had been informed that, amongst the rebels who had arrived in Ireland, there were some Spaniards, but she could not believe it, or that your Majesty wished to make war upon her. I replied that I had not heard of any Spaniards being there, and if any had gone she might be certain that it was not with your Majesty's orders. I said that if your Majesty went to war with her it would not be with insignificant forces like this, and it was not wonderful that her rebellious subjects should try to disturb her in this way, particularly as the man who had gone to Ireland had been imprisoned in France. She replied that she did not believe your Majesty would encourage the rebels, but she could not help being surprised at the fact that your Majesty had raised so great a force by sea and land, without any one being able to discover its destination, some saying it was for the Netherlands, some for Barbary, and some for Portugal. I replied that it was true your Majesty had raised an immense fleet, but its object was hidden in your own breast. I said, however, that her ambassador in France would doubtless inform her what was being discussed in Paris.—London, 15th August 1579.

15 Aug. **588.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

As soon as the Queen heard of the landing in Ireland she despatched the Scotch gentleman, whose arrival here I reported on

* The estimate given by Cobham and other officers of the sum to be spent on the defence of Dover on the 18th of August was 21,000*l.* See Calendar of State Papers (Domestic).

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the 26th ultimo. She fully acceded to the request he brought, to the effect that the treaties between the two countries, as regards robberies, should be fulfilled; and, as to the 14,000*l.* which Morton asked should be lent to the King, the Queen said that she would make him a present of 4,000*l.* A Scotch lady came hither at the same time, having left Scotland for the purpose of going to France to serve her Queen there; this Queen had granted her a passport for that purpose, but with this trouble in Ireland wished to revoke it, suspecting that the lady's real object was to inform her mistress of certain Scotch matters which are still rankling, but it was too late to stop her, as the lady had arrived.

M. de Simier has recently despatched several secret couriers without informing the French ambassador, and is constantly with this Queen. It is thought the subject discussed is Alençon's business. With regard to Orange's plan to get the prince of Bearn to go to the Netherlands at the request of the people of Antwerp and Ghent, different opinions are now prevalent, as the French replied that Bearn could not come nor raise troops without the consent of Alençon; for which reason it would be better to recall the latter to the Netherlands, and in such case his brother would help him with 20,000 foot and 4,000 horse, the Queen giving her aid to him at the same time. There are no signs of this, however, as the English captains in the States had sent hither for men to recruit their companies, which were much exhausted; but when the men were raised and ready to leave they were detained in view of the Irish business, whilst the Flemings resident here are ordered to leave the country if they object to pay the taxes imposed upon them for the trade they do.

English pirates continue to capture the property of Spanish merchants every day, and the merchants send powers to their agents resident here to recover the goods. For this purpose and their own gain they come to terms with the pirates, the owners despairing of any other course. This is a direct incentive to the pirates, because when your Majesty's representatives request that the pirates should be punished, they are told there is no one to complain of them, as they have come to terms. It would be therefore advisable to order that no subject of yours should demand his property from the pirates, except through your representative, as otherwise it is certain that they will never cease their depredations, knowing that, happen what may, they will be left in possession of a great part of their booty.—London, 15th August 1579.

15 Aug. **589.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

On the 7th I was delighted to receive yours of the 26th ultimo, as it is so long since I heard from you. Many thanks for the good news you give me about the business of the duke (of Alba) and Don Fadrique. Please God that it may all end soon happily for both.

I should be very glad to have his Majesty's decision about these people and I earnestly beg you to expedite the giving of some reward to them. I certainly should not be doing my duty if I did

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not urge that such men should be kept in hand by payment, which, under the present circumstances, is most important.

I am glad that you should think that the delay in replying to my letters does not cause any prejudice to my action here, particularly as regards warlike movements and French affairs, because I did not learn of the taking of Maestricht and the illness of the Prince until the second instant, and I got nothing from Juan de Vargas until that day. With such correspondence as this, you will see that I have to live from hand to mouth and shall be delighted when Don Juan de Idiaquez arrives.

M. de la Motte sent to ask me for a credit of 3,000 crowns until the arrival of Don Alonso Sotomayor, who was bringing him bills. He said he was in such need that he feared a revolt in the town, and although I understood that he could raise money as well as I could, I was determined to do my best to prevent any trouble that might arise, and wrote asking him how he wished the bills to be drawn, as coin could not be sent, and I would send him the amount, thanks to two merchants here, one of whom, a Fleming, is a perfect jewel; but he has not even answered me, as Don Alonso had passed through Calais. Although he is ready enough to ask for my help in his need, he is not so ready to tell me when he grants permits to Englishmen to capture Flemish goods; which I think well to mention as intercourse with Spain is not yet prohibited. As soon as I arrived here I told Don Juan how I was beseiged by English men for permits to capture Flemish prizes. Even if there is war in Ireland there will be plenty of ships for this purpose.

Simier received letters yesterday, saying that Alençon had left Paris for Normandy, on the pretext of a hunting expedition, although there are people here who say it is to come hither.*—London, 15th August 1579.

20 Aug. **590.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

On the 15th I wrote that Simier was despatching couriers without the knowledge of the ambassador, and that the subject of the despatches was the coming of Alençon, who, as your Majesty will have learnt, left Paris on the 3rd. He had sent a gentleman to Simier and the Queen from there, saying that he would soon arrive in this country. Both the Queen and Simier tried to keep this secret, but, as the news came by France, and Alençon was detained by bad weather at Boulogne, it became known. As soon as I learnt that he had landed I requested audience of the Queen, as the last time I had seen her she was very gracious, and said she was sorry that opportunities did not arise for her to see me very often. I had no particular business with her, but wished to lose no time in discovering her disposition, in view of Alençon's arrival, and to remind her again how harmful it would be for her to effect this marriage. I therefore invented a pretext in order that my visit should appear to be more in her interests than in ours, and consequently made the excuse of wishing to tell her some news I had

* For details of Alençon's visit to England, *see* "Memoires de Castelnau de la Manvissière," and also his published correspondence.

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heard some time ago, rather than appear to be pestering her at this juncture with matters of our own. I told her of the intelligence about M. de la Roche, the Breton gentleman, and I said that, although the public reason for my audience with her was to ask her to punish the pirates and restore some booty taken from your Majesty's subjects, the real object of it was to inform her of certain facts which I did not wish on any account should pass through her Ministers, in order that they should not say that I was led to convey them by her close intimacy with the French, or that I desired to raise doubts and suspicions at the present time. I called her to witness, whether the information I gave her was not of the greatest importance to her. She thanked me very warmly for speaking to her so plainly, which, she said, she highly appreciated. I then said that M. de la Roche was making ready ships in Brittany to aid the people who had gone to Ireland. He was a close friend of Fitz-Maurice and had arranged with him that their children should marry each other. I told her that this news not only came by France, but had been brought to me by Biscay sailors, who had come with goods from Brittany, and who had seen the ships in port. She replied that my news was correct, and she had sent to the king of France asking him not to allow the said ships to sail, and he had done as she requested. I said the king of France would doubtless make a show of friendliness, but it must not be forgotten that his subjects did not all of them obey him, and I could assure her that I had seen men who had left Brittany only a week ago, and who had seen the ships being quietly fitted out to go to Ireland. This troubled her and revived her suspicion, and she then prolonged the conversation, in a way which I was convinced was not false or artificial, because she took me apart into a corner of the room and flew into a violent passion because the people were making a noise.

I afterwards told her that the French who were with La Noue in the States were about leaving, as she knew, and I was informed that some of the leaders had said that they would go by sea. I said it was no good for them to go to Holland or Zealand, as Orange himself was withdrawing his troops from there to take them to Flanders and Brabant, and it was equally evident that they were too few and had not adequate ships for going to Portugal, so that it was undoubted that, if they did go by sea it could only be for the purpose of going over to Scotland, where I heard that things were not so quiet as formerly. I said that she would be fully informed upon this and could confirm the truth of my warnings; to which she replied that she was aware that the French were always desirous of taking possession of Scotland, and she treated the subject in a way that showed me that my hints had been appropriate. She gave me many thanks and begged me, whenever her health did not allow her to receive me, to write to her, without fail, all such intelligence as I might obtain. She said that, if my secretary brought the letter, she would always admit him, that he might deliver it into her own hands. Although nothing certain can be said about this thoughtless visit of Alençon, coming in the way he does, I must confess that I saw no indications in the Queen of the approach of such a marriage. It is said by some of her coun-

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cillors that Parliament will have to sanction it to prevent disturbance in the country. The people generally show no pleasure at Alençon's coming. There is apparently nothing in the discussions with regard to the Netherlands, as there are signs of disagreement between the Queen and Orange and the Antwerp people. This is shown by the enclosed letter which she has had printed. There are no indications moreover, of any agreement about Portugal, and the whole affair looks like a boyish trick of Alençon's who, the English say, has come in disguise, because he could not afford to bring his household with him. As soon as the Queen went to Greenwich she gave a key of her chamber to Simier, who always entered by the closet door, and as soon as she heard of Alençon's coming, she moved Simier into some rooms in the garden, and I am told that on the 17th Alençon dined in Simier's room with the Queen, who only had one lady with her. It would seem that he will return in disguise as he came. The Queen denied to me that he was here, but she led the conversation in such a way as to convey to me a contrary meaning, saying that if he had not come yet he soon would, and with few attendants, as she wished. She and Simier think that this is the best way of concealing the day of his departure, and with this object, also, certain Frenchmen entered the French ambassador's house on the night of the 17th, and are shut up in a room, under the pretence that it is Alençon who is there. They gave out that he had arrived in Calais, and that M. de Jordan would not let him pass by order of the king of France. I send this by special messenger.

News comes from Ireland that the people who had landed there have fortified the port where they disembarked, which has caused the Queen to fit out ships and raise more troops.*

The Ghent people have sent urgently begging the Queen to prevail upon Casimir to return with his troops to their aid. They say they will become responsible for the payment of them, if she will only request him, as her pensioner, to undertake the expedition. No answer has been given as yet.—London, 20th August 1579.

20 Aug. **591.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

The memorial you request from Santa Cecilia was sent, and I am keeping him, and the rest of them, in hand, as best I can with hopes, but they all are turning their backs upon me except the Controller, who sends to say that, as no decision has come from his Majesty in all this time, he desires to send some one who may convey a verbal message to him, and to learn directly from the King whether he is willing to accept his services.

I have thought well, in view of Alençon's coming, to dispatch the bearer, who I think will be as diligent as heretofore. I am employing the courier in other things, and if I send a man to Juan de Vargas with a despatch for him to forward, he will take a thousand years in doing so.

If Alençon were to disclose himself I would not fail to see him,

* This was the news which, when it was sent by Dr. Sanders to the Papal Nuncio in Spain, gave rise to the series of documents referred to in the Note to page 666.

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as I think that would be my duty since, as you say, they are not the King's enemies. There is nothing certain about his departure, but he cannot remain concealed here very long, and will consequently disappear one of these days. It seems the English will not venture to detain him, in order not to get themselves into more trouble than at present in Ireland.

I have had the great good fortune of being able to propitiate this good lady, so that she willingly gives ear to what I say, to the great disgust of some of her councillors. They tried to delay my last audience, but she would not allow it, and insisted that it should be on the following day, as I had requested. She caressed me more than I can describe, and I will try, as you will see, by every artifice, to feel my ground and keep her friendly.

The Spaniards here from Corunna have been ordered to embark on their return for some time past, but the weather has not served. I write by them to the President of the Chancery (of Galicia ?) that, if the English there are still prisoners, I beg him to release them, unless the King has ordered otherwise. These Spaniards have been treated excellently here, and, the master and sailors of the ship (*i.e.*, the ship which captured them ?) having been arrested the other day, their wives and many of these merchants came to me with so many tears and entreaties, that I thought, as the Queen and her Council had not dealt out, at once, the punishment they deserved, it would be as well to prevent the matter now from going any further. I therefore requested their release, to the great contentment of the English.

The merchants trading with Spain had resolved, as I wrote, to send to Spain some person of higher rank than the one they had appointed, and to whom they had already given money for his preparations. When they went to the Queen to ask for letters, they were told that she might entrust their envoy with some business of hers, and consequently she wished them to send a lawyer. They therefore appointed the person recommended to them, paying him six crowns a day. As they have now received letters from Seville, telling them of the King's new prohibition of the export of money, which is very appropriate, they have deferred their request for the privileges they desired, although they have put into execution their project of ships only leaving here in flotillas.

I am told that they have written to the man they sent to Portugal, instructing him to tarry there until he can discover what is the design of his Majesty's fleet.

With regard to what I wrote about the two thousand odd crowns concealed in Spain, part of the seizures, the man who gave me the information has again spoken to me, and says that something ought to be done, or the money will be lost. I have kept him in hand until I write to you again, as he declares he will not disclose it unless he is certain of his share.

Fogaza is in great distress and, in consideration of his zeal and on account of what I wrote to his Majesty, I am keeping him from starvation and prison, until I hear what his Majesty desires.

I send Hans with this, because none of the couriers here will go unless they get 500 crowns for the round journey, and I do not

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wish to attract attention by seeking them. As the account of extraordinary expenses has been dispatched I write to Donna Anna to pay Hans for his journey there and back, if you are willing for this to be done, without his needing to go to the Postmaster-General for it. Pray send him back as soon as you can.—London, 20th August 1579.

22 Aug. **592.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

As a man is leaving for Paris, I have thought well to let you know what has happened since Hans left. The Queen was very angry at the gossip that was going about Alençon's coming, and she formally ordered that the matter should not be spoken of. Two of her ladies, the countess of Derby and a daughter of the earl of Bedford, have been arrested for talking about it, and importance is attached to what the former says, as she and her husband are claimants to the Crown.

They have been lodged in the house of a gentleman in London. The councillors themselves deny that Alençon is here, and in order not to offend the Queen, they shut their eyes and avoid going to Court, so as not to appear to stand in the way of her interviews with him, only attending the Council when they are obliged. It is said that if she marries without consulting her people she may repent it. Leicester is much put out, and all the councillors are disgusted except Sussex, who has led the dance in order, as he says, to upset Leicester and deprive him of French support. The people at large are so displeased, that, if Alençon stays here, they say it is very likely trouble will come of it, above all if they are urged on to it by others. I lose no opportunity of doing this. From all indications it may be concluded that this visit is not connected with any affairs of greater weight than the interviews between Alençon and the Queen, but it is a matter which it is hard for her to guide, it being such a great piece of folly, and yet it cannot have been undertaken without his mother's good will. Besides which La Noue saw Alençon both in Paris and in Boulogne, and five couriers have come from his brother the King since he has been here; Secretary L'Aubespine also arrived last night. It is said that the latter will leave on Monday, from which it would appear that Alençon's departure may be delayed. They have sent for the jewels brought by Simier which were here.—London, 22nd August 1579.

25 Aug. **593.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Since my letter of the 20th Secretary L'Aubespine arrived here, sent by the king of France, and as his coming at this juncture is important I have tried to discover its object. It is to request the Queen, on his master's behalf, to join with him to assist the Portuguese and prevent the union of that Crown with your own. This negotiation is warmly pressed by the Queen-mother, and it was by her advice that L'Aubespine was sent hither whilst Alençon was here, which seemed the best time for bringing the Queen to consent. It is said that for this purpose a brother of L'Aubespine's, a lawyer and a councillor much esteemed in France, accompanied him. It will not require much persuasion to convince these

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people, as I have seen their tendency in this direction for some time past.

The Queen is delighted with Alençon, and he with her, as she has let out to some of her courtiers, saying that she was pleased to have known him, was much taken with his good parts, and admired him more than any man. She said that, for her part, she will not prevent his being her husband. The French say the same thing, although I have not heard that any resolution has been arrived by the councillors, as they have not yet been formally consulted, it having all hitherto been managed between her and Alençon, with perhaps the intervention of Sussex.

Leicester, who is in great grief, came hither recently, and when he came from his interview with the Queen, his emotion was remarked. A meeting was held on the same night at the earl of Pembroke's house, there being present Lord Sydney and other friends and relatives. They no doubt discussed the matter, and some of them afterwards remarked that Parliament would have something to say as to whether the Queen married or not. The people in general seem to threaten revolution about it.

On Sunday the 23rd there was a grand ball where the Queen danced much more than usual, Alençon being placed behind a hanging, and she making signals to him. She sent the Admiral and Captain Winter with those who are fitting out the ships to go to Scotland in consequence of the Irish business, but the real object is for them to prepare a ship for Alençon's voyage, because on his passage across one of M. de la Motte's ships fired three or four cannon shots at him.

I learn that one of the charges against the countess of Derby, besides talking about the marriage, is that she tried to discover by means of witchcraft (and there are a great number of witches here) whether the Queen would live long. They have not yet dared to put her into the Tower, although orders had been given to that effect, but a large number of men and women have been arrested on the charge of witchcraft.—London, 25th August 1579.

25 Aug. **594.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

I can assure you I had no little trouble to obtain the information contained in my letter of the 22nd, as you will see by the letter to the King. This is owing to the fact that I am so short of men. It is necessary to pay something to those who can bring intelligence, besides the care with which such people have to be managed to prevent them from bringing us lying reports. As this marriage affair is being conducted by the Queen herself, we can only judge by appearances and her own words. If she is really resolved to marry she has been very dexterous in bringing the matter to its present form, and has managed to deceive many of her own ministers.

A close friend of Leicester's tells me he is cursing the French, and is greatly incensed against Sussex, as are all of Leicester's dependents. I have been desirous of meeting him and the councillors, but as they are all disturbed they avoid me, in order not to arouse suspicion. Notwithstanding this I take care to let them

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know, through other persons, the distrust they have of each other, in order, if possible, to set them all by the ears; but they are people of scant courage, and have so little constancy, that even the countess of Derby was accused by her most confidential servant.

On the 23rd two French gentlemen arrived for Alençon, bringing news that Bussy d'Amboise had been killed in Anjou, and two others of his mignons arrested. If it be not a fiction to hasten his departure you will hear of it.—London, 25th August 1579.

27 Aug. **595.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to ZAYAS.

As this is sent by a courier who is going in great haste, and under cover of another persons name, I only report that M. D'Alençon goes to-day to Dover, and that they have placed coach horses on the road in order that he may drive post thither, where a Queen's ship awaits him. Further news in my next.—London, 27th August 1579.

5 Sept. **596.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to ZAYAS.

Since my last I have learnt of some of the presents made by M. D'Alençon. He gave the Queen a diamond ring worth, the French say, 10,000 crowns, which he handed to her when he bade her farewell at Cobham. The parting was very tender on both sides, and the Queen presented Alençon with another jewel. He gave Leicester a cord for his cap, consisting of precious stones worth 3,000 crowns, and to Sussex a diamond ring of similar value. Lady Stafford and other ladies received jewels from the stock brought by Simier, who remains here to continue the negotiations for the marriage and the other French plans, with which object he is winning over the councillors in every possible way.

The Queen has received news from Ireland that James Fitzmaurice has been killed in a skirmish. He was the leader of those who landed there, and the Queen is so pleased at the news that she has ordered that the cavalry shall not be sent and only part of the infantry, as now that the chief is dead it is believed the rest may easily be put down.

Two days since there arrived here an express courier, dispatched on the 3rd August from Seville by the merchants, announcing the arrival of the despatch caravel from the Indies with news that Drake, about whom I wrote, had passed through the Straits of Magellan, and had stolen in the southern sea gold and silver worth 200,000 ducats belonging to his Majesty, and 400,000 the property of merchants. The adventurers who provided money and ships for the voyage are beside themselves for joy, and I am told that there are some of the councillors amongst them. The people here are talking of nothing else but going out to plunder in a similar way. Although the courier was sent specially with this news alone I do not believe it, as in a matter of this importance, if it were true, some steps would have been taken by his Majesty ere this. I am making every possible effort respecting the prizes taken by English pirates from his Majesty's subjects, although I only get to know

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of the cases through Englishmen, as the owners themselves do not tell me. In some cases indeed, like that which took place near Corunna lately, and the landing of Humphrey Gilbert in Galicia, where he sacked the hermitage, they themselves confess, and in these cases I think of requesting the Queen to punish them. At the same time, if I see an opportunity, I will try to divert her from her negotiations with the French, as I do generally when I speak to her or her councillors, but until they see what you wot of (*i.e.*, money) it is like hammering cold iron. This Seville courier also reports that his Majesty announces his intention of undertaking the Algiers expedition in person, which banishes their anxiety about the destination with the fleet. One of these ministers of theirs (*i.e.*, clergymen) has been convicted of the dreadful and nefarious crime of consorting with his own daughter, and, although the affair is public, all they have done is to put him for a little while in the pillory. You can judge by this how they would punish other smaller peccadilloes.—London, 5th September 1579.

7 Sept. **597.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

Just as this courier was leaving hurriedly for Paris, an English courier sent by Wotton delivered to me his Majesty's letter of the 18th ultimo, and three from you of the same date. I knew of the arrival of this English courier on the 5th, but was not aware that he had any letters for me. No doubt they kept them back, as I was to have audience of the Queen the next day, so that I might not have them until after I had seen her. I will report what passed with her in my next, and have only time now to send, with all speed, the documents you request. I have had them for some time to study them, and to be the better able to treat if occasion should arise. I will send to Antwerp for some more as there are none here, and will send them by next opportunity. I now send the "Perpetual edict," the "Pacification of Ghent," and the decree and proclamation of the same.—London, 7th September 1579.

13 Sept. **598.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I saw the Queen on the 6th, and she told me she had received letters from Edward Wotton, and was glad to hear that your Majesty and the Queen were well. Although at the time I had not seen your Majesty's letter, I replied in generalities as ordered. The conversation turned to the matter of the pirates, and, so far as I could gather from her expressions to me, I judge that the negotiations for union with the French are proceeding very warmly. She kept dwelling upon Alençon's good qualities and praising the Queen-mother, whom she formerly abominated, saying how cleverly she had brought France to its present good order. Even if the marriage do not take place, it is probable that a binding union with the French may be effected—all in disservice of your Majesty—from the very evident signs to be seen on all hands. Amongst other indications is the fact that all these ministers are turning their backs upon me, except the Controller, who helps me

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and lets me know what is going on. The burden of talk of the rest is that, if your Majesty persists in the Portuguese business, you will lose the Netherlands and have a war in Italy. I again represented to the Queen the evils that might result from failing to maintain the alliance with your Majesty, without entering into particulars, as this marriage is so far advanced and she is so enamoured of it. I lose no opportunity of pressing this point and others similar, and take care to spread abroad certain aspects of the matter, which it is important that Parliament and the people should foresee, particularly what may be the effect of the French getting a footing here. The Queen said that your Majesty wished to take Portugal, and had made great preparations with that object. I replied that I had already told her several times that your Majesty had collected a powerful fleet, but I did not know where you would be pleased to employ it. If it were used in Portugal it would not be for the purpose of taking the country, but simply to enable you to enjoy your rights, as being, on the death of the King, the nearest legitimate heir, which I said I had no doubt the Portuguese understood. She replied that every one did not agree with this, and your Majesty could not take Portugal as there were those who would prevent it. I answered (to show her that I knew about the French negotiations) that, however much certain princes might unite for that purpose, it would be useless, because not only had God given you these rights to the Crown, but had endowed you with forces powerful enough to maintain them. I could not believe, I said, that she would mix herself up in any unjust attempt to frustrate this, to which she made no reply, but changed the subject, and said that the Netherlands were again in treaty to hand themselves over to the French. I answered that these suspicions and plots were now of very little importance, as experience had shown last year how well they agreed, and that they could not endure the French when they had got them there. There was less chance for them now than then, as Hainault and Artois had submitted to your Majesty. Certain English pirates who landed in Galicia (where they lifted some cattle and sacked a hermitage) have arrived here and boasted much of their exploits. Although I had no advice of it from your Majesty or any of your officers, but only learnt of it from the coast of France, I thought fit te speak to the Queen on the subject, and to beg her to punish the men. I said I had received letters from the President of Galicia, who said he was also giving an account of the matter to your Majesty in order that steps might be taken. She at once ordered the men to be arrested, and assured me they should be justly punished.

The Queen has received news from Ireland saying that the earl of Desmond had fled from the Viceroy, offended that so little importance was attached to him. They, therefore, fear he will go to the other side; in which case they (the rebels) would hold much of the island. Another ship had arrived there with foreigners, and the Viceroy was treating with the O'Neil for a pacification.—London, 13th September 1579.

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13 Sept. **599.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

Yesterday I was visited by the principal merchants who trade with Spain, to thank me, in the name of the Council, for the release on surety by his Majesty, of the Englishmen who were imprisoned at Corunna; which news had been conveyed to them by letters dated 19th ultimo, and which they had been informed was due to certain letters written by me. They were much gratified at this. Those (*i.e.*, the Spaniards) who went from here, although I was in a hurry to get them gone, have had such contrary weather that they have been much delayed.

After the news of Drake's robberies arrived, these merchants went to the Council and said that they feared that his Majesty might retaliate by seizing the property of Englishmen in Spain; and, as it was now the season for them to despatch their ships, they could not do so unless they were assured they should not lose them. The Council replied that Drake had gone on a voyage of discovery, and if he had plundered it was not their fault, nor did they think that his Majesty would seize English property in consequence. I have thought well to report this, that you may see that their own conscience is now pricking them, and some of the merchants have paid as much as 4 and 5 per cent. premium of insurance against seizure on their goods in Spain. His Majesty's letter to me mentions the enclosure of copy of the Queen's letter to him. This must have been forgotten, as I only received copy of the King's letter to her. I am informed from Milan of the new obstacle raised there to paying me the five hundred odd crowns due previous to the transfer (*i.e.*, of his pension there). This is the order given by his Majesty that debts due for more than a year should not be recoverable. Pray write about it, for what with this and the fact that they now owe me 16 months pay for my company, I can hardly make both ends meet here.

The Queen left Greenwich on the 9th* to make a short progress, hunting at various gentlemen's seats until early next month, when she comes to London for the Parliament.—London, 13th September 1579.

Postscript: Since closing this letter I have learnt that a gentleman from Alençon has arrived with letters for the Queen, informing her that he has had an interview with his brother in Paris.

17 Sept. **600.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

I am sending this duplicate by Calais, and take the opportunity of saying that, an hour after the letter had left, I was informed that the French gentleman who had arrived reported the taking of Fuentarrabia, which has greatly delighted these people as it has distressed me. They are getting closer every day with the French, and since this man arrived there are couriers coming constantly from France, both for the Queen and the ambassadors, who are now staying with her at the earl of Sussex's house, where all is feasting, dancing, and toasting the good news. I believe they are

* Full particulars of this short progress will be found in Nichols' "Progresses of Queen Elizabeth."

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pressing for money for Bearn, for which purpose they will sell his mother's jewels, which are now here in pawn; and if, by God's grace, these people or the French do not run out of funds, they will certainly attempt some wickedness against his Majesty's grandeur, as I have so often said, or try to prevent the success of our fleet. This proves what I have so constantly urged—the need of gaining over some of these councillors—which will not now be easy. We never think we shall want anyone's help until the time comes. Some oar-galleys have gone from here for M. de la Motte, and some English ships also have gone to serve him, but I have a very poor opinion of them, seeing things as they are. I have constantly warned him of this, and I recently sent a courier to him to let him know that they will attempt some mischief in that direction, as not a man leaves here without these councillors knowing of it, and indeed, in some cases, they speak to them before they go. There has just sailed a ship fitted out by a gentleman of the chamber to the Queen, with a quantity of ordnance on board, on the pretext of going to serve him (M. de la Motte), which causes me all the more suspicion, and I have consequently sent a special messenger to inform him.—London, 17th September 1579.

25 Sept. **601.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Intelligence has been received of the publication of your Majesty's decree prohibiting the export of all goods, except salt, from Spain in foreign ships, which has caused much annoyance, not only to the merchants trading with Spain but to all the nation. The London merchants have addressed the Queen and Council (who are as much grieved as the rest) setting forth the great damage it will cause to the country, which profits so much by this trade, and is so largely interested in it. This will be seen more clearly by the detailed statement I send to your Majesty of the voyages they make, and the Queen has consequently written to your Majesty on the subject, as well as sending to me with many entreaties that I should do the same. As some ships have already left, and they think the business is urgent, they have decided to send the letter by a person who is to travel with all speed. I send to your Majesty the heads of their letter, so far as I have been able to learn them, as the importance they attach to the matter persuades me that it will be to your Majesty's interest that this letter should arrive before theirs. In addition to saying that the decree is in contravention of the treaties between the countries, they threaten that, as so many ships and sailors will be thrown out of employment, they will make plundering voyages to the Indies; which may well be believed, as they do so already. Their pride and insolence are so great that the very sailors who are going now (*i.e.*, to Spain) are saying that if they cannot get freights back they must rob on the coast to make up for them. If your Majesty thinks well, notice might be sent to the ports and places where they may attempt this. With the same object in view, the owners of the ships (who are the most interested) have petitioned the Council that the masters may be allowed to punish any sailor without being called to account for it here.

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The Queen has also assured the merchants that, if your Majesty refuses permission for them to load their ships, she will at once order that no Spanish goods shall enter her country except in English bottoms, which will prevent Flemish ships carrying on the trade, and they think there are not enough Spanish vessels for the purpose.

When the Queen was told of the decree, she said your Majesty would break friendship with her, and when you wanted her friendship perhaps you would not get it. They also believe that, even if your Majesty does not grant them the concession, they will be able to load their freights in Spain, and it would be very advisable; if your Majesty for some good reason allows them to take merchandise for this once, that they should be made to understand how great a boon and favour you are granting them, out of your mere grace, when you have the power to oppress them, even without going to war. I am aware that it is extremely bold for me to say this, but I humbly beg for pardon, as my great desire to serve efficaciously makes me write in this way to the best of my understanding. Although the English have so many places whither to send their ships they actually despatched a man some time ago to Constantinople to try to establish a trade there. He returned recently with a Turk, bringing a letter from his master to the Queen, full of endearments, and offering unrestricted commerce in his country to Englishmen if she, on her part, will give the same privileges here to his subjects. I will endeavour to get copies of the letter and their reply to send to your Majesty.

The States have issued a proclamation in Antwerp saying that no goods are to be shipped there, except in ships belonging to the Netherlands, and in execution of this they have taken some cargo out of an English ship in which it had been loaded.—London, 25th September 1579.

25 Sept. **602.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

On the 13th I wrote saying that, on that day, a gentleman had arrived from Alençon to give an account of the interview of the latter with his brother, and the pillage of Fuentarrabia.* The great rejoicing about this did not last long, as they afterwards learnt of the grief it had caused in Paris that occasion should arise for war with your Majesty. This later news has troubled them and people are saying that it was a planned affair that Monseigneur Aigremont and Duras should have appeared on the frontier at the time; the object being to make people believe that some treaty had been entered into, and that the country at large would willingly join in a war against your Majesty. It was part of the plan to convey to the Governor of Bordeaux the news he sent to the king of France, in order to make the thing look the more encouraging, and to animate people with the belief that, now they had a pledge in their hands, they could commence war with advantage, the negotiations being carried on here being part of the

* Note in the handwriting of the King: "Juan de Vargas has written nothing about this, unless his present letters mention it."

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arrangement. The Queen continues to regale in an extraordinary way the three (French) ambassadors who are with her. They have all been lately at the house of the earl of Sussex, where the Queen and they have been grandly entertained. The rest of the councillors treat them in the same way, inviting them to their houses, and feasting them to such an extent that they may now be looked upon as all one people, although the general public show little pleasure at this friendship.

A printed book has recently been published here setting forth the evils arising from a union with the French.* Many arguments and reasons are adduced, and examples are given of what has happened on other occasions. As soon as it was published the Queen prohibited its possession under pain of death, and great efforts were used to collect all the copies, and to discover the author, in order to prevent the circulation of the facts before Parliament meets.

I wrote that the earl of Desmond had fled from the Viceroy and had gone over with his brothers in opposition to the Queen. She has now ordered both the cavalry and the infantry, which had been raised, to go to Ireland, and more troops are to be recruited, for whom it is said, victuals will have to be sent from England, as there are none to be got by them in the revolted country. For this reason, and because the place is a hotbed of disturbance, and the country a very humid one, they fear they will not finish the business so easily.—London, 25th September 1579.

29 Sept. **603.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to ZAYAS.

The enclosed proclamation, which there has been no time to translate, has been published by the Queen, prohibiting the book which had been issued against her marriage, and refuting certain points of it. As the proclamation was only dated two days before its promulgation (which was carried out with great ceremony) people are attaching a good deal of importance to it, and are saying that it was advisable to cut short the sensation caused by the book, in order to effect the marriage.† You will see by the proclamation how far advanced the matter is, and how Alençon is flattered by saying that it was through him that the Portuguese had been kept in France, which will not much please the Catholics or the people of Paris.—London, 29th September 1579.

29 Sept. **604.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to ZAYAS.

I take this opportunity of repeating what I said on the 25th, and also of saying that, as the Englishmen who were to take the

* This was Stubbs' famous book called "The discovery of a gaping gulf, wherein "England is like to be swallowed by another French marriage, if the Lord forbid not "the banns by letting her see the sin and punishment thereof." The author, who was a Puritan and a friend of the poet Spencer, had his right hand smitten off as a punishment. The fierce proclamation against the book, which was characterized as "lewde and seditious," was dated two days before this letter was written, the Queen being at the time on a visit to Giddie Hall, Essex. *See* "Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)."

† This proclamation is in the Record Office, *see* previous note.

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Queen's letter (*i.e.*, to Spain) were leaving, news came from the West that Francis Drake had arrived. I suspect that this was the reason why they delayed their departure until the present; the news now being known to be untrue, as these merchants are in great alarm lest his Majesty should order the seizure of English property in retaliation of the robberies committed by Drake. I sent a man to Plymouth, a Spaniard residing near there, to inform me of his arrival, as it is believed that unless he is driven elsewhere by weather, he will make for that port. This man has now returned, and tells me that he had heard, very secretly, from the wife of one of the justices there, that these councillors, who have a share in the venture, have sent orders to all the justices and governors to help him (Drake) to land and place his plunder in safety, and I therefore fear that it will be difficult to recover it, if anything of value reaches the country, especially as it is not desirable for me to speak to the Queen about it until it arrives. If I did so, it would be a confession that there were no forces there (*i.e.*, the Spanish Indies) to punish these men. Those who are well informed on the subject do not expect Drake to arrive before January, as he has to return through the same Straits (of Magellen), and he cannot do this until November, which is summer in those parts, as the council of the Indies will know, if true.

Alençon's gentleman has been despatched by the Queen, with a cap-cord worth, as they say, 3,000 crowns, and a chain worth 300 for himself, by which you will see how warmly the affair is proceeding, since they are not satisfied with the tokens they exchanged in person. To judge by the constant couriers being sent by these French ambassadors, the indisposition of their master has not sufficed to cool the negotiations. The people in general are much displeased, and, in addition to the book which was published, two pasquins were recently posted on the Lord Mayor's door, saying some very brutal things about the marriage, amongst which was, that when the marriage was attempted, there would be 40,000 men collected and ready to prevent it.

One of the Englishmen who are going (*i.e.*, to Spain) is married in the Canaries, and is called Richard Graveton. He says he is glad to accept the mission, in order to convey certain information in his Majesty's interests, respecting the French negotiations, about the adventurers who fitted out Drake's expedition, and about the voyages undertaken by the English. He asked me to give him letters to ensure him a hearing from you, and although I am not very sure about him, from the fact of his having been chosen for the mission and certain things I hear, yet I have given him the letter, because no harm can come from hearing what he has to say, and he assures me is not far wrong in the matter of the voyages.—London, 29th September 1579.

3 Oct. **605.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

The Englishman who I said was to accompany Richard Graveton (to Spain), I am informed is being sent at the express instance of Walsingham, who proposed to the merchants to send him. They,

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knowing him for a great rogue, said the cost would be very heavy, and they were told that they would of course be reimbursed for his expenses (by the Council). He is instructed to return at once hither and bring an account of what he can learn, and I am told that he has been to Spain three times this year for the same purpose; this being how he gets his living. No doubt, to worm out something there, he will speak frankly about matters here. I have thought well to report this, although I am sure, after what I have said, that he will be treated with caution.

A Spanish ship from Santoña with wool for Calais, was driven by storm into Sandwich, where it was at once seized and advice sent to the Council, which gave orders that she should be discharged to see what she brought, and, if she contained no prohibited goods, she should be allowed to sail. This is quite a new departure and a breach of the treaties with his Majesty, for which reason I have resented it, and they now say she was seized in error; but, in this and other things, I plainly see their bad intentions. There have been terrible storms here for the last fortnight which have cast many ships upon these coasts and those of Brittany.—London, 3rd October 1579.

16 Oct. **606.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

The proclamation I sent on the 29th, instead of mitigating the public indignation against the French, has irritated it and fanned the flame. Another book confirming the arguments of the former one has been issued and the Queen thereupon summoned the whole of the Council to again give her their opinion with regard to the marriage. They met many times, and, on the 7th instant, were in session from eight o'clock in the morning until seven at night, without stirring from the room, having sent the clerks away, which, as I have told your Majesty, is very rarely done, and only when something very secret and important is being discussed. Their decision was that, on no account, ought the Queen to marry Alençon or any other personage of the House of France; this being the opinion of all, with the exception of Sussex and Burleigh. They appointed the Lord Chancellor and the earl of Arundel to give an account of their decision to the Queen, to whom they said that, after having met and considered the subject on many occasions, they were of opinion that, for the security of her person, the tranquillity of her realm, and the preservation of her Crown, it was not fitting that she should marry any member of the House of France. They pointed out the many objections to the entrance of Frenchmen into the kingdom, they being ancient enemies; as well as the danger from the Scots who were the same. If she were to die, as might be feared if the French were to obtain control of her person, they would take possession of the country, with the aid they would get from Scotland, without the English being able to prevent it. They set forth also the other things that might occur, and showed how much opposed public opinion was to the marriage, although she had been so popular with her subjects in consequence of her actions during the years she had reigned, whilst on this matter they showed such bitter hatred. They said that, even if she did not

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desire to foresee the evil results which they placed before her, and insisted upon marrying Alençon, it was nevertheless their duty to cast themselves at her feet and die there, as they believed she would die if she did this thing. To these words she gave no reply but was moved in a way that made them pause a little, and they added afterwards that, in consequence of the general dislike of the people to the coming of the French, they thought Parliament should not be summoned yet, in order to avoid disturbance and sedition, but should be delayed until later. If she still desired to marry, they should have time to persuade the people of the country to agree to it before Parliament was summoned. She said she would prorogue it without fixing a date, as she wished to reserve the latter point for her own decision. She remained extremely sad after the conversation and was so cross and melancholy that it was noticed by everyone who approached her. Many documents have been sent to her lately dissuading her from the business. This has been managed by Leicester and Hatton through whose hands most of the papers have reached her. They (the documents) gave her to understand that when she proposed to marry, Parliament would urge her to declare an heir to the Crown, as the people did not wish, in case of her death, to find themselves in the present position with their enemies within their own gates. She has been greatly alarmed by all this, as she has been given to understand that as soon as a successor is appointed they will upset her. It is understood that the Chancellor, who is considered a great orator, was instructed to press this point very warmly, knowing her pusilanimity and fear in any adversity.

Simier has announced that he has leave from his master to depart. The Queen favours him as usual but he is very discordant with the Ambassador, in consequence of something which he said about him to the Queen. The negotiations for an alliance with the French to impede your Majesty in Portugal and to break up the conference of Cologne, still continue and most of the heretics are agreed to this. They meant to have sent the Garter to the king of France but have deferred it owing to his indisposition.

Alençon's agents are making great efforts with the people of Ghent, Antwerp, and the States, &c., to get them to recall him thither, and with this object have spread abroad the writing which I enclose, and also that which the States that met at Utrecht have published, prohibiting the reading of the clauses for the treaty of peace which had been discussed at Cologne; the reason of this being that the States saw that the majority of the country were inclined to accept the conditions.

The Queen's viceroy in Ireland* has died of sickness and the ships that carried over the reinforcements have returned. A letter of the 3rd from there reports the capture of the fort erected by the men who landed,† they having retired with the Irishmen to the

* This was Sir William Drury who has frequently been mentioned in this calendar as Knight Marshal of Berwick. He had been appointed Lord President of Munster in 1575, and had succeeded Sidney as Viceroy of Ireland about a year before his death.

† Smerwick.

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woods. The earl of Desmond had left them and again joined the the Queen's side.—London, 16th October 1579.

16 Oct. **607.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Zayas.

The Queen has received a special swift post from Antwerp, reporting that his Majesty had ordered the arrest of all the English vessels, and orders have been consequently given here in all the ports that no ships are to leave without further orders. The Antwerp heretics, for the purpose of arousing the indignation of those here, write that we were not content with seizing the ships in Spain, but we clapped all the crews into the galleys. This is no doubt to divert the Hollanders from agreeing to the peace, as they are inclined to do.

As I was closing this, I was informed that the Queen is greatly irritated with anyone who opposes the marriage, saying not once, but many times, that she had never broken her word yet and she will keep it now. Speaking to Walsingham about it she told him begone and that the only thing he was good for was a protector of heretics. Knollys who is a great heretic and the treasurer of the household, married to her first cousin, asked her how she could think of marrying a Catholic, she having forbidden Protestants to do so. To this she replied that he might pay dearly for the zeal he was displaying in the cause of religion, and it was a fine way to show his attachment to her; who might desire, like others, to have children. She had another squabble about it with Hatton, and he was a week without seeing her. It is difficult to see whether all this is artifice or whether God intends to blind her in order to bring her to submission.—London, 16th October 1579.

11 Nov. **608.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

After having closed the accompanying letter, I was informed that on the 9th instant, after having heard of the arrival of Captain Breton with a despatch from Alençon to Simier; on the occasion of Simier entering her private chamber, the Queen said that he must excuse her for detaining him so long, and as soon as she had finished one other matter, she would give him leave to depart. He was with her for many hours, and afterwards despatched the same Captain. The Queen summoned the principal councillors to her chamber on the 10th, and told them that she had determined to marry and that they need say nothing more to her about it, but should at once discuss what was necessary for carrying it out. If this is put into execution it may be undoubtedly looked upon as a divine provision to reduce this country to the Catholic religion, and punish it by means of an intestine war, to judge by present indications, for having separated therefrom.—London, 11th November 1579.

28 Nov. **609.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

These people change so constantly in whatever they take in hand, that it is difficult to send your Majesty any definite information, because, although they may do a thing with all deliberation, they

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alter it in a moment. On the 12th at nightfall they sent a courier here to prorogue Parliament, which had been summoned for the 24th, and two hours afterwards came another with orders to write the letters of summons for them to meet, after which, at midnight, fresh orders arrived that it should stand over until the 20th of January. The Queen sent an order to Stafford at Dover, who, as I wrote on the 11th,* was going to Alençon, for him to return. After she had said to her councillors what I reported in my last, she ordered each one individually to give her his opinion in writing. When Simier heard this he told her that, the business being in its present state, he thought it was not fitting that such a course should be taken. She asked him who told him so, and he replied that it was Cecil, whereupon she retorted very angrily, "surely it is possible for my councillors to keep a secret; I will see to this." She then entered another room without saying anything more. She afterwards told the Council to write a letter from all the members, urging Alençon to expedite his coming, whereupon they replied that it was not for them but for her to do that, and they also told her that it was befitting her dignity that some one of greater standing and authority than Simier should come to settle the capitulations. As soon as Simier heard this he booted and spurred and went to take leave of the Queen. She pacified him by means of great caresses, and retained him until the 29th, when he left, and Stafford accompanied him. They are agreed as to the terms, which I have frequently written to your Majesty, and have now conceded to Alençon the right for all Frenchmen and servants who are with him to attend his chapel freely, without specifying any number. The former demand was that a number was to be fixed. If the agreement was ratified in France, some personage will come with the signed confirmation of the king of France and his brother, whereupon another personage will leave here to arrange for his coming. This is so much desired by the Queen that some people think that all this delay is unnecessary, but the object of her councillors in thus drawing it out is to divert the Queen, if possible, from it, in view of the hatred towards the marriage shown by the people at large, and if they cannot succeed in this, at least to mitigate the discontent of the people and prevent a rising.

She gave jewels and pearls to Simier valued at eight thousand crowns, and to the councillor who was with him five hundred crowns worth of silver plate, the other gentlemen having chains worth two hundred. Many of her pensioners went with him, and Lords Howard and Seymour were to accompany him to France, whilst six gentlemen were to go with him as far as Montreuil. The two Lords will have to await their return with the ships. This is greatly surprising the English as such extraordinary ceremony as this has never been performed with any ambassador.

This Queen has received another letter from the Turk by way of France, which, in addition to many other offers, promises a favourable reception of Englishmen who come to his country, either by land or sea; both on account of his desire for her friendship as for

* This letter is missing.

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that of the king of France, with whom he requests her to be as friendly as she can. He says that, by reason of his friendship to the king of France, he will be pleased to hear of her marriage with his brother, from which it may be seen that the French have made it their business to write to him about it. The Turks are also desirous of friendship with the English on account of the tin which has been sent thither for the last few years, and which is of the greatest value to them, as they cannot cast their guns without it, whilst the English make a tremendous profit on the article, by means of which alone they maintain the trade with the Levant. Five ships are ready to sail thither now, and I am told that, in one of them, they are sending nearly twenty thousand crowns worth of bar tin, without counting what the rest of them take. As this sending tin to the infidel is against the apostolic communion, and your Majesty has ordered that no such voyage shall be allowed to pass the Messina light, to the prejudice of God and Christianity, I advise the viceroy of Sicily of the sailing of these ships as I understand that they will touch at Palermo, where the tin can be confiscated.

The earl of Desmond has risen in Ireland for the third time and, although the Queen had not hitherto declared him a rebel, she has done so now, moved, as I am told, by the fear that the earl of Kildare may do the same. Letters have been given to her written by Dr. Sanders to the Irish Barons who have risen, urging them not to lose heart, but to continue what they have begun, as most of the nobles of England and Scotland will help them, as well as foreign princes. She has appointed various men to go to Ireland as Viceroys, but they have refused, as they think that this rising is more serious than the previous one.

The Parliament of Scotland was discussing the giving of the title of earl of Lennox to M. d'Aubigny,* and have postponed until next Parliament the appointment of an heir to the Crown.—London, 28th November 1579.

27 Dec. **610.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

The Queen received an express post on the 2nd, from the Magistrates of Nuremburg, and from her agent in that place, advising her to make ready, as they were sure that your Majesty's fleet was being armed for the purpose of coming to this country. She, at once, sent to ask them to tell her by what means they had learned this, and on the same day, after nine at night, she sent to me by the earl of Sussex to say that, although there might be no matters which obliged her to see me, yet she would be glad to do so. I had been purposely holding off from her for some time, without requesting audience, because I was told she wished to see me, and I thought that, as she was so close with the French, it would be best to make her jealous by raising the idea that it did not concern us to take any notice of the marriage, of which attitude of ours

* This was the celebrated Esmé Stuart who thenceforward exercised so strong an influence over the young King, and was subsequently created duke of Lennox. He was the son of a brother of the earl of Lennox (the Regent) and consequently a first cousin of Darnley.

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she had, and still has, very great mistrust. I went to see her the next day, being informed beforehand of the letter she had received, which, as I understood, was the reason she summoned me, and she confirmed this by her conversation. She began with many caresses and endearments, and complaints that she had not seen me for so long, after which all her talk was directed towards discovering from me particulars of the fleet. She repeated the various news and discourses she heard about it, trying to find out whether I knew anything, to all of which I replied as commanded, and, so far as I could judge, she was more distrustful about it at the end of the interview than she was before. I am told that the advices received from Italy by certain Genoese residents here confirmed the news from Nuremburg, and the Queen has therefore ordered the Governors of Provinces and the Marches to be at their posts in four days, and to exercise much vigilance to prevent disturbance. Although the excuse for this step is the news about the fleet, many people believe that it is caused by fears about the marriage.

I had been assured that she sent a verbal message by Simier to Alençon, to say that, although the conditions might be looked upon in France as a little hard, he was not to be distressed about that, as she would remedy it. I suspect this was for the purpose of undermining what she heard the opposing councillors had said, to the effect that they should be very much surprised if the French accepted the conditions which they had sent. I got her to converse upon the subject, and she referred to it so tenderly as to make it clear how ardently she desired it.

The Portuguese ambassador has arrived here, and saw the Queen on the 29th. All the talk was of how glad she was to learn that your Majesty had agreed with his King,* since there were no preparations for defence in Portugal, and if your Majesty should wish to take the country by force they could not help it. This is the means which, since Wotton's return, she and her Council have adopted, as they have failed in the other suggestions they made to the king of Portugal to listen to the desires of England and France. They think that by this means they can the better move the Portuguese themselves, saying that they do not hinder only because they are not able. The ambassador replied that the arrangement was founded on justice, and he did not believe, therefore, that your Majesty, being so Christian a Prince, would need to appeal to arms.

News has arrived here that Don Antonio had fled from Portugal, and as soon as the Queen heard it she publicly said that she would be glad to receive him in her country to entertain him and give him what help she could, which was listened to by the fickle Portuguese who were here, and who have written it to Portugal.

Morton insisted in the Scotch Parliament that they should

* Don Cristobal de Mora, Philip's ambassador in Portugal, finding it impossible to prevail upon the Portuguese Cortes to adopt his master as heir to the crown, had influenced the aged Cardinal-King to defer the whole question of succession, which was a decided point gained for Spain, as it gave Philip time to prepare and dispose of a force which could, when the moment arrived, effectually prevent the Portuguese from formally adopting any other pretender than himself.

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confirm the decrees published against the House of Hamilton, and as soon as the Queen knew this, she sent a person to dissuade the King from it, as she learned that it would cause disturbances in the country and that the French might aid the Hamiltons. The business was therefore settled in the following way: the property of the Hamiltons is to be confiscated until they have cleared themselves of the murders laid to their charge, without the matters being made a crime of high treason. By this means, the Queen and Morton get their way, as they keep the Hamiltons oppressed, and yet with hopes of recovering their estates without taking up arms or being driven to desperation. The queen of Scotland has been given more liberty than she had recently. I have not been able to learn whether this is by order of this Queen or at the pleasure of the earl of Shrewsbury, although some consider it very strange at the present juncture.—London, 27th December 1579.

28 Dec. **611.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I handed your Majesty's letter of 11th April, about the seizures, to the Queen on the 10th of May, and she, in conformity therewith and in fulfilment of the treaty of Bristol, ordered a commission to be issued, that your Majesty's subjects might claim their property, which by fraud and deceit had been concealed. The issue of this commission was delayed from day to day for two months, until the vacations, so that nothing could be done until the middle of October. I lodged a request with the commissioners that they should hear my claims, which they did, acknowledging your Majesty as Plaintiff, and I then demanded that the offenders should be brought up. They summoned them and gave them copies of my charges, which, in due course, were replied to, and the case proceeded with. When the decision was to be given, the commissioners informed my lawyers that they were not to present any more documents, since the property could not be claimed by your Majesty but only by the owners. I therefore addressed the Council, saying I was astonished, after they had seen your Majesty's letter, and the Queen had issued the commission and the commissioners had heard my claim, by virtue of such appointment, that when sentence had to be delivered this answer should be given. I desired to know if the agreement of Bristol was valid or not. They replied in general that they knew nothing of the commission, nor when it was issued, but they would make inquiries and give a reply. They did so a month afterwards, and, after recapitulating many of the pros and cons of the case, they said that the goods could not be demanded in your Majesty's name. To this I replied that your Majesty had made the agreement with the Queen; property on both sides having been seized from your respective subjects, and no particular owner was mentioned. It was therefore clear that, if any fraud or deceit had been practised, it was only to the prejudice of the parties to the agreement. Even if this were not so, they well knew that "*Gentium princeps maritus, Rex publicæ*, "*Pater subditorum suorum*," and also, "*Quod interes principiis* "*ne subditi perdam bona sua*," and your Majesty had ordered me to deal with this business in answer to the complaints of your

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subjects, out of consideration for them, to prevent their having to come here, losing their time and money, to claim their property which had been concealed. I said that this would have happened was proved from the fact that they had delayed the matter with me for eight months, and I should like to know how a private person would have got on, since they were so tardy even with me, a minister. I said the owners, moreover, could not claim their goods specifically, as they had all been bulked here, the packages undone, and the marks lost. They replied that this was all very well, but they had no security that the owners themselves would not come and claim the property delivered to me, and it was necessary that I should have special power in addition to your Majesty's letter. Your Majesty will pray send me instructions.*

What I understand is that they are seeking to delay as much as they can, because of the impossibility of bringing to book those who are interested, namely, the principal councillors. Leicester and Hatton started the matter and assured me that justice should be done, but as they are now in disgrace, especially Leicester, the rest of them are terribly hard upon them. They think, moreover, that I might unite all the claims which have been ascertained during the delay and might continue to produce fresh ones. Seeing, however, how cautiously they proceeded I ordered only two clear and distinct demands to be made until I saw their mode of proceeding. This is the ordinary mode of never telling the truth, for the same men who told me, when I delivered your Majesty's letter, that the commission should be issued, afterwards said they knew nothing about it, besides which the commissioners twice contradicted themselves before the Council, and I proved them to have lied by their own documents. The design of them all is to make profit in any possible way, and when they say they will do justice it is only with this object. I presented proofs that Knollys, a kinsman of the Queen, had taken a Spanish ship and put his plunder in one of the Queen's castles, where he sold it, and they told me that when this was established, they would have the property returned to the merchants ; and yet afterwards they said it was necessary to prove the facts again, with the sole object of frightening away the witnesses, and making this an excuse for keeping the property. As the councillors themselves are the principal supporters of the pirates they have anticipated the arrival of Drake by appointing men in every port in England to assist him in concealing his booty, if he arrive safely with it.—London, 28th December 1579.

28 Dec. **612.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

As soon as the prince of Condé came to La Fère,† in Picardy, he informed the Queen of it, and her ambassador in France, Paulet,

* The opinion of the English Commissioners to this effect is in the Record Office. It was sent on the 10th December to the Council by Dr. D. Lewis, Judge of the Admiralty, in a letter to Secretary Wilson. *See* Calendar of State Papers (Domestic) of that date.

† La Fère had been seized by the prince of Condé on the 29th November, acting independently of his cousin, Henry of Navarre.

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arrived at the same time. He is not only a heretic, as I have said before, but a terrible Puritan; who, although he publicly said that the king of France and his brother were so disagreed that he thought they would break with each other, secretly impressed upon the councillors, and particularly upon Walsingham, how advantageous it was to have brought Condé there to embarrass your Majesty, and to have again encouraged the war in the Netherlands by means of the troops who went to the aid of La Noue and the succour of Ghent, which, he said, would give plenty to do to the people of Hainault and Artois, even though the States were to help them, and De la Motte would soon have less reason for satisfaction. The councillors were particular in their inquiries, in the presence of Paulet, from some Englishmen whom they had brought over, from serving at Gravelines. They were especially anxious to learn whether the river which divides that place from France could be forded, and if boats were necessary, what sort they should be, and whether they could be found there or would have to be sent; with other questions of the same sort. From this it may be gathered that they had designs in that part and I have sent a special post to De la Motte to inform him thereof.

Besides the ships I advised, there have recently left the west coast for the Levant, ships with great quantities of planks, and another, called the "Providence," of two hundred tons, which goes direct to the Isle of Chios carrying bell-metal and tin to the value of twenty thousand crowns.

A ship has left Zealand for Portugal with four thousand gun flints and some powder. And several other ships are going to the same place with powder shipped by Flemings. I have not been able to discover whether these munitions are for the King or for a private person.

The Portuguese ambassador is negotiating with the Queen and ministers respecting the confirmation of the agreement entered into three years ago, which expired on the 15th ultimo. The principal point of it is that the English are prohibited from voyaging to the Mina. I do not hear that he is authorised to treat on any other matter, but he has letters ordering him not to see Don Antonio if he comes hither, and to ask the Queen not to receive him.

The Scotch Parliament ended without giving to M. D'Aubigny the earldom of Lennox, but they conferred an abbey upon him which belonged to the Hamiltons, and was the richest in the country.

The number of Catholics, thank God, is daily increasing here, owing to the college and seminary for Englishmen which your Majesty ordered to be supported in Douai, whence there has come in the last year (and from the college of Rome) a hundred Englishmen who have been ordained there,* by which means a great number of people are being converted, generally persons who have never heard the truth preached before. These priests go about disguised as laymen, and although they are young men, their good

* The French historian Martin asserts that Pope Gregory XIII. sent a hundred Jesuit priests to England from Rome alone in this year.

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life, fervency, and zeal in the work, are admirable. They exercise their duties with great good sense and discretion, in order not to give the heretics a chance to impede them. God's grace is clearly witnessed in the way they are led on by His hand in this ministry; and in the joy and fortitude with which they offer themselves for martyrdom, whenever they are called upon to suffer it for the Lord's sake. Some have suffered thus with invincible firmness and ineffable content, following in the footsteps of so many of their predecessors. Of the old ones very few now remain, and they are imprisoned strictly. This was a cause for the great decay of religion, as there was no one to teach it, and none professed it, excepting those who had special grace given to them to persevere in it out of pure zeal. This is being remedied by means of those who have recently come hither, who pray continually for your Majesty; recognizing that God has been pleased to make you His principal instrument in this great work. During the last three months they have converted five of these (Protestant) preachers, which conversion they believe will bear rich fruit, as they (the converts) have begged to be sent where they may study and confirm themselves in the faith, in order to return hither and preach it. God give them grace to do so.—London, 28th December 1579.

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